

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

**THE PHENOMENON OF CHILDREN BEGGARS ON THE STREETS OF
ACCRA**

BY

WILHEMINA TETTEH

(10374399)

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD
OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN AFRICAN STUDIES DEGREE**

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except cited works, this thesis is a result of my own research work, done under supervision, and has neither in part nor in whole been presented elsewhere for another degree.

WILHEMINA TETTEH

(CANDIDATE)

Sign:

Date:

DR. OSMAN ALHASSAN

(PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR)

Sign:

Date:

DR. DEBORAH ATOBRAH

(CO-SUPERVISOR)

Sign:

Date:

ABSTRACT

The phenomenon of children living on the street has become frequent worldwide, and is of immense social concern. Street children devise varied survival strategies to cope with the hardships they encounter in their daily lives. This study investigates a particular group of street children in Accra, which is child street beggars.

Using the qualitative research approach, the study uses interviews, observation, drawings and focus group discussions to interrogate the lifestyle and examine the aspirations of child street beggars. It specifically identifies the familial background of children street beggars and their relationship with their families, and also examines the reason why children choose to beg on the streets. Cases of five boys, being the primary participants, and their families were studied over a period of four months. The boys were between the ages of 11 and 15 were recruited at three busy street interchanges in Accra, and followed up to their families in their respective homes.

The study revealed that, children come from both female-headed and male-headed households. Among the causal factors for child street begging, peer influence emerged the most influential causal factor. Children street beggars who participated in this study were not bread winners to their families. As such they were not forced into begging by any adult family member, and kept every money they make on the streets. The dreams and aspirations of the children include having families they can take care of and having lucrative jobs to become rich.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family and friends, and to all street children across the globe

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to God Almighty for granting me good health and grace to undertake this study. I am also thankful to my supervisors, Dr. Osman Alhassan and Dr. Deborah Atobrah for their selfless support, advice and supervision toward the completion of this work. I am thankful to all Research Fellows at the Institute of African Studies who advised me and supported me throughout the execution of this research.

To Mrs Afua Cann of the Department of Social Welfare, Mr David Wutor of Vanguard Assurance, and the Director at the Special Attention Program, I say thank you.

Also, I would like to appreciate my parents, Mr. Benjamin Tetteh and Madam Emelia Quansah for their wonderful support. To my sister, Ethel Tetteh, I am most grateful for the advice and criticisms.

I am indebted to my friends Comfort Wilson, Patricia Serwaa Afrifa, Belinda Nyarko, Seyram Kpeglo, Herty Swanzy-Acquah, Rosemond Awusi, Elizabeth Mills Robertson, Nash Nii Koi, Beckham Arthur, Prosper Amenyo, Kweku Siaw Emmanuel for their support and prayers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Problem Statement	4
1.3 Research Questions	6
1.4 Objectives	6
1.5 Significance of the Study	6
1.6 The Setting	7
1.7 Definition of Terms	8
1.8 Organization of the Study.....	9
CHAPTER TWO	10
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Systems of Child Care in Ghana	10
2.2.1 The Traditional Family and Child Care in Ghana	10
2.2.2 The Changing Family and Childcare in Ghana	14
2.2.3 Social Protection Policies for Children in Ghana	17
2.3 The Street Children Phenomenon.....	24
2.3.1 Defining the Street Children Phenomenon	25
2.3.2 Categorizing Street Children	27
2.3.3 Causes of Street Children	31
2.3.4 Characteristics of street children.....	33

2.4 Child Begging.....	36
2.5 Islamic Child Begging.....	42
2.6 Theoretical Framework	44
2.6.1 Family Systems Theory	44
2.6.2 Resilience Theory	46
CHAPTER THREE.....	48
METHODOLOGY.....	48
3.1 Introduction	48
3.2 Research Design	48
3.3 Preliminary Study.....	49
3.4 Study Area.....	49
3.5 Sources of Data	49
3.6 Sampling Technique.....	50
3.6.1 Inclusion.....	50
3.6.2 Exclusion	51
3.7 Research Strategy	51
3.7.1 Observation.....	51
3.7.2 Interview	52
3.7.3 Focus Group Discussion	55
3.8 Data Management.....	57
3.9 Data Analysis	57
3.10 Ethical Considerations.....	57
3.11 Field Challenges	58
CHAPTER FOUR.....	60
THE FAMILY, LIFESTYLE AND ASPIRATION OF THE CHILD STREET BEGGAR	
.....	60
4.1 Introduction	60
4.2 The Family of Children Street Beggars.....	60
4.2.1 Types of Families identified	60
4.2.2 Fostering	65
4.2.3 Relationship between children and parents	66
4.3 Total Lifestyle and Experiences of the Child Street Beggar	70

4.3.1 Reasons why Children End up on the Streets and why they Beg	70
4.3.2 Learning the Skill of Begging	73
4.3.3 Accountability and the Use of Earnings	74
4.3.4 Health Status of Child Street Beggars	77
4.3.5 Abuses Faced by Children Street Beggars.....	79
4.3.6 Organization on the Street	80
4.4 Aspiration of the Child Beggar	83
4.4.1 Family Aspirations of the Child Beggar	83
4.4.2 Career Aspirations	86
CHAPTER FIVE.....	91
RESPONSES AND INTERVENTIONS	91
5.1 Introduction	91
5.2 The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) Ghana.....	91
5.3 Vanguard Assurance Company Limited	93
5.4 Special Attention Program	95
CHAPTER SIX	98
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	98
6.1 Introduction	98
6.2 The Family of the Child Street Beggar	98
6.3 Total Lifestyle and Experiences of the Child Beggar.	99
6.4 Aspirations.....	101
6.5 Responses and Interventions	101
6.6 Conclusion.....	101
6.7 Recommendations	102
REFERENCES.....	104
APPENDICES	111

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Exterior view of Aku’s house	63
Figure 4.2: Exterior view of wooden structure.	82
Figure 4.3: Ebo’s drawing of his family	84
Figure 4.4: Kumi’s Drawing of His Family	85
Figure 4.5: Divine’s drawing of his family	85
Figure 4.6: Abu’s drawing of his future career	87
Figure 4.7: Oko’s drawing of his future career	88
Figure 4.8: Kwashie’s drawing of his future career	88
Figure 4.9: Fiifi’s drawing of his future career	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Distribution of street children in Greater Accra Region.....	8
Table 2.1: Classification of Street Children; the Greater Accra Regional Census	30
Table 3.1: Breakdown of Participants (Children)	55
Table 3. 2: Breakdown of Participants (Parents)	55
Table 3.3: Focus Group Participants	56
Table 4.1: Family type	60
Table 4.2: Breakdown of income usage.....	75

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFWP:	Child and Family Welfare Policy
DFID:	Department of International Development
DSW:	Department of Social Welfare
DOVVSU:	Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit
FGP:	Focus Group Participant
GNCC:	Ghana National Commission on Children
ILO:	International Labour Organization
JHS:	Junior High School
JSS:	Junior Secondary School
LEAP:	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty Program
MOGCSP:	Ministry of Gender Children and Social Protection
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
PRO:	Public Relation Officer
SAP:	Special Attention Program
UNCRC:	United Nations Convention of the Eights of the Child
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF STUDY

1.1 Introduction

“Childhood in African philosophical thought is considered as delicate as holding an egg in one’s palm. Holding the egg too tight crushes it, a careless holding of the egg may cause it to fall from the palm and be destroyed...” (Boakye-Boaten, 2010:109).

Children are considered to be the custodians of tomorrow’s world. The continuous existence of tomorrow’s world is dependent on its ability to socialize its children into responsible adults. The future of any society is dependent on the quality of its children and its dedication to their protection (Fortes, 1978; Opong, 1973; Boakye-Boaten, 2010). Thus, Kangsangbata (2008) cautions that, any nation wary of its future should take its children and their issues very seriously especially in cases where poverty and deprivation are pervasive. National policies should therefore prioritize the wellbeing of the child, their protection and development.

In the UNICEF (2012) report on *The State of the World’s Children; Children in an Urban World*, Anthony Lake emphasizes that, “disadvantaged children bear witness to a moral offense which is the failure to secure the child’s right to survival and participation in society. When society fails to extend to children the services and protection that would enable them develop as productive and creative individuals; it loses the social, cultural and economic contributions they might have made to the society” (2012: V).

In view of the above, the African family traditionally puts measures in place to ensure the survival and proper socialization of children. The survival of the child is the fulfilment of the fundamental kingship, political and religious obligation of the entire community. Children were thus valuable for the entire community, which had structures and systems in place to ensure their adequate growth and wellbeing (Fortes, 1978).

The extended family system served as the social capital of an individual, being the networks that the parents of a child relied on to ensure the proper upbringing of their children (Oppong 2004). Families engaged in practices of reciprocity and corporation to ensure that children are well catered for and socialized. In traditional Akan communities for example, kin members provided financial support for the upbringing of children (Clark, 1994). Among the Dagaaba and Ewe societies also, older members of the kin provided moral and financial contribution to the care of children (Nanbigne, 2004; Nukunya, 2003). Families socialized and bore the entire costs of the upbringing of the child. This was based on the principle that adult members were responsible for moulding and socializing children into responsible adults. In cases where the child is orphaned, or did not have both parents, there were traditional systems of fostering. Looking after a relation is part of the traditional customs (Fortes, 1978; Oppong, 1973).

Child protection and survival was not only the preserve of the family; the state also played an integral role. Past and current governments have come up with policies to ensure the safety and wellbeing of the child. There was for instance the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare in 1940, the Children's Maintenance Act in 1965, the Maintenance of Children Decree in 1977 and the Ghana National Commission on Children in 1979. Also, the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU), 1998, was formed to address violence against women and children and to provided support for children without fathers (Mensah-Bonsu & Hammond, 1994). Recently, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection developed and launched the Child and Family Welfare Policy (CFWP) in 2015. "The policy comprises laws, programs, services and structures which sought to promote the wellbeing of the child by ensuring safety and protection from harm, achieving permanency and strengthening families to care for their children successfully" (Child and Family Welfare Policy: p. IV).

Over the years, there have been changes within the Ghanaian family which have affected the care for children. Families have now become more nucleated. This has affected the extended family system which supported communalism and reciprocity in the care for children. Most scholars have linked this change to socio-economic transformations (globalization and modernization). Also, although the state has come up with policies and interventions there seems to be a problem with implementation. (Afrifa, 2010; Apt et al., 1998).

Many stakeholders; researchers, government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), individuals and the media have come to the realization of the problem of street children, but the condition is still prevalent because it has not received urgent and practical attention. Governmental policies do not amount to positive results because they are not challenged by internal or external elements and are also faced with proper implementation strategies. NGO's which intervene in the menace lament of inadequate resources to effectively deal with the situation. Thus children on the streets are increasing as the days go by (Boakye-Boaten, 2008).

Some of the works on street children in Ghana have focused on their vulnerability to sexually transmitted diseases (Anarfi, 1997; Wutoh et al., 2006), the sexual exploitation of boys and girls on the streets of Accra (Adomako et al., 2004), the strategies street children employ to survive on the streets (Orme, 2007), and their experiences on the streets (Boakye-Boateng 2008). The problem has also been linked to child labour (Kansangbata, 2008) just to name a few.

Street children are not a homogeneous group. They are engaged in different commercial activities including vending, cleaning cars and begging (Lalor, 1999). The study is aimed at

exploring a category of street children who have received little scholarly and public attention, yet increasing rapidly in many urban centres, children who beg.

Globally, discourses on child begging have been linked to parental irresponsibility, child neglect, poverty, child labour and religion. For instance, Kamruzzaman and Hakim (2015) explain that, in Bangladesh, child begging is as a result of parental irresponsibility and neglect. Ballet et al. (2010) posit that child begging in Antananarivo is an extreme form of child labour which is often spearheaded by the families of these children.

In Ghana contemporaneously, child begging is on the rise which is a deviation from normative begging which often involves disabled persons (Kassah, 2008). Could it be that the incentives from begging have attracted children into the act? Or perhaps, the influx of migrant families from neighbouring African countries who beg using their children have attracted Ghanaian children to engage in the act as most news outlets report? This study therefore investigates the push and pull factors associated with child street begging in the city of Accra.

1.2 Problem Statement

The breakdown of family care structure and improper implementation of governmental policies for children have resulted in the lack of parental oversight for many children. As a result, there has been a rise of children who spend time on the streets, with a whole lot of them taken to begging on the streets for survival. Elsewhere, it has been found that child begging is rooted in family pressures or change in familial structure, characterized by the breakdown of the extended family system and family cohesion, waywardness, lack of social conscience, social unrest and religion (Awatey 2014). Again, using children as beggars according to Owusu-Sekyere et al. (2018) has become a social and economic construction that mediates how poverty is dealt with in livelihood challenges. Children are forced to beg

mostly for single parents or non-biological relatives due to poverty. Also Delap (2009) associates child begging to child trafficking either by relatives of the child or by third parties.

In Ghana, begging is anti-social and considered criminal offence punishable by law under the Beggars and Destitute Act 1969; Section 2. This notwithstanding, the phenomenon is ripe in most urban centres. Beggars are thus often prone to abuse; whether children or adults. Generally, children who beg are more vulnerable as compared to adults because children lack resources of their own.

Children are to be nurtured, thus, they require a defined social structure which would enable them grow peacefully. The street is a place full of harshness and unpredictability. Thus children begging on the streets are denied their basic right to childhood (Boakye-Boaten, 2008), which is the right to be nurtured and protected into full and responsible adults.

Also, children begging on the streets is a violation of the child's right to education and wellbeing. This is because child beggars do not go to school as most of their activities take place during the day when schools are in session (Ballet et al, 2010). Education helps to develop the child's mental and physical ability, personality and talents to the finest degree and prepares him or her for an active adult life in society. Children street beggars are therefore denied this opportunity of self-development. If children miss the opportunity to develop fully as responsible adults the economy of Ghana is bound to face difficulties in some years to come since they represent the future social capital and human resource of the country. (Kangsangbata, 2008).

The street also poses a threat to the child. Shanahan (2003) emphasizes that, the street is integral in the life of a street child. Darko and Anyidoho (2003) in "Faceless" describe the street as a place of harshness, pain and complications. They argue that, the streets have a way of making half-baked adults out of children which results in vulnerability.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions guiding the study are as follows:

1. What kinds of families do children street beggars come from?
2. What is the relationship between children street beggars and their parents/guardians?
3. What are the pull and push factors for child begging on the streets?
4. Who do children street beggars account to?
5. What are the aspirations of the child street beggar?

1.4 Objectives

The main objective of the study is to interrogate the lifestyle and examine the aspirations of the child street beggar. The research specifically seeks to:

1. identify the family backgrounds of children who beg on the streets.
2. interrogate the relationship between children street beggars and their families' situation.
3. examine the reasons for begging from the perspective of child street beggars and their families.

1.5 Significance of the Study

“... The phenomenon affects the entire society which you and I are an integral part... these children are growing up outside the culture of bonding to a family. The physical and psychological detachment is to render them easily susceptible to survival through jungle street tactics and foul means. Then you and I who thought it was their problem alone wake up one day to the rude realization that we have no choice but to share one society with them” (Darko & Anyidoho, 2003:112).

Aside adding to the existing literature on street children, this study is very essential to the understanding of society some decades to come. As stipulated by Darko and Anyidoho (2003), it is important to grasp the effect of the street on children who are the custodians of tomorrow in order to understand the future. By looking at the totality of their lifestyle and their future aspirations, the study is crucial in understanding society some decades to come.

1.6 The Setting

Accra is the capital of the Greater Accra Region. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, the total number of people living in Accra represents 42% (1,665,086) of the whole country's population. Out of this, 48.1% are males while 51.9% are females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

Accra is an entirely urban city. It is the pivot of economics of the Greater Accra Region and the country as a whole. Accra houses numerous companies, manufacturing industries, financial institutions, educational facilities, telecommunication, health institutions, state institutions and other great establishments. These institutions provide employment opportunities for people in and out of the city thus, their presence is a form of attraction for both adults and children. It is therefore not surprising to see children loitering the streets to make ends meet (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

Street children are very evident on the streets of Accra. Statistics on the phenomenon shows that there is consistent increase of the numbers as the years go by. Boakye-Boaten (2008) reports that there are about 20,000 street children in the district of Accra alone. In 2011 a census organized by the Social Welfare Department reported that there are 61,492 street children in the Greater Accra Region with 50,997 of these numbers in Accra Metropolitan area (Department of Social Welfare, 2011). The numbers of street children keep increasing rapidly sending signals of the gravity of the problem.

Table 1.1: Distribution of street children in Greater Accra Region

Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assembly	Number of street children
Accra Metropolitan Area	50,997
Ga East Municipal Area	757
Nungua Municipal and Tema Metropolitan	5,768
Ga West Municipal	939
Dangbe West District	2,031

Source: Department of Social Welfare (2011), Accra

Out of the numbers on the streets of Accra, the 2011 census reports that 1% are below age 1, 18% are between the ages of 1 to 5, 24% represent the ages 6 to 10, 37% are between ages 11 and 15 and the remaining 20% represent those between the ages of 16 and 18. Males constitute 43% whereas females constitute 57% of this population (Department of Social Welfare, Ghana, 2011).

1.7 Definition of Terms

- Child

The 1998 Children’s Act defines a child as any individual under the age of 18. The CFWP takes cognizance of this definition but adds a traditional definition. Traditionally a child is anyone who is to a greater extent dependent on an adult for survival (Department of Social Welfare, 2011). A child in the context of this study is therefore any individual under age 18 who needs to be cared for and socialized.

- Street children

This study adopts UNICEF’s definition of street children. Street children are children under age 18 who spend most of their time on the street sometimes using it as a place of accommodation and work (Department of Social Welfare, 2011).

- Begging

The International Labour Organization defines begging as “a range of activities whereby an individual asks a stranger for money on the basis of being poor or needing charitable donations for health or religious reasons. Beggars may also sell small items or run small services in return for money that may have little to do with the value of whatever is sold or service run” (Delap, 2009:3).

- Child beggar

For the purposes of this study, a child beggar is any individual under age 18 who spends most of his or her time on the streets asking strangers for money or running services in return for money which has little to do with the value of the service run.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The research is organized into six chapters. Chapter one gives the background to the study, the problem statement, the research questions and objectives, the significance of the study, the setting and finally the definition of basic terms that run through the work. The second chapter presents a review of relevant literature on systems of child care, street children and children beggars. It also contains the conceptual framework.

The third chapter contains details of the methodology used in conducting the research. Chapter four is a discussion of the themes which emerged from the findings.. Chapter five looks at responses and interventions to the problem whiles the final chapter concludes the study and outlines the challenges and recommendations for policy makers and further studies on the phenomenon.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Child begging is a recurring phenomenon in urban centres globally although it thrives mostly in developing countries. Across the globe, although there are several child related policies, the phenomenon is still thriving (Fuseini, 2016). This section presents a review of literature on systems of child care in Ghana and other African countries. As children beggars are under the category of street children, literature on the street child, the categorization of street children and the causes of the phenomenon and its characteristics would also be reviewed. Also discussions on child street begging and Islamic child begging is reviewed in this section. The chapter also contains a discussion of the theoretical frameworks for the study.

2.2 Systems of Child Care in Ghana

Child care is very essential to the development of the child. This section looks at child care under the traditional family, child care during the phase of changes in the traditional family system and some social protection policies of the state in relation to child care.

2.2.1 The traditional Family and Child Care in Ghana

The Ghanaian society of a century ago is not the same as today (Nukunya, 2003). There have been tremendous changes which has affected the totality of society and the lining underpinning the family (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1994; Nukunya, 2003). The family as society's basic unit has undergone structural and functional modification. Thus to understand present social conditions, Nukunya argues that there is the need to make reference to yesterday.

Most scholars have argued that, the concept of family to the African is difficult to conceptualize in precise terms. Siquana-Ndulo (1998) explains that, family in the African context does not conform to the Western understanding which refers to the conjugal pair with their offspring or adopted children; rather it is a much complex term. It is not surprising that Hume (2008:48) says that “it is difficult for the African to distinguish siblings as to the womb they came from”, because in the African parlance there is no word to connote “cousin”; cousins are siblings.

Nukunya defines the family as “a group of individuals related to one another by ties of consanguinity, marriage or adoption; the adult members of which are responsible for the upbringing of children” (2003:49). He further explains that the term family and kinship is one that could be used interchangeably. Meaning anyone part of a kin group could be classified as family which is sometimes termed as the extended family.

Benneh (1994) therefore asserts that, the nuclear family does not work in exclusion in the Ghanaian society and other African states. Residential patterns and polygamy could affect the concept of the nuclear family (a man, his wife and children living under one roof). Parents could be living in different households and each child may live with one parent at a time. Among the Asantes’ for instance, after marriage, a husband or wife may continue to live with their own kin group. In the same vain, a husband could live with his wives and children or a wife may live with her husbands and children (Nukunya, 2003). This arrangement defeats the Western notion of family.

The extended family is very peculiar to the African (Ezewu, 1986). This is because of the belief in collectivism rather than individualism. Thus the extended family serves as an individual’s social capital and a cushion in times of adversity (Oppong, 2004; Suda, 1997). Suda further explains that the role of the extended family was in line with keeping to culture

and tradition. Hence, close relatives were expected to take initial responsibility to provide children and other poor relations with food, shelter, clothing, health care and education (socialization). Yet, inferring from Nukunya's argument on the makeup of the extended family, one can invariably say that the extended family is a makeup of several nuclear families. Thus, the nuclear family is a subset of the extended family.

In indigenous African societies, children played vital roles in the family system. Nukunya asserts that a family without children does not constitute a family and further explains that in many societies although it is not encouraged, it is possible for couples who are not customarily married to procreate and raise children. For example, Atobrah (2004) recounts that among the Krobos, children and large families were cherished to the extent that fathers encouraged their daughters not to marry but take lovers and bear children for them. Oppong (2004) says that children were considered the darling of the family as Suda (1997) likens them to wealth, source of power, prestige and blessing from God and the ancestors.

Child care was not the preserve of the biological parents of a child. It was done collectively by adult members of the family. Although a child's own parents are responsible for its maintenance, they do not take as exclusive a share in its upbringing. A child grows in a household where there are many adults and older children. In the traditional Kamba of Eastern Kenya for example, children were of high value, they belonged to everyone in the community and as such were not the exclusive responsibility of the extended family but also the larger clan of the nuclear family (Mair, 2013).

Families engaged in practices of reciprocity and corporation to ensure the proper upbringing of a child. In traditional Akan communities for example, kin members provided financial support for the upbringing of children (Clark, 1994). Among the Dagaaba and Ewe societies also, older members of the kin provided moral and financial contribution to the care of

children. Families socialized and bore the entire costs of the upbringing of the child. This was based on the principle that adult members were responsible for moulding and socializing children into a responsible adult (Nanbigne, 2004; Nukunya, 1969). Community members were also concerned about the upbringing of children. According to Opong (1973) this was practically due to the belief that children did not only belong to their biological parents but the entire village or community. Thus members of the community felt obliged to assist biological parents in the care process.

The extended family system also made provisions for child fostering. Opong (1973) asserts that in the 1960's and 1970's ethnographic and comparative studies revealed that fostering of children by non-parental kin was very intensive and common in African societies. Large proportions of children may grow up in the houses of aunts, uncles and grandparents as a result of explicit arrangements made between adult siblings and grandparents.

Children with deceased parents (orphans) were not left out in the fostering process. Ansah-Koi (2006) argues that, children with only one deceased parent were not classified as orphans since remarriage could occur. Although, such children could be fostered with the permission of the living parent especially in cases where the living parent does not have the needed resource for child care. Frimpong-Manso notes that the kinship foster care was based on the values of altruism, reciprocity and the fear of reprisal from deceased kinsmen. Care for children with deceased parents (orphans) was mainly as a result of the fear of the spirits of deceased parent, especially the deceased mother who watches how her child is treated and rewards with calamity foster parents who neglect their charges (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). Atobrah (2004) recounts that, among the Krobos', grandmothers were very essential in the fostering of orphaned children. The Konkombas' also distributed orphaned children to the agnatic kin of the deceased man, and the Shona of Zimbabwe also practice same (Ntozi, 1999). Fostering was not only limited to orphaned children as members of the family

who are rich were required to take care of children whose parents could not afford the brunt of child care.

In as much as children were very important to the traditional African family, Frimpong-Manso (2014) argues that there were cases when the rights of the child were infringed upon. This was because children were considered properties. Systems such as trokosi, female genital mutilation, and early marriages were some of the traditional practices that caused harm to the child. Suda (1997) also argues that in polygamous homes, children were likely to face abuse where there are problems of jealousy, conflict and insufficient resources.

2.2.2 The changing family and childcare in Ghana

In his forward to the book ¹*Family and Development in Ghana*, Ian Howie asserts that recently, the fabric underpinning the family is breaking (under attack). Badasu (2004) laments that in contemporary Accra, there is a complete breakdown of the practices, norms, groupings, relationships, solidarities and customary laws guiding the institution of marriage. Families are becoming more nucleated undermining the extended family system. The extended family is weakening as a result of the larger social, cultural and economic transformations. As changes in the family and family relationships occur, other integral aspects of family life as well as the traditional provision of many children have been undermined.

Scholars such as Opong (2004), Ardayfio-Schandorf (1995) and Nukunya (2003) have argued that societal change is as a result of the forces of globalization (colonization, money using economy, urbanization, industrialization, modernization, formal education and increased communication). Addai-Sundiata in critiquing this notion argues that, looking at

¹ Benneh, G. (1994). Family development in Ghana: An overview. *Family development in Ghana*, 5-12.

change through the forces of globalization paints a picture of change using a macroscopic lens, yet, he goes on to perpetuate what he was critiquing. Thus the forces of change have not been looked at in a microscopic lens. He explains that industrialization calls for mobile labour and as such the extended family system places restrictions on mobility. Thus, there is the need for a reduced family size. As family size decreases, it has fewer functions and its allegiance to other family members is curtailed. This breaks the extended family system of communalism and pushes individualism (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1995).

Neoclassical economical terms which focus on profit maximization has been very instrumental in weakening indigenous systems. Many authors have argued that, structural programs to meet global standards of trade and capitalism have been instrumental in dislocating and disrupting many families leading to role shifts and conflicts in the family (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1994; Lingam, 2005). There is an influx of women heading many households. This is due to loss of employment, lack of sufficient income for home management, increased alcoholism and domestic violence against women. Women have therefore taken up the double burden of domestic work and heading households (Lingam, 2005). Ardayfio-Shandof says that the situation of female headed households is prevalent in urban centres than rural areas. This is because in rural areas there is still the practice of, if not all, some systems of reciprocity and communalism. Female headed households are the poorest because developmental projects do not factor them due to the notion of the male breadwinner. The maintenance of children could then create considerable burdens for women when they have to shoulder the maintenance burdens. This situation is much prevalent in the urban areas than the rural areas where cooperate solidarity of the extended family is still intact. Thus in the new economy, Brown (1995) argues that children have become less of an asset and become more of a burden.

In addition, social change has affected marital institutions like polygyny. Suda (1997) further argues that polygyny seems to be no more but in actual sense people still practice it in an un-institutional way by taking new partners. Nukunya (2003) asserts that, polygyny is expensive in urban areas where cost of living is very high. People who are interested in taking multiple partners do so illegitimately causing disagreement between partners. The result to this is a broken home which greatly affects children.

The change in family structure has affected child care. The practices of care have been thrown into disequilibrium as the extended family system keeps on weakening by the day. Some may argue that the drift towards more nucleated families would afford parents the responsibility to concentrate more on the proper upbringing of their biological children, but; the new trend of family only favors children whose parents can provide in the new system of cash economy. What then happens to children whose parents do not have the adequate means of support? Nukunya (2003) argues that in today's Ghana, many people who can afford to help family relations do not go beyond their parents, siblings and sibling's children.

In an attempt for governments to improve the living conditions of people by adopting various strategies, there has been changes in family structure giving rise to female headed households. (Ardayfio Schandorff, 2006). The rise of female headed households results in women taking responsibility for the brunt of child care. Female headed households lack resources, this is because among several variables that contribute to access of resources, a person's status in society is vital. Women represent the marginal group and therefore have the highest incidence of poverty in Ghana than men. Also Female Headed Households thrive on low income activities in the informal sector thus many scholars have equated households headed by women to poverty. Mensa-Bonsu (1994) says that the resources of a family are very important because it translates into the quality of life that children would enjoy. If the resources are meager, then children tend to suffer a disability in the enjoyment of amenities.

Furthermore, children from homes where parents are irresponsible and do not have the wellbeing of their wards at heart become broken. This is due to the fact that, they are often left on their own and are exposed to risks such as child labour, sexual exploitation and teenage pregnancy (Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1994). Darko and Anyidoho (2003) in *Faceless* echoes the plight of such children through her main character who is faced with adversities as her mother keeps on telling her to go because she does not belong with her.

Traditional systems of child fostering have also been affected. There is the introduction of new forms of fostering which provides less security for the child. Fostering has been monetized and institutionalized. Institutionalizing fostering is quite problematic as the introduction of foster homes are not properly regulated and well-resourced both with capital and professional human resource. Afrifa (2010) explains that, children whose parents cannot take care of them are abandoned to find their own means of survival. Children in such situations are taken to institutions of fostering which may or may not promote the wellbeing of the child as such institutions are often underfunded.

Indeed, as families change, children who are the most vulnerable of society are those who suffer the most. They are either left on their own to fend for themselves or are faced with issues of abuse.

2.2.3 Social protection policies for children in Ghana

Child care is not only the preserve of families. The state recognizes the importance of caring for children thus colonial, post-colonial, and today's governments have set up organizations which have come up with policies and initiatives for child protection.

European missionaries were the first group to provide assistance for children instead of the extended family in Ghana under colonialism. Their activities were mainly centered on caring for children who were abandoned, orphaned, infirmed or had certain cultural

inhibitions which prevented them from being raised. Their activities stretched to urban centers where the kinship system of fostering was not in existence (Hill, 1962; Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

At the advent of colonial rule, Apt and Blavo (1997) argue that the focus of the colonial government was not on child welfare. The provision made for children was more focused on residential care. The Children Care and Reformation Ordinance of 1928, permitted juvenile courts to put juvenile delinquents, orphans and neglected or abused children under age fifteen in reformatory (Apt & Blavo, 1997).

In 1940, there was the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare (DSW). Child welfare therefore got a bit more attention. The DSW was basically established for reformatory purposes and industrial training for juvenile delinquents. This was aimed at inculcating in children the need to lead an industrious and honest life (Apt et al, 1998; Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

Although the colonial system made provision for children, Frimpong-Manso argues that their style was foreign and detrimental to the needs of the indigenous people. The system he explains was incompatible with the values, structure and concepts of childcare in the traditional system as it failed to indulge the extended family system utterly disregarding its responsibilities in the care of children (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). However, what Frimpong-Manso failed to acknowledge was that, society had undergone rapid change under colonialism. People had been indoctrinated toward the western style of living and therefore the extended family system was not as strong as it was before the advent of colonialism. Many Ghanaians were involved in migration to urban centers to seek new opportunities for modernization, while others were gaining western education and there was the introduction of different kinds of work. For example, there were high rates of north to south migration

which had implications for the migrant (mostly males) and the one left behind (mostly females). Those left behind often faced hardships when they have to bare total responsibility for the household (Awumbila & Ardayfio-Schandof, 2008). There was therefore the need to put systems in place to take responsibility for the changes in the traditional system. Hence, one could argue that, the colonial provision for children was compatible with the new structure of society at the time.

After independence, developmental approaches of governments focused more on economic growth with the underlying assumption that, there would be massive elevation of persons from poverty which would trickle down to children (Baldassar et al., 2014). In post-independence Ghana, Aryeetey and Goldstein (2000) explain that there was a massive industrial infrastructural development in urban centers after colonial rule. This resulted in a boost of the economy though it brought about the proliferation of male migrants from rural to urban centers. In as much as there was an increase, Baldassar et al. (2014) argue that the concept of child welfare development was not prominent until the realization that the quality of life of a child is equally important to the general wellbeing of a nation hence there was the need to put in place strategies for their survival. In 1961, the then Ghanaian government made available provision of funds to initiate child sensitive policies such as the Education Act which made basic education free and improved the school enrolment of children (Baldassar et al., 2014).

The introduction of Structural Adjustment Programs in Ghana during the 1980's due to economic hardships and political instability, affected women and children most (Awumbila, 2006; Oppong, 1987). Child protection policies took a new turn. There was the adoption of the child welfare provision employed during colonial period. Residential care continued as the main form of provision for children who were in need of alternative care (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

There was also the enactment of the Maintenance Act which was to deal with paternity and maintenance issues in 1965. The act faced challenges as there were difficulties in accessing income. The Maintenance of Children Decree was therefore passed to replace the Maintenance Act in 1979. This law was established to adjudicate on child maintenance by setting up family tribunals and by so doing made both parents liable to the maintenance of their child or children as well as registration of deaths and births (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

Also, in 1979 the ministry of Foreign Affairs established the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) to protect the welfare and development of children and also to coordinate agencies that provided child services and also to advise the government on child legislation. The GNCC was short lived as it lacked funds. It therefore became ineffective (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

In 1990, Ghana became the maiden country globally to ratify the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The 1992 constitution therefore mandated parliament to enact child related legislation guided by the tenets of international human rights instruments. A five-year plan labelled “The Child cannot Wait” was also implemented from 1993 to 1997 to reflect on the provisions of the UNCRC to circumstances of children in Ghana. What the government did not take into consideration was implementation. Thus like the GNCC the plan was not fruitful (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

Again, in 1998, there was the establishment of the Children’s Act which Frimpong-Manso (2014) and Laird (2002) describes as an imitation of the 1989 Children’s Act of England and Wales. Laird argues that Ghana sought to enforce a legislation of the UNCRC which was initiated and examined by the welfare and legal professionals of the British 1989 Children’s Act bringing about the resemblance between the Ghanaian Children’s Act and

the British Children's Act. He further asserts that the resemblance could also be as a result of donor agencies having influence on structuring policies they fund (Laird, 2002).

The Ghanaian Children's Act had as its main focus to reform and consolidate the law in relation to children, to provide for the rights of the child, maintenance and adoption of the child and to regulate child labour and apprenticeship. It recognizes that children's right to life, dignity, respect, leisure, liberty, health, education, and shelter is very paramount to the proper development of every child. The rights of parents to their child or children are also made evident. Parents have the responsibility and right, be it imposed by law or otherwise, to protect the child from neglect, discrimination, violence, abuse, and exposure to physical and moral hazards just to name a few. In all, the best interest of the child must be of paramount concern. Laird (2002) argues that although the act is a reflection of the UNCRC, it is confronted by cultural and socio-economic factors which are different from that of Britain or America. For instance, with the principle of the "best interest of a child", Britain and America emphasize autonomy and individuality in the protection of a minor whereas Ghanaian culture stresses on communal obligation and needs. Thus, a girl dropping out of school may be in her best interest if income is raised to cater for the education of a boy who is believed to be the future breadwinner of the family (Laird, 2002).

The Children's Act became the main law governing child welfare in Ghana. It brought into existence laws to regulate child care facilities and also paved way for other child welfare legislation such as the Juvenile Justice Act (2003) and the Human Trafficking Act (2005) (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

There was also the launch of the Care Reform Initiative which was a component of the national plan of action for orphaned and vulnerable children in 2006. This initiative also took up a United States approach. It was to strengthen the capacities of families through

support services in order to keep children within their original families and communities (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

In 2008, the Government of Ghana with support from the World Bank and the Department for International Development (DFID) launched the ²Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty program (LEAP). This is a social cash transfer initiative that provides cash and health insurance to extremely poor households across the country. LEAP makes use of targeting with the help of the Ghana Living Standards Survey to draw a map in locating districts and communities to be selected as beneficiaries of the program. Indeed, targeting is good but Baldassar et al (2014) emphasize that targeting can leave out and include those who are not really in need of help. For example, the poverty map of the beneficiaries of LEAP points to rural communities, this does not mean that all persons found in urban centres are well to do yet the urban poor do not often benefit from the LEAP program. Debrah (2013) argues that, the initiative is assumed to have a trickling down effect which means that, when the financial capacity of the poor has been strengthened, the surplus would be recorded in the form of increased school enrolment among children, reduced infant mortality rate and improved nutrition and health of the child. He contends that, any poverty-reduction strategy that focuses on cash distribution to the extreme poor will not bring about change in their livelihoods because it perpetuates the problem it is designed to solve. There are social and cultural underpinnings which need to be addressed, therefore, the distribution of money is definitely not the best solution. Although LEAP may provide for a short term need, children are still dropping out of school and the poor continue to remain poor (Debrah, 2013).

² Information for LEAP was obtained from ghana.gov.gh

After Ghana gained independence, education was one of the main focus of succeeding governments. In 1961, there was the introduction of the Education Act which introduced the legislation for compulsory universal primary education and the abolishing of tuition for basic education. However, the impact on education was not greatly felt across the country (Acheampong, 2009). Recently, in fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals which stated that children everywhere should be able to complete basic education, most African countries, Ghana inclusive, embarked on a tuition free education in order to accelerate the progress towards education for all. Through the free education policy, there has been an increase in child enrolment although some children are still faced with socio-economic challenges and are therefore not enrolled. Household demand for schooling depends on the different ways in which they perceive their valuable assets which includes human capital, how they assess investment risk in education and how they weigh opportunity cost, cultural values and social norms. Therefore, educational policies with the intention of improving access for the poor should understand the socio-economic challenges they face (Acheampong, 2009).

To get more children enrolled in school, the Ghana School Feeding Program was started in 2005 as an initiative of the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program which emphasized food security and reduction of hunger in line with the United Nations Millennium Development Goal on hunger poverty and malnutrition (mogcsp.gov.gh/).

Recently, the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP) with support from UNICEF came up with the Child and Family Welfare Policy (CFWP) in 2015. In her introductory note, Nana Oye Lithur who was the then Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection, emphasized that, previous child protection policies were modelled under Anglo Saxon traditions and models. She stated that for child protection policies to work efficiently in Ghana it needs to reflect the different traditions, cultures, values and resources

of beneficiaries. The CFWP was therefore formed out of the views expressed by various stake holders to have a policy system fit for Ghana in order to address issues holistically (MoGCSP, 2015).

The CFWP conceptualizes children into two (constitutional and traditional) that is, a person under the age of eighteen and also a person who is still largely dependent on an adult for the necessities of life. Mainly, the policy refers to the family and social structures mainly in the rural areas where the traditional institutions of family heads, chiefs, queen mothers and elders are still prevalent. In urban centres it looks at community structures which include the District Assembly and other state institutions to which children and families have recourse. The main rationale of the policy is to provide guidance to the reform of child and family welfare programs and activities and establishes a coherent system (MoGCSP, 2015), yet it fails to recognize new forms of families which are in urban areas such as female headed households and the nuclear family.

Indeed, there are a lot of governmental policies and interventions for children yet, children still suffer inequalities and are left on their own to fend for themselves. Could it be as a result of inadequate enforcement of implementation of policies or as a result of lack of funding that these policies do not seem to work for its intended purposes? Oye Lithur stated that the MoGCSP is underfunded. She mentions that in 2014, the ministry received as little as 1.53% of the national budget which was inadequate to run the affairs of the ministry (MoGCSP, 2015).

2.3 The Street Children Phenomenon

The phenomenon of street children is a worldwide problem which spans from continent to continent. This section presents a discussion on the phenomenon.

2.3.1 Defining the Street Children Phenomenon

According to Scanlon (1998), the term street children was first used in 1851 by Henry Mayhew in his work “London Labour and the London Poor” although the term gained popularity after the United Nations year of the child in 1979. Before that, they were regarded as homeless, abandoned or runaways. Their conceptualization of the phenomenon was concentrated on two characteristics, their contact with family and their presence on the streets (Scanlon, 1998).

The phenomenon of street children is a global concern which is growing rapidly in developing countries. Numerous urban capitals and centres over the world have become an oasis of survival for many children who are in distress. Boakye-Boaten posits that it is the greatest problem of social welfare in the world at large and Africa in particular. The condition of children living and working on the streets have become a social problem making people conscious of the gravity of the issue (Boakye-Boaten, 2008).

Glauser (2015) argues that the phenomenon is a social problem because street children as well as adults who use the streets for commercial purposes do not use the streets for the purpose for which the streets were created; a channel through which one circulates in order to go from one point to the other. Shanahan (2003) asserts that, street children have been regarded as a problem because they defy the basic understanding of social life. The family is the basic unit of society and children need to grow within it, thus, children who are outside the family structure are considered anomalous. However, there are some street children who have their families on the streets as both mothers and fathers of such children also live on the streets. The question then will be whether street children who find themselves in such categories are growing outside the family structure? Street children are considered an affront to the normative perceptions of childhood (Shanahan, 2003). Boakye-Boaten (2008) says that the issue is problematic in Ghana because of rural urban income disparity, rapid

urbanization, breakdown of the extended family system, single parenthood and sexual abuse. Meaning that, the street children phenomenon would keep growing as a result of these factors.

Street children have been perceived as the negative other. They therefore suffer violence as this negative other must be eradicated to preserve society. They are considered a disease which must be eradicated off the streets (Ennew & Kruger, 2003). Kansgsangbata (2008) describes street children as children who by virtue of being handicapped, delinquent or victims of all forms of child abuse and neglect, find themselves in search for the basic necessities of life; food, shelter, clothing and emotional comfort, on the streets. They may also refer to children who spend most of their time on the streets whether working or not, with strong, weak or no families at all and have developed survival strategies to survive on the streets. Ennew (1994) cited in Boakye-Boaten (2008) describes them as children for whom the streets have become their home rather than their family and are thus without adult supervision or direction and protection. Anarfi (1997) describes them as persons under the age of eighteen who spend a significant portion of their time on the streets working or living. Glauser (2015) cautions that in as much as the term street children is used to describe children with a special relationship with the streets, they are not a homogenous group. Anarfi (1997) and Lalor (1999) argue that they are members of smaller subgroups or subcultures hence they cannot be homogenous.

The intensity of the problem of street children varies in magnitude with respect to context. In sub-Saharan Africa compared to other continents, there has been a significant rise in the numbers of street children living and surviving on the streets. In 1986, the United Nations Department of International, Economic and Social Affairs estimated that there were about thirty to one hundred and thirty million street children worldwide (Scanlon, 1998). Adeyemi & Oluwaseun (2012) also report that, there are about several millions to over one hundred

million street children in the world with estimates showing that, twenty-five to thirty million are in Asia, ten million in Africa (showing a tremendous rise from the 2004 estimate of twenty thousand) with Latin America taking the highest proportion of a forty million.

Lalor (1999) argues that globally, there is a higher tendency for street children to be boys than girls. This is because girls do not last long on the streets due to the hardships the streets present. In Columbia for instance, 75% of street children are boys with 25% being girls. Ethiopia has the same percentage of 75% boys and 25% girls of street children. The 2011 census on street children in Accra reports that, there are more females on the streets of Accra as compared to males. Females represent 57% against 43% males (Census on Street Children in Greater Accra, Ghana, 2011).

2.3.2 Categorizing Street Children

Most scholars have identified with UNICEF's three categories of street children. Confusions surrendering these categories have to do with labelling. Whilst some authors such as Anarfi (1997), Scanlon (1998) and Kansgsangbata (2008) label these three categories as children "on" streets, children "of" the streets and abandoned children, others such as Glauser (2015) and Lalor (1999) categorize them as children "in" the streets, children "of" the streets and children at risk. Adomako Ampofo et al. 2004 classify street children in Ghana into two; children on the streets and children of the streets. The only clear label is the children "of" the streets category. Differentiation is made in relation to the kind of relationship the child has with the streets as well as with the family

Children "on" and "in" the streets refer to children who are engaged in some form of economic activity on the streets for purposes of the upkeep of their families. This category has family connections, live at home and even sometimes attend school but are sent to the streets by parents or care givers or go on their own accord to supplement family income. On

the other hand, children of the streets are boys and girls who see the streets as their homes. They may have family ties but seek shelter, food and a sense of family among their companions on the streets or they may have completely broken ties with their families and live on the streets. Lorry stations, markets, entertainment centres amongst other public spaces constitute shelter for them. They often constitute the smaller group and are also involved in economic activity. Abandoned children are those who have lost or have no family ties at all. They often depend on each other or street surrogates for survival. Children at risk are defined as the reservoir from which street children emerge. (Anarfi, 1997; Glauser, 2015; Lalor, 1999; Kansgsangbata, 2008).

Glauser (2015) argues that there are conceptual problems in categorizing street children. His argument is centered on the children “of” the streets and children “on” or “in” the street categorizations. He posits that, the two categories have one commonality, the streets. There are many children whose situation does not fit easily into either category. In his research in Asuncion he discovered that although some street children have connections with the home (family) and may be considered children on the streets, they sometimes spent the night on the streets to attend to dawn customers in order to make more money and go home in the morning. Also, the number of children who stay at home and on the streets increases and reduces seasonally. For instance, in Asuncion, children who stay on the streets increase during the summer and reduce during the winter. It is inadequate therefore to classify children on the street since they share much of the life of the children of the streets (Glauser, 2015). Shanahan (2003) argues that most children in Ghana do not fit into the categories of “on” and “of”. He explains that, those who have kept contact with their families share much of the life of the children of the streets. They could spend the nights anywhere in the streets, stay up late, get little sleep and are exposed to the harshness of the streets. He further asserts that, a child who spends much time on the streets goes home with the streets. At what point

then does a child move from children on the street to children of the streets? How can we also classify contact; is it when the child goes to his family physically or through phone call or probably through a third person? These classifications are indeed confusing.

In their conclusion to their work on Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Street Children in Rural communities undergoing Urbanization, Owoaje et al (2009) suggested that children who go onto the streets mainly due to their desire to be with friends or to seek pleasure should be put in the category of children “about” the street to distinguish them from the children “on” the street category.

Again, the assumption that children “of” the streets spend all their time on the streets is problematic. According to Glauser, children “of” the streets do not spend all their time on the streets. They may spend a lot of time in shelter homes or with relatives or someone else who takes temporary care of them before returning to the streets. They may also spend time in jail between their periods on the streets. There are also children born on the streets to parents who were born on the streets. These children spend considerable time with their family on the streets (Glauser, 2015). What category would these ones fall under? Terms used to describe street children are imprecise because they overlap, yet it is imperative to classify street children to understand their characteristics, feelings, situations and the problems they face (Glauser, 2005) which will eventually aid in taking constructive decisions to help curb the phenomenon. Shanahan (2003) posits that when street children are labelled into categories, they are denied any sense of agency. The most powerful player in the life of a street child is the world’s description of who he or she is. To the world, they are often referred to as runaways and throwaways to lay emphasis on the notion that many of these children are escaping domestic crisis (Anarfi, 1997).

Furthermore, street children have been sub-categorized into street living children, street working children and children living with families. Street living children represent children who live on their own on the streets. Children who spend time on the street working to earn money for themselves or their families and do not have a home to return to at night from the street working child subcategory. The last category are children who by default live with their families on the streets (Department of Social Welfare, Accra, 2011).

The 2011 Census on Street Children in Accra classifies street children within the region into four different groups namely, children born on the street, migrant children, urban poor, the street mother (Department of Social welfare, Accra, 2011). The table below shows the classification and its description.

Table 2.1: Classification of Street Children; the Greater Accra Regional Census

Classification	Description
Children born on the street	Children born on the street and living on the street with their mothers or family.
Migrant children	Children who have left their homes, mainly from rural and peri-urban areas of Ghana to city centres, and are living and working in the street. They are not under any adult control but are living with other children on the street.
Urban poor	Children who work on the street to augment family income or fend for themselves. They usually go back home after the day's work. Some of them attend school but go to the street to earn money purposely for education
Street mother	Any girl under the age of 18 who is living on the street having a child or children.

Source: Department of Social Welfare (2011)

2.3.3 Causes of Street Children

The International Labour Organization (ILO) gives three causal analysis of street children; immediate, underlying and structural causes. Immediate causes consist of a sudden drop in family income, loss of support from an adult family member due to illness, death, abandonment or an episode in domestic violence. The underlying causes represent chronic impoverishment, cultural expectations, desire for consumer goods or the lure of bright city lights. Lastly, the structural causes are those related to developmental shocks, structural adjustment, regional inequalities and social exclusion (Ennew & Swart-Kruger, 2003)

Indeed, street children have different reasons for being on the streets. The causes range from the promise of excitement in freedom of city streets to the casualties of economic growth, war, poverty, loss of traditional values, domestic violence, physical and mental abuse. In Kenya for instance, the causes of street children have been traced to the civil unrest dating back to the Mau Mau rebellion for independence (Adeyemi & Oluwaseun, 2012).

Another factor that causes the phenomenon of street children is family structure. According to Adeyemi and Oluwaseun, (2012) the number of children in a family can push children onto the streets. From their arguments, some parents give birth to more children than they can cater for which results in insufficient care. Awatey (2014) records that 86% of the street children in Kumasi come from households with more than four children. Limited resources in a large family would result in competition for the available resources. Hence, when care is insufficient, children are then pushed to find other means to supplement for the insufficiency resulting in most of them ending up on the streets. Another form of family structure that can be a cause of street children is the one that has both mother and father working out of their locality. In cases where parents work outside the areas of their home, children are more vulnerable to negative peer influence especially when there is no available supervision (Owoaje et al, 2009).

Societal customs are also factors that can lead to the phenomenon of street children. This is often true in cultures which assumes that fathers should be the sole providers of the family. In such instances, when the father fails in his duties, children are likely to end up on the streets as their mothers do not engage in any form of economic activities to supplement for care (Adeyemi & Oluwaseum, 2012).

The causes of street children vary from culture to culture. They may even vary within regions or areas within a particular country. In Brazil, drought, rural urban migration, unemployment, population growth, economic recession and violence have been named by Scanlon (1998) as the causes of the phenomenon. Also, Lalor (1999) explains that in Ethiopia the main cause of the phenomenon is extreme poverty and family disharmony due to being orphaned and displaced. Some children therefore come to the streets in order to make money whereas others come to the streets because there is nowhere to go (Lalor, 1999). Kenya has a different scenario. Majority of street children in Kenya are children whose parents were themselves street children (Adeyemi & Oluwaseum, 2012).

Kansgsangbata (2008) argues that in Wa, capital of the Upper West Region of Ghana, the main cause of street children is poverty. She explains that poverty forces children to work full time on the streets sometimes to fend for themselves and their families. Again, children living with single parents, most of which are females, with more than two children in the household end up on the streets because their fathers or mothers are the sole providers. From her findings most street children in Wa are driven unto the streets mostly by female relatives; aunts, mothers and sisters whilst few proportions of the children go onto the streets on their own. Child neglect has resulted in children fending for themselves. Some guardians also see children working on the streets as a form of training ground for the child. She posits that, to some guardians in Wa, no amount of free education would make them stop sending

children unto the streets since it translates into cutting off the source of daily food supply (Kansgsangbata, 2008).

In Accra, Orme (2007) presents a not too different picture from Kansgsangbata's observation in Wa with regard to the causes of street children. He states that, whilst some children are from intact families, they migrate to urban streets for economic reasons or for adventure. Others come to the streets as a result of the demise of parents, poverty, sexual abuse, violence, neglect and divorce of parents.

The pattern of internal migration making the north a source of labour for the south is a reflection of precolonial and postcolonial policies which has moved people from the north to the south. There is an influx of female children from the northern part into the southern part of Ghana as a result of sociocultural factors, poverty and education. These children mostly end up as *kayayei* on the streets of urban cities (Wilson & Mittlemark, 2013).

2.3.4 Characteristics of street children

Street children are the most vulnerable groups of the urban poor. Although they have some common characteristics with the urban poor, they have their own distinguishing characteristics (Ibrahim, 2012). According to Adeyemi and Oluwaseun (2012), the obvious characteristics of street children is that they are poor hence, their needs and problems are as a result of wanting to meet basic needs for survival.

On an average street children range between the ages of 9 and 12. At age 15 and 16, most of them start leaving the streets in search for more stable work to engage in (Ibrahim, 2012).

Latin American street children fall within the ages of 10 to 18 years (Scanlon, 1998) In Lusaka, Oyo State in Nigeria, Owoaje et al (2009) report that the age range of street children falls between 15 and 17 years. However, Boakye-Boaten (2008) records that, the mean age of street children in Ghana ranges between the ages of 10 and 15.

The gender of street children varies with respect to culture. In developing countries, Adeyemi & Oluwaseun (2012) report that, there are more females on the street as opposed to boys in developed countries. The World Health Organization (WHO) contradicts this report by placing the proportion of girls among street children to be less than 30% in developing countries. Females are less represented owing to family sanctions; the control of girls are higher than boys. Also girls are mostly likely to end up as house helps or with someone who controls prostitutes (Ibrahim, 2012). The study in Lusaka puts the proportion of girls at 20%. In situations where the proportions of female to male is more, Owoaje et al (2009) observed that there is a strong family connection. Also, female children may be less than male children because of the kind of work they engage in which tends to be less visible than the work of street boys (Lalor, 1999).

Street children lack moral, culture and tradition because they usually are not connected to the family. Lugalla & Mbwambo (1999) cited in Ibrahim (2012) describe street children as culturally rootless. This statement might be true in situations where children do not have connections with any responsible adult figure. Lalor (1999) observes that Ethiopian street children defy the perception that street children are non-conformist. They are less involved in delinquency and are more likely to retain traditional values such as respect for the elderly and belief in religion. Again, Ennew and Kruger (2003) asserts that, street children have religious allegiances and have learned some livelihood skills which may be more useful than what children may learn in a regular school. Also there are some street children who by virtue of street work have been able to see themselves through school of which little is heard about (Ennew & Kruger, 2003).

In addition, street children have high adaptable capacity. Gillgan (2003) cited in Orme et al. (2007) in his work with “At Risk Children in Scotland” notes that, the most vulnerable children can withstand hardships when they have social support. Street children thus, have

complex relationships to ensure their survival on the streets. For instance, they sleep in groups and experienced street children serve as a resource to new comers. They form peer groups which play the role of family and are a source of solidarity, economic and emotional support. Each group has a group leader who is obeyed by the members in the group. Girl groups are different from boy groups (Orme et al., 2007). Often the leader of the girl group has sexual relations with a boy who can offer protection (Boakye-Boaten, 2008; Ibrahim, 2012). In South Africa, many street children have been reported to be very resilient and autonomous because they have social support from other street children in the form of acceptance, understanding and companionship (Orme et al., 2007).

School going attitude of street children varies. For instance, a substantial number of street children in Lusaka attend school due to the fact that majority of them have contact with their families. However, Owoaje et al (2009) posits that these children who do attend school are likely to abandon their education in the near future due to lack of adult supervision and street influence. Kansgsangbata (2008) reports in her study that most children drop out of school once they start earning some money.

Also, street children are faced with several health burdens. They are subject to sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS due to unprotected sexual behaviours. Girls who give sexual favours for shelter often cannot refuse unsafe sex. Also, girls are often faced with sexual abuse resulting in teenage pregnancies and HIV/AIDS. Malaria is a common occurrence among street children on the streets of Accra because they sleep in the open and are therefore exposed to mosquitoes (Orme et al., 2007).

Street children do not have permanent places to sleep. They sleep on pavements, close to shops, malls under bridges, cinemas just to name a few. Some girls prefer spending the nights with boys because they are more vulnerable to sexual abuse (Ibrahim, 2012). Another

distinctive feature of street children is the use of narcotics. In Accra, although the use of narcotics has been recorded to be on a minimum level street children sniff glue and use other forms of drugs (Orme et al., 2007).

Representing the poorest in societies, street children own nothing except the clothes they wear and what they earn during the day. The only asset street children have is their health so that they can manage to generate income to cover their daily needs (Ibrahim, 2012). Street children engage in menial jobs such as being labourers, vendors, domestic servants, beggars and prostitutes. Their choice of work is dependent on the nature of the reward as well as age, gender, ethnicity and informal network. They work for long hours and are paid very little amount which is barely enough to cater for food and health (Enew & Krugar, 2003).

2.4 Child Begging

The phenomenon of begging is a worldwide problem although it is much prevalent in developing countries. Begging as defined by Lynch (2005) is “the solicitation of a voluntary unilateral gift most often money in a public place”. Begging is often linked with deviant behaviours such as theft, violence, criminality and vandalism (Namwata et al, 2012). In England, begging is illegal and has been considered a problem since the 1980’s. Also begging in most Australian states (Queensland, Tasmania, Victoria, Northern territory and South Austria) criminal and punishable by imprisonment or a fine. The Australian Vagrancy Act 1966 provides that any person who begs or gathers alms or procures or encourages a child to beg or gather alms shall be guilty of an offence with a prescribed penalty of one-year imprisonment and a second subsequent offence of two years’ imprisonment with a fine (Lynch, 2002). In Ghana also, begging is unlawful and punishable under the 1969 National Liberation Council Decree 392 (Kassah, 2008). Sayibu (2016) argues that, the law is inadequate because it exempts persons under the age of seventeen. Meaning that it does not

provide a means of preventing the involvement of children in the activity. Aside it being unlawful, the practice is regarded by many Ghanaians as stigmatizing and devaluing (Kassah, 2008). Sayibu (2016) argues that, families detest having their relations beg for alms because of the negative stigma which extends to the larger extended family. The question then is, in a society where begging is stigmatized, how did it ever change? Societal transformation, poverty and unemployment have eroded family solidarity. The poor now engage in begging at places which are not close to their families resulting in most rural to urban migrations (Sayibu, 2016).

Street begging is a social problem that has become a major source of concern. As people migrate from rural to urban places without having appropriate means of survival, they are faced with deprivation thus as a means of survival, they end up begging (Bello et al, 2012). Whilst poverty has been a major indicator of the reasons why people beg, other factors such as physical disability, mental illness, drugs, alcoholism and gambling are also important motivations for begging. There is also the belief that people who beg are those that lack skill and have limited self-esteem (Stones, 2013). In apartheid South Africa, Stones (2013) identified that many people beg because of unemployment, poverty, disability and the quest to further their education. Kassah (2008) argues that, the prevalence of begging may be as a result of how beggars justify the act. In his studies on disabled beggars in Ghana, Kassah concludes that, disabled persons justify begging as work because of their conditions and the difficulties they faced in their employment, schools and society at large. Thus, begging has become a means of income supplementation which is necessary for survival (Bello et al 2012). According to Stones (2013), begging to those who engage in the practice is a more acceptable form of satisfying ones needs as compared to engaging in criminal activities such as theft, drug dealing or prostitution. Beggars feel they lack skills to do anything else aside begging. They lack self-esteem (Stones, 2013). Beggars are so comfortable to beg that they

do not feel the need to work. According to Bello et al. (2012), begging in Northern Nigeria is common and is sustained by the belief that alms solicitation is the only means of possible survival.

Begging could be constructed as a win-win situation between the alms giver and the alms receiver. The receiver gets substance and the giver gets blessings. Alms giving is also a religious practice. For example, Muslim religion requires that, the entire Muslim educational system should be run by begging for food, clothing and materials for education. In such instance begging is seen as a form of socio-religious function believed to instil humility into the child (Abebe, 2008).

Namwata et al. (2012) group street beggars in four categories: beggars on the streets, beggars of the streets, beggars in the streets and beggars of street families. Beggars on the streets are those who spend the day begging on the streets for themselves or family. They often maintained family ties and do return home in the evening to sleep. From their study, most beggars in this category are children. Beggars of the streets are those who live and sleep on the streets after begging. They do usually have loose family ties therefore; they go home occasionally. Beggars in the streets are those who have completely been detached from their families and have drifted into the act of begging. The fourth category represent beggars who have their parents also as beggars and therefore were raised on the streets. They are established beggars (Namwata et al, 2012).

In Ghana, the trend of begging is changing from for instance disabled persons and adults without employment to children. A report by Seth J. Bokpe on the 6th of July 2017 on Graphic Online indicated that, children from slum communities in Accra and migrants within and outside the country had invaded the streets of Accra begging to feed themselves and their families. Child begging is a grave issue that spells an extreme form of abuse and

exploitation of the child. The International Labour Organization (ILO) reports 2006 and 2008 suggest that, children are trafficked into begging in Asia, Europe and Africa specifically West Africa. Reports have it that boys are made to beg in exchange for learning the Quran in boarding schools (Delap, 2009).

Child begging can be classified under child labour. The ILO defines child labour as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, which is harmful to their physical and mental development (Delap, 2009). The 1998 Children's Act of Ghana identifies that; children must do some domestic work for their families. The question then is whether begging on the streets fall under domestic work?

With the UNICEF categorization of street children, child beggars have been associated with the children "of" the street category. They have generally fled from home. Again, child begging has been analysed based on specific cultural context for instance in countries where there are Quranic schools. These schools make children beg as a form of learning activity. In such cases child begging is not considered under the problem of child labour because it is viewed as a religious activity. Child beggars are children in difficulty or danger. Child begging is generally viewed as one survival tactics among many street children (Ballet et al, 2012).

The 2009 Anti-Slavery International report on *Forced Child Begging* suggests that children may beg as a result of being forced to do so or out of their own free will. Children may be forced to beg either from family members or as a result of being trafficked into begging. The report explains that, the act of using a child for the purpose of begging could be designated as the worst form of child labour under the ILO convention. Forced child begging is an illicit activity. The report splits forced child begging into two categories; children who are forced to beg by their families and children who are forced to beg by a third party either

due to being trafficked or any other means (Delap 2009). For example, Islamic begging could be a form of forced child begging. In Senegal, there are numerous *talibes* (koranic students or disciples) on the streets who are engaged in begging. Children especially boys who go for training do not pay for accommodation, studies and food, instead, they are sent on a daily basis to beg for alms on the streets for their tutors (Delap, 2009).

Again children could indulge in begging as aids to physically challenged persons especial those who are visually impaired. In the Dodoma Municipality in Tanzania, for instance, Seni (2017) observed that, visually impaired adult beggars are guided by young children between the ages of five and thirteen. These children could either be related to the beggars or could be neighbors to them. They assist with or without payment and their activities span throughout the day. As children are used as guides to blind beggars, it is detrimental to their survival since they are vulnerable and more so do not have access to basic education. These children according to Seni (2017) do end up as beggars in their adulthood.

Hegemonic ideas of childhood include nurturing in homes and private spaces, thus, children who do not occupy such spaces have defied the notion. They are regarded as deviants and in other instances as vulnerable victims, although this is always not the case. Children who beg have their own social lives. They depend on interpersonal social relationships to enrich their experiences of childhood. And also, they have a considerable amount of personal and group agency from which they develop their livelihood strategies (Abebe, 2008).

Children tend to beg up until age fourteen. From age fourteen and above, children loose the sympathetic appeal. They are no longer classified as cute. (Lalor, 1999; Ballet et al, 2010). In Antananarivo begging was limited to children below ten years therefore children start begging on their own at age four and five. Children below age four who beg are mostly accompanied by relatives or an adult because they have no sense of autonomy. Although

girls engage in begging, it is often for a short period of time because they end up finding other means of work from age ten and above (Ballet et al, 2010). Thus Ballet et al. (2010) argue that majority of children beggars in Antananarivo in Madagascar are mostly boys.

Ballet et al (2010) highlights that, child begging is an integral component of family activity. Majority of child beggars live with their families. Child beggars may also have parents who beg. In Madagascar, only 11.9% of children below fifteen years do not live with their parents. The author's hypothesis is that children who beg in Antananarivo are mainly exploited by their parents because they go home at night. The income they make is therefore a means of survival for the family. What they did not take into consideration is the fact that some children beg without the knowledge of their parents and go back home in the evening. For instance, in Lusaka, Nigeria, children who beg do so in the absence of their parents (Owoaje et al, 2009).

Although their survey suggested that children who beg do not go to school because their activities take place during the day, Ballet et al. posit that, there are some children who beg after school. They argue that, children who beg after school do so voluntarily to acquire consumer goods like those of their peers who are well to do (Ballet et al, 2010). Not all children beg full-time. They often combine it with other activities such as selling gum, tissue papers and many others (Abebe, 2009).

Most children who beg on their own exhibit a certain degree of independence, bravery and persistence. Persistence is an important virtue for survival. Children beggars do not take "no" for an answer. They are often very persistent. Children also acquire skills through their street activities such as the ability to count and spatial orientation. Children do not beg in the neighbourhood where they live. They go to other places they deem to be lucrative.

Majority of them also do not beg in places that are close to their homes. They go to places twenty minutes' or more walk away from their homes (Abebe, 2009; Ballet et al, 2010).

Children have different begging strategies. Some engage in lone begging where they use the monies they earn on their own. They also engage in group begging, verbal begging, singing and written begging. Some children are very verbal at begging thus emerging children beggars associate with them in order to learn the act. Group begging does not spell communalism since new members of the group are supposed to serve the older members. The variety in begging strategies is because children have different reasons which keeps them in the activity (Abebe, 2009). For instance, in Ghana, Kassah (2008) postulates that, the strategy disabled beggars adopt is their positive justification of begging. They classify begging as work and as such have developed skills which helps them work effectively.

Child beggars also have developed strategies to avoid their marginal position. Abebe (2009) observes in his study that, children who beg often isolated themselves in response to hostility. They also engaged in the use of slang. Child beggars see begging as a short term means in response to public perceptions. At a younger age they are seen as victims and as they grow they are perceived as dangerous. Thus, child beggars refer to the activity as temporary (Abebe, 2009).

2.5 Islamic Child Begging

Every religion in some way encourages alms giving but the magnitude varies from religion to religion. In Islam alms giving is so important that it is entrenched in the five pillars of Islam as Zakat. The objective of alms giving is to purify the soul of the Muslim from greed and from being a miser. Muslims believe that alms giving increases their wealth and value. Due to Zakat, some scholars, the media and the general public have linked begging with Islam because it encourages alms giving. Thus it is assumed that giving alms encourages

begging (Victor, 2011). In Ethiopia for instance Abebe (2008) recounts that non-Muslim women begged in mosques on Friday by disguising themselves with the hijab so they could benefit from alms givers. In reality, Victor (2011) posits that begging is neither a profession nor a career in Islam. In fact, it goes against the provision of the Quran which teaches that a person who continually begs might appear without a face on judgment day.

Again there is an assumption in Nigeria which is based on the notion that many people who beg have a Hausa origin (Victor, 2011). Victor argues that this notion is not a true reflection of Islam on begging. Islam provides principles, procedures and models on how to earn a living. Islam encourages earning a living through legitimate means (Victor, 2011).

Child begging has also been linked to Islamic schools (Victor, 2011). The context of Islamic child begging occurs in a traditional religious education setting, migration and poverty. Parents have sent their children to Quranic schools for training in Qur'anic studies since time immemorial. These Qur'anic pupils have focused on their studies coupled with assisting in cultivation. Begging was performed to collect meals from community families. There has been a shift from the norm of these Qur'anic schools. Tutors have taken advantage of the vulnerabilities of children and the absence of state regulations by twisting the religious education into a system of exploitation (Wells, 2010). In reality, Islam frowns on the use of children to beg as a means of earning for a family. It discourages work that affect the physical, mental and psychological development of the child (Victor, 2011).

Islamic child begging is a manifestation of child neglect and child destitution. It is a form of child abuse. In Nigeria Quranic pupils are called Almajiri whereas they are called talibês in Senegal. These pupils, often boys, are supposed to be educated in the basics of the Quran to prepare them to live a chaste Muslim life. There has been a shift from the practice. Children who were supposed to be educated are now seen on the streets carrying bowls for

alms negating the purpose of the practice. Rather than developing the capabilities of the child, children are subjected to abuse, neglect and exposed to lurking (Aluaigba, 2009; Wells, 2010)

In Senegal, reports from the Human Rights Watch (Wells, 2010) records that, about 50,000 children (talibés) attending Quranic schools are faced with extreme forms of abuse and neglect from their teachers (malabouts). Talibés are exploited into providing for the marabout. While talibés live in abject destitution, the malabouts enjoy affluence from considerable sums they demand from the children in their care. Talibés are forced to work for about 10 hours a day from morning to evening. It is a common sight to see boys below the ages of twelve weaving their way through traffics, waiting at shopping centres, dressed in filth and holding bowls in wait for alms (Wells, 2010).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The study makes use of Bowen's family systems theory and the resilience theory in trying to understand the total life style of child beggars as well as the pull and push factors for the phenomenon.

2.6.1 Family Systems Theory

The family systems theory was developed by Murray Bowen in 1988. The theory provides a way of conceptualizing human behaviors through relationships. The theory was developed mainly for treating anxiety through family therapy (Brown, 1999; Johnson et al, 2010), yet, for the purposes of this study, the theory would be adapted in order to understand children's choice of begging based on the kinds of family relationships they have

³Bowen sees the family as an organism having parts that are greater than the sum of its individual parts. Each part is emotionally dependent on each person. Functioning within the

³ www.isskhk.org/files/3_6_3_FI_Bowen_theory_pdf

family is influenced by emotional interdependence which is more than one could ever imagine. The individual's social, physical and emotional functioning is a reflection of the emotional process in the family.

Also, he argues that the actions of individuals are not solely under their control but are often rooted in learned behaviours. The individual's functioning can therefore be understood in the context of his or her relationships. Often within the family, adult members are the most influential therefore their actions and inactions have an impact on younger members. In as much as this may be true adult members are also affected by younger members in the family system (Brown, 1999).

Rothbaum et al (2002) argue that, due to the interdependence of emotions within the family, when the family system fails, the individual, be it an adult or a child is affected. The family system is said to fail when the individual cannot relate to the emotional feedbacks of members within the family. For instance, if an individual no longer feels care and affection within his or her family, the family system has failed the individual. Persons may react differently to the failed family system. Bowen mentions that in such circumstances individuals may engage in emotional cut off; distancing themselves (Brown, 1999). Yet, his theory does not cover how people adapt in adverse situations after they distance themselves.

Over the years the traditional Ghanaian family system has evolved. Families have become more nucleated which has weakened the extended family system. There is an influx of female headed household and some families have migrated into urban areas, hence they have little or no contact with the larger extended family which has resulted in the creation of new forms of extended families (see Ardayfio-Schandorf, 1994; Nukunya, 2003). In as much as there are changes within the family structure, there are trade-offs of emotions and anxieties within these new family structures. Oppong (2004) argues that, the absence of

care, which is suffered by a growing number of children as a result of the breakdown of indigenous family systems of child care endangers their humanity, human rights, physical and emotional survival. Hence, the family systems theory is relevant in understanding the forms of anxieties and emotions parents and children pass unto each other in this era of change.

2.6.2 Resilience Theory

The first wave of resilience in the social sciences emerged in the 1970's. Pioneering investigators were inspired by the dramatic individual cases of resilience among individuals carrying high risk of developing problems due to trauma, poverty, parental psychopathy or hazards or risks and disasters (Masten, 2011).

Resilience has been defined in the ecological paradigm as health despite adversity. A constructionist approach to resilience is the outcome of negotiations between individuals and their environment (Ungar, 2004). It has also been defined in the field of health as a “response to intense life stressors that facilitates healthy functioning” (Ballenger-Browning & Johnson, 2010). Resilience again has been defined as the positive adaptation in situations such as violence and poverty. When a person is able to quickly adapt or adequately respond to adverse circumstances, that person is termed to have a high level of resilience (Van Brenda, 2010). For resilience to occur, Masten argues that there has to be two components; risk or threat and positive adaptation (human agency). She defines resilience as doing well despite adversity or risk (Masten, 2011). Resilience is the opposite of vulnerability. In the case of vulnerability, people are not able to respond adequately following risk, hazard or disaster.

According to Van Brenda (2010), studies on children who were born into adverse conditions have been identified to demonstrate high levels of resilience. In a study conducted in Hawai

in 1955, Van Breda argues that children who were assessed to be at risk had developed into confident adults by the age of 18. A follow up research on these children in 1988 showed that almost half the sample had created successful healthy lifestyles although they were handicapped (Van Brenda, 2010).

Resilience can be measured in different contexts. The problem arises when positive outcomes are associated with resilience. Ungar argues that, the body of literature on resilience does not help in predicting whether at risk children would thrive in their development or will experience behavioural problems. He explains that, what constitutes normalcy, positive or good adaption, deviance and health may not necessarily be the same to different individuals. In his work with troubled teens, Ungar discovered that for many of the children, patterns of deviance are healthy forms of adaptation (Ungar, 2004).

The resilience theory is relevant in trying to solve the puzzle with regard to children's choice of begging. Could begging be a form of positive adaption for the child and his family in situations of poverty or could it be the child's own choice after deciding to move away from his family.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the research design, sources of data, data collection method, sampling procedure, interviews, focus group discussions, and challenges with data collection. Ethical considerations and data analysis procedure is also featured in the chapter.

3.2 Research Design

There are many possible research designs; however, the relevance of the selected research design is highlighted in the type of data to be collected, the variables the data is being gathered on and the use of the data (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). In relation to data type, three research designs emerge as the most commonly used research design. These research designs are; quantitative research design used when collecting data on variables that can be quantified or measured; qualitative research design which entails gathering data on unquantifiable variables; and mixed research design which combines both quantitative and qualitative research approaches (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). According to Creswell and Creswell (2017) research design is about the plans and procedures used in identifying participants, gathering data and analysing data.

As the study seeks to unearth underlying rationales and lifestyle of children street beggars, the most suitable approach for the purpose of the research was the qualitative research approach. According to Mason (2002), qualitative study helps to explore a wide range of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginations of research participants and also the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work. Ospina (2004) argues that qualitative research helps the researcher generate meaning through the systematic study

of things in their natural setting. Using an array of dimensional methods such as interviews, focus group discussions, case studies, and observations, qualitative studies helps to unravel underlying issues of how things work in a given context. It allows respondents to give their understanding of the social world (Mason, 2002).

3.3 Preliminary Study

Due to the sensitivity of the research topic, the researcher conducted a preliminary study which lasted for a month, to test the research instruments (interview guide and observation guide) and also to identify how prospective respondents would respond to the researcher. Furthermore, the preliminary study was vital in the selection of the study area which were mainly spots around traffic lights and intersection.

3.4 Study Area

Three hot spots were identified through the preliminary study. The traffic light intersection around the Kotoka International Airport which is popularly known as Opeibea, the traffic light interchange between the University of Ghana, Legon and East Legon commonly called Okponglo and finally, the traffic light interchange around the Accra City Hotel which has been nick named Novotel (Tema Station). These traffic light intersections have a common feature which is notability for heavy traffic during mornings and evening. The justification for choosing Greater Accra Region stems from the fact that, the Region is the Capital of Ghana and has the most of children on the streets as beggars.

3.5 Sources of Data

The study made use of both primary and secondary data. Primary data are data collected for a specific research problem using procedures that best fit the research problem (Hox & Boeije, 2005). With the use of research strategies such as interviews, focus group discussions, drawings and observation, first-hand information was collected from children

beggars. Also secondary sources were very relevant in the study. Hox & Boeije (2005) posit that secondary data points the researcher into targeting specific areas. Secondary data was therefore collected from books and journals.

3.6 Sampling Technique

Gathering of data is very critical in research, thus, it is imperative that selecting the way data should be obtained and from whom is also taken into consideration (Tongco, 2007). Schmidt and Hollensen (2006) defines sample as the selected group that represents the study population while sampling is the process of identifying the selected group to be interviewed from the study population. The study employed the use of purposive sampling. Purposive sampling as defined by Tongco is “the deliberate choice of an informant based on the qualities they possess” (2007:147). According to Creswell (2009) purposive sampling helps in selecting individuals who have experienced the central phenomenon. The selection of my research participants required a purposeful selection of children street beggars with peculiar characteristics which is made evident in the inclusion criteria in 3.6.1.

3.6.1 Inclusion

From the preliminary study, the researcher observed that, there are different kinds of child beggars on the streets of Accra. There are those who assist an adult beggar, those who beg with the watch of their parents and those who beg on their own. Interesting to note also is that, there are children street beggars from other African countries like Niger begging with their parents on the streets. For the purposes of this research, only Ghanaian children between the ages of ten and fifteen who beg on their own and were regular beggars participated in the study. The age group was chosen because, after visiting the study areas, it was realized that, most of the children who beg on their own fell within that category. Therefore, children who fell below or above the age category were eliminated from participating in the study.

Again, the selection of children was based on their willingness to take the researcher home to interview a parent. For purposes of this research, a parent is any adult figure in the life of the child who serves as a guardian. This was adapted to aid in triangulation. In-depth studies of five boys and their families were involved in the study. This is consistent with the literature on child street beggars which posits that at age ten girls do not actively indulge in begging because they find other forms of domestic work or engage in prostitution (see Abebe, 2009 and Ballet et al 2010). Thus it was realized that, most of the children who beg were boys.

3.6.2 Exclusion

Children street beggars who were above the age of 15 were excluded from the research. According to Fuseini (2016) at age 15 and above children are no more children and could be classified as adolescents. Also children who were not willing to take the researcher home were excluded from the research. Those who assisted adult beggars and those who also begged at the watch of their parents were also excluded.

3.7 Research Strategy

The research employed varied research instruments in order to get a comprehensive perspective of the phenomenon under study. The instruments include observation, interviews and focus group discussion.

3.7.1 Observation

⁴Scientific observation allows the researcher to record behavioral patterns of people, objects and occurrences through witnessing with the human senses. It enables the researcher to provide a pictorial image of the situations under study. A wide variety of information about the behavior and organization of people can be obtained through observation since it

⁴<https://faculty1.coloradocollege.edu/...observation>

presents the people under study in their natural setting. Behavioral patterns such as tone of voice facial expression organization patterns can be obtained through observation. It allows for the systematic recording of nonverbal behavior and can help create a detailed record of people's activity. It also provides the researcher with ways to check for non-verbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other and check for how much time is spent on activities (Kawulich, 2005).

Observation was very important in the study. The street is a community made up of hierarchies and behavioral patterns (Darko & Anyidoho, 2003). Through observation, the researcher was able to identify how children street beggars organize themselves in order to discover the appropriate means to approach the child. Also, the appearance of the children, how they relate with each other and other people on the streets, the methods they employ in begging, their sleep patterns and where they sleep was noted. Again observation helped the researcher establish the kind of relationship between the child and their parents and also the reception of parents towards their children when taken home. Children's mannerisms when they are with their parents were also observed. The kinds of houses and surroundings parents lived in were also noted through observation. Note taking was done during the process of observation.

3.7.2 Interview

Another key research strategy adopted was the use of interviews. Talking with people is an excellent way of gathering information (Longhurst, 2003). Einarsdottir (2007) explains that children, like adults, have their own world perspectives thus they have their competences and the right to be heard. Children he explains have their own imaginations and fantasies hence carrying out interviews with them would have to be in the form of conversations in order to decipher what is fantasy and what is real to the child. In view of this, the semi

structured interview style was adopted for this study. Semi structured interviews involve talking with people in a way that is self-conscious and partially structured. Interviews are about talking, listening and giving credence to what people have to say. It's about being non-judgmental and creating a comfortable environment for people to share. Semi structured interviews allow an open response from the participants in his or her own words. Most importantly it is structured in a conversational manner (Longhurst, 2003).

Hutz and Koller (1999) argue that before the commencement of any interview, it is important to build trust with the participants. To achieve this purpose, the researcher visited the children informally and had conversations with them. One key activity that helped develop trust between the researcher and the children at Opeibea was that on the 23rd of January during the first session of informal visits, two of the children were sick, and so getting the details of their condition, the researcher was able to acquire first aid from the nearest pharmacy to help ease their pain. Through the Opeibea experience, children from the other two streets warmed up easily as the researcher developed a strategy of going on the visits to the other streets with one boy from Opeibea. Building trust with the parents was not very difficult. Coming home with their children was a good enough reason for them to trust the researcher.

Three types of interview guides were prepared; one for the child and another for the parent of the child. The last one was for organizations which work with children. According to Hutz and Koller (1999), when conducting interviews with street children, the interviewer must pay close attention to the fact that children's responses are affected by their environment. It is imperative on the researcher to identify a place where children would not be interrupted by the presence of street adults, their peers, gang leaders, pimps or the police. Interviews were therefore conducted in areas chosen by the child. Most of the selected places for the interviews were between three to five minutes' walk away from the designated spot

of begging. This helped to avoid other children from disrupting the interview and to give the child more confidence during the interview. Children were asked questions about their families, their day to day activities, why they chose to beg, how they ended up begging, their educational background, their future aspirations and what they spend their monies on. The interview with parents took place mostly in their homes which made privacy very easy to achieve. Family support system, income distribution, knowledge about children and discipline as well as their aspirations for their children were the questions that the parents were asked. Organizations that were interviewed were chosen with the help of the participants who mentioned that, they had received some form of help from these organizations. Vanguard assurance and Special Attention Project were the two organizations mentioned by the children.

Interviews were recorded and notes were taken as well. Hutzs and Koller (1999) posit that, street children do not mind being recorded although after the interview session time must be allotted to make them hear themselves since it makes them happy. Permission was granted to the researcher by the participants (children and parents) before recording the interview. After recording, the interview was played for the children to listen to themselves and just like Hutzs and Koller (1999) posited, the children were very excited when they heard their voices.

A total of five in-depth cases were carried out. The initial intention of the researcher was to do an in-depth interview of about ten children. This was not realized because of some challenges faced during data collection. Mobility coupled with availability to interview a parent made it difficult to interview a large number of children. Some children after an interview moved to another location because they did not want to go home. Others run away the moment they saw the researcher approaching. Hence, there was the need to cut down on the number of children to be interviewed. Each child was visited at least three times. This

was done to check the validity of the information gathered during the first interview. From the preliminary study it was realized that street begging children have different stories on different occasions, hence, it was imperative to validate the information gathered by going on several visits. Interview with parents were done face to face after which subsequent conversations were done through mobile communication. Also, the Public Relations Officer, the director and a member of the Department of Social Welfare, Accra, the Special Attention Program and Vanguard Assurance respectively, were interviewed. Table 3.1 presents a breakdown of participants by their ages, street and the parent interviewed whereas table 3.2 gives a breakdown of the parent interviewed.

Table 3.1: Breakdown of Participants (Children)

Participant	Age	Street	Parent interviewed
Kesse	14	Opeibea	Mother (Adjoa)
Mohammed	11	Tema Station	Mother (Alima)
Addo	13	Opeibea	Step-father (Kofi)
Emma	14	Okponglo	Mother (Aku)
Kwei	15	Okponglo	Mother (Mansa)

Source: Field data, 2018

Table 3. 2: Breakdown of Participants (Parents)

Participant	Age	Location	Occupation
Adjoa	26	Nkawkaw	Trade
Alima	44	Kasoa	NA
Kofi	52	Alhaji-Isreal	Mason
Aku	32	Okponglo	Trade
Mansa	35	Dansoman	NA

Source: Field data, 2018

3.7.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions have been identified by Longhurst (2003) as a very important research strategy because it allows a group of individuals who share common characteristics

to explore a subject from as many angles as they please. The idea behind focus group is to stimulate a discussion among a group of people who have things in common and feel relaxed about talking to each other. Einarsdottir (2007) states that, interviewing children in a group is good for the child since it allows them interact with each other and remind each other of things they may have forgotten. The method was chosen because it allows the researcher gather a lot of information within a short period (Longhurst, 2003).

With focus group discussions it is important to decide where to conduct the interview or focus-group meeting (Longhurst, 2003). Discussions were held at a park and in a school.

Two focus group discussions were conducted. There were six children in each group. Children were made to draw their future families as well as their future jobs after which the researcher engage in discussions pertaining to the drawing with participants. The use of drawing was efficient in enabling the researcher have a pictorial representation of the thoughts of the participants. Table 3.3 is a breakdown of focus group participants.

Table 3.3: Focus Group Participants

Name	Age	Street
Group 1		
Badu	14	Opeibea
Abu	15	Opeibea
Abbeku	14	Okponglo
Kumi	14	Okponglo
Ebo	15	Okponglo
Kwashie	13	Opeibea
Group 2		
Divine	14	Tema Station
Edem	14	Tema Station
Senam	13	Opeibea
Ali	14	Tema Station
Kofi	15	Opeibea
Fiifi	14	Okponglo

Source: Field data, 2018

3.8 Data Management

Recordings were transferred onto a password protected laptop to ensure that the information gathered was safe. Only pseudo names were used for the transcribed documents to ensure that the identities of the participants were not revealed.

3.9 Data Analysis

Qualitative data needs to be analyzed in a methodical manner in order to enhance meaning, thus, thematic network analysis was adopted. The essence of thematic network analysis is to facilitate structure and the depiction of related themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Basic themes were developed from the transcribed interviews with the aid of the interview guide. These themes were then grouped under twelve organizing themes which were organized under three broad themes; the family, total lifestyle and experiences of the child beggar and the aspirations of the child beggar. These themes were developed in juxtaposition with the objectives of the study as well as the issues raised from the literature review and were very useful in providing direction for the data analysis.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

One issue with conducting research with street children is the difficulty in getting parental consent before proceeding with obtaining information. This is largely due to the fact that street children are “autonomous” (Hutz & Koller, 1999). Ethical consent was therefore received from the University of Ghana Ethics Committee. Again, an introductory letter was received from the Institute of African Studies to assure the organizations interviewed of the authenticity of the researcher. Also, participants of the study were given an extensive but simple explanation about the purpose of the research. It was explained to them that the research was in fulfilment of a university thesis work. Individuals were therefore under no obligation or pressure to join the study if they did not wish to. Also participants were given

the opportunity to withdraw from study at any point of the research. Parents were reassured of the anonymity of their identity. Participants were informed before the use of gadgets such as voice recorders. No pictures were taken of any child. Pictures taken were of their environment.

3.11 Field Challenges

One major challenge faced was issues with mobility of child street beggars. As postulated by Adebisi (2009), factors such as high levels of mobility amongst child beggars make it difficult to explore the topic. The children confirm that they are very mobile and that their movements were based on what they termed as “availability of market”. When they fail to get enough money at a location, then the “market” is bad so then, they move to a place with good “market”. This made it difficult for them to keep their appointments with the researcher. Also, some children moved to different locations after the researcher had interviewed them to avoid going home. It was difficult tracking them as their friends always come up with several locations and stories when asked about their whereabouts. To address this issue, the researcher visited participants daily at different hours to keep track of their movements. Also many of the locations mentioned were visited though it was unfruitful most of the times.

Another challenge was getting them to take the researcher to interview their parents. For instance, after Kesse had scheduled a day and time to take the researcher home to see his mother, he was nowhere to be found on the agreed day. It took the researcher three more weeks to track him.

Also, due to the perception that children street beggars were criminals, it was quite difficult to find a place to interview them. There was an instance where we found a place for an interview but were driven away by a security man. What the researcher devised to overcome

this challenge was to interview the children at spots where they spent the night or spend the day when they were not begging.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FAMILY, LIFESTYLE AND ASPIRATION OF THE CHILD

STREET BEGGAR

4.1 Introduction

The phenomenon of child begging is a total lifestyle. The objective of the study was to examine the life of the child beggar in order to understand the phenomenon. Five child beggars as well as five parents were interviewed to that effect. In addition, data was gathered from two Focus Group Discussion (FGD), six children in a group. This chapter presents discussions on the family, the total lifestyle and aspirations of the child beggar. These are broader themes under which sub themes have been developed to help understand the broad themes.

4.2 The Family of Children Street Beggars

This section contains discussions on the types of family children street beggars come from, issues of fostering and the relationship between the child beggar and his family.

4.2.1 Types of Families identified

Children street beggars come from different types of family. Table 4.1 below gives a description of the types of families these children come from.

Table 4.1: Family type

Participant	Type of family
Kesse	Female headed household
Mohammed	Female headed household
Addo	Male headed household
Emma	Female headed
Kwei	Male headed household

Source: Field data, 2018

Out of the five children interviewed as shown in table 4.1, three of the children who participated in the study come from female headed households (FHH), and two come from male headed household (MHH). There are several reasons which results in FHH. Kesse's mother (Adjoa), a twenty-six-year-old mother of three explains that;

“When I gave birth to Kesse I was twelve years and in JSS1, his father did not take responsibility for the pregnancy although I know where he lives I am the one who takes care of him. His other siblings are both of different fathers who also fled after I conceived. I am the one who shoulders all the responsibilities” (Adjoa)

Adjoa's story is no different from that of Emma's mother (Aku) who is a disabled mother of two sons with different fathers. She told the researcher that she was still waiting for the fathers of her sons to return since they had promised her of their return after they inform their respective families about her pregnancy.

Mohammed's mother (Alima) has eight children, seven of these children have the same father who is deceased. The last child has a different father who abandoned her after she got pregnant.

“Mohammed's father is dead. He was much older than I am. I had seven children with him and after he died I met the father of my last child who promised to take care of me and the younger children since the older ones are married but after I got pregnant he left us” (Alima).

From the narratives, the causes of FHH were identified as separation of spouse, demise of the male partner and men abandoning their partners after pregnancy.

Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf (2008) argue that poverty is gendered because the ways through which people become poor vary from experiences due to the positions they hold in the society. For instance, women represent majority of poor people because they often indulge in occupations that pay less and are lowly valued. The Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) 6 report in 2014 showed that most women lack the necessary requirement to be employed in various formal sectors due to lack of education and training thus they are

mostly found in the informal sectors. Inferring from this statement one can argue that, female headed households represent majority of the poor. This is due to the fact that they lack resources as they shoulder all the responsibilities of child care with the low income they earn from their occupations. The narratives from the research establishes that FHH indeed do lack enough resources to shoulder all the costs that come with child care.

“I sell bread at the Nkawkaw station. By the end of the day my profit is meagre and I end up spending the capital I would use to buy the next day’s bread but I do manage to take care of my children” (Adjoa).

“I only sell charcoal. Initially when I could walk with a stick I used to a lot of gifts from people especially when I go to church but now I am unable to since I can no longer get up. The money I make from the charcoal is not enough to take care of my two children so with Emma I don’t take care of him” (Aku).

Alima does not engage in any trade activity. When the researcher asked her how she took care of herself and her child who was with her at the time of research she responded that;

“I sometimes do “balabala” (begging) and there are times I go to my elderly children but they too do not have enough” (Alima).

Clearly these women lack enough resources to bear the cost of child care. How much income can one make from hawking bread or selling charcoal or even begging? They all alluded that the profits they make from their occupation is not enough to bear the cost of care.

Another indicator that points to the poor state of the FHH’s which was identified is the kind of houses these women live in. Adjoa lives in a single rented room with her children, the only furnishing in the room as at the time of interview is a bed and two plastic chairs. In Alima’s house, the only chairs available were stools the same applies for Aku who lives in a wooden house. Figure 4.1 below is an exterior of Aku’s house.

Figure 4.1: Exterior view of Aku's house



Source: Field data, 2018

Kwei has a father who is a taxi driver and an unemployed mother. According to Kwei's mother (Mansa), her husband is a responsible man who provides for the household although she is the one who is often in the house with the children. An interesting revelation she gave was that because neighbours like to talk about her children especially Kwei, she locks them up in a room whenever she is going out.

“My neighbors are very nosy, they like to talk about my children and because I have a bad temper I am always fighting with them. There was a time people were complaining that Kwei was smoking weed but what am I supposed to do about that. His father smokes so he would smoke. To avoid fighting with my neighbours, I lock my children up in the room when I am going out so people don't see them and talk” (Mansa).

Mansa's method of protecting her child could be classified strongly under child abuse and is also a bridge of the child's right to leisure under the 1998 Children's Act. McCoy and Keen (2013) define child abuse as any act done to a child by a parent or caretaker which is

inappropriate. Locking up children is inappropriate for the wellbeing of the child and is therefore a form of child abuse. Unfortunately, Mansa does not see that as abuse. She calls it child protection. Clearly this could be because she is ignorant of the tenets of child protection under the laws of the state which is clearly stated in the 1998 Children's Act.

In the case of Addo, although he does not know his biological father, he has grown to know his Step-father as his legal father. According to Addo's Step-father (Kofi), Addo is his son since he is the son of his wife. As a father, he explains that he does everything possible to make sure that his children's needs are provided for. Addo's mother who joined in the conversation later on during the interview confirmed what her husband said. Kofi thinks that the reason why Addo left home for the streets is because of his elder sister who left home in likewise manner. As explained by Bowen's Family systems theory, individuals within the family are emotionally dependent on each other (Brown, 1999). Therefore, Addo leaving home could be because there has been an emotional crack which his parents did not recognize.

It must also be noted that out of the five parents interviewed none had attained education beyond Junior High School (JHS). Research has shown that children from well-educated parents receive proper care and education (Seitzinger, 2004). Ermisch and Pronzato (2010) agree that, the higher the education of the parent, the higher that of the child. Inferring from Seitzinger (2004) and Ermisch and Pronzato (2010), the children in the study might not have ended up on the streets if their parents were highly educated because they would have received proper care and might be in school rather than begging on the streets. However, there are instances where children end up on the streets although they come from rich homes and have at least one parent who is educated. Badu (Focus Group Participant) is an example. His father is a foreman and his mother owns a provision shop, yet he found his way to the streets. According to his narrative, he was influenced by his friends.

In addition, findings from the study to a large extent corroborates with the literature (Arday-Schandorf, 1995; Badasu, 2004; Nukunya, 2003; Oppong, 2004) which posits that family support has weakened in today's Ghana. Four out of the five parents interviewed accounted that they received no help from relatives with regard to child support. The only parent who reported that his siblings do help him in taking care of his children was Addo's father (Kofi).

“We have a support system in my family. Every month we go for family meetings. At these meetings we discuss our individual problems and financial contributions are made to help” (Kofi)

This goes to suggest that although the support system is weakening, there are still instances where nuclear families are still receiving help from the larger extended family like the case of Kofi.

4.2.2 Fostering

Fostering is an integral part of the Ghanaian traditional custom (Boakye-Boaten, 2010). Although there has been changes in the indigenous custom, fostering still occurs. Many children grow up with persons who are blood relations as well as those who are not blood relations (aunties, uncles, grandmothers, elderly siblings or non-kin).

As mentioned above most of the children who participated both in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions had experienced fostering. With the exception of Emma, all the other boys sampled for the in-depth interview had undergone fosterage either with their grandmothers or an aunt.

“I lived with my grandmother for some time. It was very nice” (Kesse)

“I have lived my grandmother and an aunt before” (Addo)

“I lived with a female tenant who came to stay in our house” (Kwei)

Mohammed is the only one who had received both fostering from a grandmother and from an institutionalized foster home.

“I stayed at Abraham an orphanage. I didn’t like it there. When I got there the children told me that before they take you to school you had to pluck ten coconuts from a coconut tree. They used to punish us a lot. We were made to scrub the bathroom and the toilet as punishment so I run away”.

Kinship foster care has been argued to be better than that of institutionalized fostering. This is because institutionalized foster care homes lack supervision. Care givers in institutionalized foster homes also lack bonds with children because they have no agnatic relationship (Berrick et al, 1994). Mohammed was happy when he lived with his grandmother. He ran away from the orphanage home because he did not feel happy with the kind of punishment he was receiving. For example, at age nine, he was asked to scrub the bathroom. All the other participants mentioned that they enjoyed fostering. This goes to show that, fostering is best when it is carried out by a relation. Notwithstanding, there are some instances where children have fled kin fostering due to maltreatment. An example of such children is Divine (Focus Group Participant) who left his aunt’s house to the streets after he was made to hawk pure water instead of going to school.

4.2.3 Relationship between children and parents

“You! What are you doing here? If you don’t leave this house I would kill you. Foolish boy! After I sent you to the orphanage home where they promised to take you to school you run away. Go and see how your brother is enjoying over there. Leave this place!” (Alima)

This was the reception at Mohammed’s house when the researcher went to interview his mother. Upon seeing Mohammed, Alima dragged a stick and chased him around the house with insults. The chase continued for about five minutes before she granted the researcher audience. She explained that her son was very stubborn and had left the care home she had sent him to. Moreover, she did not like the fact that she gets report from her friends that her son was begging on the streets. She lamented that Mohammed was disgracing her. Her initial statement of disgrace compelled the researcher to ask her if she would like Mohammed to stay with her but she protested vehemently.

“Take him away! If you leave him here hunger would kill him. I don’t have food for him” (Alima)

Kansgsangbata (2008) argues that poverty can cause parents to push their children onto the streets. Although MM does not agree with her son begging on the streets, she did not want him around because she did not have enough to feed him. Darko and Anyidoho (2003) presents the same scenario in *Faceless* where Fofu the main character is sacked by Maa Tsuru her mother because she did not have enough for up-keep and wanted to protect her daughter. Alima driving her son away could also be because she was looking out for her son. She did not have enough and although Mohammed was begging he was getting something to feed on out there than being with her.

Although, the child street beggars, Addo and Kwei have warm relationships with their parents, after the interview their parents asked that the researcher take them back to the streets. The reason they both gave was that if they are left behind, they would definitely find their way back to the streets.

The reception at Kesse’s house in Nkawkaw was warmer as compared to Mohammed’s. Upon seeing her son Adjoa broke down in tears. She was very happy to see her son and asked that he should go and take his bath since he was very dirty. From Adjoa’s narrative, every year during Christmas when she is able to save enough money, she travels to Accra to look for her son but she is always unsuccessful. She lamented that, she feared the actions of her son.

“I fear Kesse and what he can do. The last time he came home, he stole all the provisions in my shop and left with it. That is why I am selling bread now. I went bankrupt. But if he wants to stay then I would accept him because he is my son” (Adjoa)

In their study in rural Tanzania, Vyrastekova et al (2014) record that mothers are significantly selfless when it comes to trading off their own welfare for that of their children.

This hypothesis can be adopted to understand KM's decision to have her son stay with her. Although Adjoa is insecure about her son, she is willing to sacrifice her comfort for that of her son.

The study also reveals that, disability in parents affect the relationship between children and their parents. Emma's mother who is disabled laments that her son does not respect her since she is unable to punish him when he goes wrong. Emma's disrespect for his mother could also be because he is the one who takes care of himself.

“I liked it when my grandfather was alive, he took care of me so there was no need to come to the streets. Now that he's dead I am the one who takes care of myself” (Emma).

Emma explained that, at the time his grandfather was alive, he took care of his needs therefore he had no reason to beg for upkeep. The demise of his grandfather has resulted in providing for his needs through his own efforts. Like Darko and Anyidoho (2003) portray, children become half adults when they take care of themselves and spend much time on the streets. Taming and training them becomes very difficult, particularly, for a single disabled mother.

It is important to note that irrespective of the relationship between the children participants and their parents, one thing was very evident, all the children wanted to return to the streets. Although Kesse promised to stay with his mother he returned to the streets the next day. The others returned to the streets the very day the researcher sent them home to interview their parents. When the researcher asked Kesse why he returned to the streets and this was his reply:

“Madam “matra fie” (I have gone beyond home)”

What would cause a child, who has so much warmth at home to return to the streets? Adjoa who called to tell the researcher about her son's return to the streets said,

“He did it again! He told me he wanted to eat fufu so I went to the market to get some food stuffs only to return and he was gone with my phone” (Adjoa).

Kesse left home to the streets when he was six years. According to his mother he stole things from her shop and left with friends. At the time of interview, he was 14 years. Which means that, he has spent eight years on the streets. Eight years of freedom from parental guidance and control and taking care of his personal needs. It is, therefore, not surprising that he returned to the streets the next day after going home. Kwei has spent three years on the streets whereas Mohammed two year. Addo and Emma have spent three weeks and six months on the streets respectively. Although these boys have spent shorter number of years on the streets they prefer the street freedom rather than parental control.

“I like it here, I get to sleep the time I want and do what I like” (Addo)

Shanahan (2003) argues that it is not enough to take the street child home because the street plays an integral part in the life of the street child.

Participants of the focus group discussion added that, although they might sometimes have warm and receptive relationship with their families, they prefer to live on the streets with their friends whom they see as family. This is a reflection of what Orme et al. (2007) call the “peer group”. The peer group they explain plays the role of family and serves as a means of solidarity and emotional support.

“We understand ourselves. My family is with these people (pointing to the members in the focus group)” _ Abu, a fifteen-year-old participant of the focus group.

Aside enjoying their freedom from parental guidance, these children have built solid relationships which they are unable to detach from. Thus no matter how many times they go home, they still find their way back to the streets.

4.3 Total Lifestyle and Experiences of the Child Street Beggar

Children street beggars like any other individual live in a community. For these children, the street is their community. This section of the findings looks at how they ended up on the streets, the reason why they started begging, how they learned to beg, what they use the money they earn for as well as their experiences in relation to health and abuse. As a community, the discussion would also centre on how they organize themselves.

4.3.1 Reasons why Children end up on the streets and why they beg

Participants were asked how they ended up on the streets. From the narratives, three of the participants who participated in the in-depth interviews indicated that, they were brought to the streets by their friends who convinced them that they were going to make a lot of money. Two out of the five; Addo and Emma, came to the streets on their own.

“I came on my own. I usually like to play that is how come I ended up here” (Addo)

“I came in search of money. My mother is not able to take care of me” (Emma)

Out of the twelve participants of the focus group discussions, ten came to the streets through friends. The other two came due to other reasons. For instance, Badu (Focus Group Participant) left home because his younger siblings did better in school and were ahead of him. With Adjei, he decided not to go back home after spending some time on the streets as a pure water seller.

Findings from the research show that children are affected by their peers. Hay et al (2004) posit that peers without a doubt play influential and critical roles in the lives of children. Meaning, if children should fall into bad company, the probability of them becoming deviant is high. Likewise, children who become friends with children who spend time on the streets would also spend time on the streets.

As postulated by Bowen in cases where an individual feel emotionally detached from his family he or she may respond through emotional detachment (Brown, 1999). In the case of Badu (focus group participant), having his younger brother move ahead in school could affect his position as the elder son and how his parents and society may treat him. Although he did not mention, his conduct explicitly showed that he felt ashamed and had low self-esteem as his seniority position was threatened. The best resort was to leave home to a place where no one would question his authenticity as a senior.

Awatey (2014), Lalor (1999) and Kansgsangbata (2008) have mentioned poverty as one of the greatest forces that pushes children to the streets. In this study it was only one child participant of the in-depth interview who mentioned lack of financial resources as a reason for being on the streets. Yet, upon further probing and observations, one could easily identify poverty as a main underlying factor for which children end up on the streets. Eight children from the focus group discussions cited poverty as a reason for coming to the streets.

Another issue that was raised as a reason for children ending up on the streets is ascribed spirituality. Kwei's mother believes that her son is on the streets because someone had bewitched him and taken his happiness away from home unto the streets.

“When Kwei was a child, I left him with a cousin of mine. She took him out and did not return with him for a couple of days. After that incident my son never liked to stay home. He was always finding his way out. Even when I locked him he would escape...” (Mansa)

John Mbiti's (1990:1) statement that, “the African is notoriously religious” plays out in KM2's claim. Religion plays a significant role in most African cultures, thus anything and everything can and could be attributed to religion although in certain cases other factors and activities account for what is believed to occur as a result of the supernatural.

Again, participants were asked to give the reasons why they chose to beg on the streets. All the participants of the study stated money as the main reason why they started to beg

although the reasons behind the want of money were different. Street living has its own lifestyle; hence in order to be able to survive you need money.

“If you don’t beg for money you would go hungry” (Addo)

Street children are highly resilient. They adopt a life which is capable of enhancing their survival (Oino et al., 2007). The study shows that, begging is an adaptive strategy for the child in adverse circumstances (hunger). Research has shown that hunger can lead to chronic diseases since the individual is unable to fight against infections (World Food Program, 2007). Hunger is thus an adverse circumstance to street children. Adverse circumstances according to McCarthy and Hagan (1992) cause crime and delinquency in children. Children could resort to stealing in cases of severe hunger. Begging then becomes a positive adaptive strategy.

Abebe (2009) argues that children who beg after school do so mainly to acquire consumer goods. The findings of this research prove otherwise. Participants of the study who beg after school do so in order to get money for school the next day rather than for consumer goods.

“If I don’t beg after school I wouldn’t get money to school tomorrow” (Emma)

“I only beg after school so that I would get money for school” (Badu, Focus Group Participant)

Also begging was mentioned as a lucrative job. All the participants mentioned that, there is high incentive with regard to begging. For instance, their income ranges between forty to fifty Ghanaian Cedis daily. Although they lamented that, there are days they get less, there are also days they get individuals who bring them consumer goods and invite them for occasions. Gaining from the act of begging is enough motivation for these children to therefore continue the practice.

4.3.2 Learning the Skill of Begging

Begging is a skill that takes a lot of courage, hence the researcher asked the participants how they learnt the skill of begging. All participants alluded to being taught by a friend who had more skills in begging than they did. These friends were nicknamed “followers”.

“A friend taught me how to engage in the work” (Addo)

“I joined my friends and as they were begging I was observing. Then I also started begging” (Kesse)

“Initially I didn’t know how to beg so we used to eat left over food and it was making us sick. So we identify a beggar who is experienced and he trains us. We call them followers. When they start teaching you they give you a little portion of the money they make and initiate you until you master the skill. Then you would also become someone’s follower” (Abbeku, Focus Group Participant)”.

In every community there is a system of socialization. Adult and experienced members are those often in charge of socialization. The street as a community has its own form of socialization. In their research in India, Oino et al. (2013) discovered that older street children played parental roles in teaching new street children adaptive strategies such as personal hygiene, and food habits. Older street children serve as a form of social security for new recruits. In this study, followers act as parents or guides who train new street children the skill of begging and brotherhood through a build-up of networks. They teach new street children the virtue of giving. After begging, they give out some portion of the money they earn to the person they are training. The cycle then continues when the trainee becomes a “follower”.

The jobs of followers differ from street to street. Participants from Okponglo and Opeibea align to the followership which has been described above. Mohammed who is from Tema Station has a different narrative. In Tema station, after the training session, followers give quotas to their trainees between the periods of one to two months.

“I learnt from a friend. After he teaches you, you have to work for him for a while. I have to make ₵5 and above each day because I always have to give my follower an amount of ₵5.00 after the end of the day. If I gain below ₵5.00 I give everything to

him, above ₵5.00 I take the extra and when I make exactly ₵5.00 I give all to him” (Mohammed).

Most of the participants in the focus group discussions were followers and through that have been able to create a network of children street beggars who consider themselves family.

4.3.3 Accountability and the Use of Earnings

On an average, children street beggars reported to earn between GH₵40 to Gh₵50 on days that they have “good market”. Good market signifies days they get a considerable number of people giving them money. On days that they get bad market, they earn between ₵20 and ₵5. The use of market is in reference to the fact that, they referred to begging as work to make the act sound less demeaning and humiliating.

Narratives were taken from the children on whether or not they made account to anyone. In contrast with Ballet et al (2010) and Fuseini (2016) who argue that children street beggars make account to their families, none of the children in the study affirmed to making accounts. They indicated that, the monies they earn were mainly for their personal use. Thus they decide how and when to use their monies. This was also affirmed during the FGD and during the sessions with their parents.

Children street beggars use their earnings from begging diversely. The table below gives a breakdown of the use of income.

Table 4.2: Breakdown of income usage (In-depth interviews)

Item	Number of participants
Food	5
Susu	3
Clothing	3
School	1
Health	5
Remittance	1
Gambling	4
Clubbing	3
Indian hemp	3

Source: Field data, 2018

From the table, all five participants of the in-depth interviews use their income on food. Three of them save part of their income informally with an adult friend who does not sleep on the streets. They refrain from personally keeping their monies because of theft.

“When you sleep with your money, by the time you wake up its gone. And you will not find the person who took it. So I give save my money with a friend” (Kesse).

“This place you can’t keep your money on you, they will steal” (Kwei)

Three of them use some of their income to buy clothes. The others did not because they get clothes from donors. Out of the five participants, Emma is the only one who uses his income to buy books and pay for other expenses at school. This is because he was the only participant who was both in school and begs on the streets.

They also added that, just a small proportion of their income is used on health. This is mainly because they often do not fall sick but in cases where they do, they use some of their money for medication.

Kwei was the only participant who remitted some money to his mother. On the day he took the researcher home to interview his mother, he went to his friend who keeps his savings and took an amount of GH¢50.00. After interviewing his mother, he gave the GH¢50.00

note to her. The researcher then asked his mother if she knew the source of the money and she replied affirmatively. She further explains that her son is very benevolent because he always brings money home when he comes to visit.

“As for my son he is very benevolent. When he comes to visit and I step out with him you should see how people hail him because he gives them tips” (KM2)

Receiving acknowledgement from home and the society at large is motivation for Kwei to continue begging. His mother sees him as very benevolent so does his friends and society. Why then would he decide to stop begging which gives him prestige in the eyes of many? This also explains why he remits. During one of the focus group discussion sessions, Kumi gave a similar narrative. He stated that it would be a disgrace if he goes home with nothing. Therefore, he puts in much effort to make sure that he has some money to remit whenever he decided to visit home.

Gambling is another item which came out strongly. They refer to gambling as a “game”. You either win or lose. Gambling could have a long term and short term effect on children. A short term disadvantage of gambling is the loss of money which could lead to depression. Gambling at an early age may result to intense gambling problems during adulthood and may lead to Attention-deficit Hyperactivity disorder (Pagani et al, 2010). Interestingly, Oko, who had promised to take the researcher to interview his parent did not show up on the scheduled time and place. Enquiries revealed that he had fled the streets after he lost the borrowed money from a friend to gamble.

Also, three of the participants mentioned clubbing as one of the things they use their monies for. Club house located in Osu is a famous club among the boys from all three selected areas of the study.

“On Sunday evenings, my friends and I go to club house and have fun” (Kwei)

“We go to club house on Sundays where we meet other friends” (Mohammed)

“I like to go to club house with my friends” (Kesse)

At club house, they get to meet their friends from other streets, buy alcohol and dance with girls. Since the club closes at 4:00 am, it was very common to find them sleeping late into the morning on Monday in all the three areas under study.

Three participants mentioned Indian hemp as one of the things they spent their monies on.

“I buy Indian hemp and sell to other people. I don’t smoke” (Mohammed)

“I sometimes buy Indian hemp for the big boys with my money” (Kesse)

“I smoke Indian hemp, but not always” (Kwei)

Buying and selling Indian hemp was a means of making extra money. Kesse explained that he buys hemp for the big boys as a means of appreciation to a good deed done for him. In cases where children face bullies, the big boys are those who come to their rescue therefore as a means of appreciation, one could either give out money or buy a gift of hemp. Participants of the Focus Group Discussions confirmed this claim. Kwei was the only participant who attested to sometimes buying weed for himself. According to him, he did not learn how to smoke from the streets but from his father. His father sells and smokes weed. His mother confirmed his claim. In young smokers, Kalant (2004) argues that, Indian hemp results in cancer of the upper aero digestive tract. Children smokers are therefore at risk of contracting cancer. Narratives from the focus group discussions affirm that at one point in time of their lives on the street, children street beggars have bought weed either to smoke or to appreciate the big boys on the streets.

4.3.4 Health Status of Child Street Beggars

Information was obtained on the kinds of sicknesses children street beggars experience and their health seeking behaviours. All five participants of the in-depth interviews and

participants of the focus group discussions mentioned malaria as one of the recurring illness on the streets.

“As for this place, we have a lot of malaria. We sleep with the mosquitoes” (Ebo, Focus group participant)

The next most recurring sickness according to the children is “fever” although they were not able to decipher which kind of fever it was. Spending some time with them on the streets, the researcher witnessed a situation where a boy was throwing up yellow fluid, having diarrhoea and showing symptoms of weakness which was classified as fever. Cholera and headache was also mentioned. From the observations of the researcher the occurrence of cholera could be as a result of eating left over foods and the surroundings they find themselves as well as their hygienic practices. The prevalence of headache could also spurn from their day to day activities in the sun and tedious work of moving from one vehicle to the next to beg.

“I got cholera once after eating *sopi* (left over food)” (Kwashie, FGD)

When the researcher asked how they receive treatment when they fall sick, none of the participants mentioned the hospital or the clinic, instead, they all made mention of the pharmacy. They refrain from going to the hospitals because of the cost involved. On the third visit to the field, the researcher happened to witness Kwei who was very sick and vomiting yellow fluid. When the researcher volunteered to take him to the hospital, his friends suggested purchasing paracetamol at a nearby pharmacy. They claim that is what they take when they have such symptoms.

“Madam, buy paracetamol for him that is what we take when we are sick” (Kwei’s friend)

Misdiagnosis and self-treatment of diseases can lead to death (Amexo et al, 2004). Paracetamol is not an all-purpose medical cure. Therefore, taking paracetamol for malaria or fever could worsen health conditions which may eventually lead to death.

Questions were asked concerning the providers of care during ill health. With the exception of Emma who goes home when he is sick, the others mentioned friends as those who provided them with care.

“My friend is the one who takes care of me when I am sick” (Kesse)

This goes to show the solidarity and confidence they had in their friends. After purchasing some medicines for Kwei, his friends promised to ensure he takes them.

Participants were asked questions concerning their personal hygiene. Their responses varied from street to street. All participants at Opeibea take their bath twice a week. This is because they have to pay an amount of GH¢1.00 to take their bath. Those at Okonglo and Tema Station reported to take their baths once a day. They have free water supply from nearby institutions. Hence they often wash their clothes although it was not common to see them changing clothes.

Outward appearance is also an important begging strategy. Ali revealed (Focus group participant) that he always wanted to look neat in order not to look suspicious when he goes near a car. He explained that most people are suspicious of their appearance when they are very dirty; they brand them as thieves. Hence to ensure that he is not mistaken for a thief, he takes very good care of his appearance.

4.3.5 Abuses Faced by Children Street Beggars

From their accounts, children street beggar’s experiences are also characterized with abuse. They are either insulted, spat on, slapped, or sometimes get water poured into their faces. This is mainly because of the criminal tag. For instance, Kumi, a FGD participant narrated that,

“There was a time I approached a car, the man did not even try to hear me out then he started insulting me” (Kumi, FGP)

Emma does not have an issue with the insults, what he dislikes most is the gazes they receive from people. He explained that sometimes people look down on them with disdain.

Both children participants of the in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions remarked that they also faced abuse from the police.

“The police do not like us. They are always beating and arresting us. Sometimes we would be sleeping and then they would come and beat us. There are times when we hung our clothes they come for it and dispose of them. I don’t like the police, they are our enemies” (Ebo, FGP)

All forms of abuse, whether physical or verbal has negative effects on the child. Norman et al (2012) argue that abuse can increase psychological and behavioural problems; depression, anxiety and substance abuse (alcohol and drug). The immediate effect of physical abuse could be bruises or cuts but there are long term effects which affects the child’s psychology. Teicher et al (2006) cited in Fuseini (2016) postulated that the negative effects of verbal abuse could cause impairment in certain regions of the brain and lead to psychiatric problems and anger hostility. In one of the narratives during the first focus group discussion, Kumi was very excited when he spoke about how he threw a metal to break the head of a police officer. To the amazement of the researcher, the other participants of the focus group discussion hailed him as he narrated the incidence. Clearly, these children have already started to portray anger hostility towards the police. It would not be surprising if they should one day spit back at a person who spits on them.

4.3.6 Organization on the Street

Like every other community, street children have hierarchies and sub-cultures in order to ensure their survival. In all three locations, participants indicated that, there are no street lords (powerful persons who rule inner city areas). What they do have in place of street lords are bigger boys, who are older than the participants and have ample experience in street life,

who come to their aid when they are being bullied. This is in contrary to the picture Darko and Anyidoho (2003) presented of a street lord who is very mean and abuses children.

Another characteristic which is very peculiar to the three groups is mobility. Children street beggars do not have designated spaces for begging. As they explained, they move based on the market. As has been explained earlier, begging to them is work. This was Kesse's response when the researcher inquired about the reason why they move a lot;

“Sometimes the market is not good here. You can stand in traffic for the whole day and earn nothing. So we move to other places where the market is good to earn more money” (Kesse)

Again, they organize themselves in smaller groups. This is due to the system of the follower. Each follower has a small group of children who is connected and moves with him at all times.

With regard to sleep patterns, the researcher observed at all three locations that, children slept in a peculiar pattern. They lie side by side tightly packed. It was during the focus group discussions that they explained that, the reason why they slept in such manner was to protect themselves against outside intrusion. For example, if one of them was in danger from an intruder they would all wake up because of their arrangement. This is a form of adaptive strategy for self-security in the mist of the harshness on the streets. Also, some children from Opeibea, Okponglo and Tema Station in a collaborative effort have built a wooden structure where they spend the night and move to their place of begging in the morning. Figure 4.2 is an image of the wooden structure.

Figure 4.2: Exterior view of wooden structure.



Source: Field data, 2018

Children street beggars are indeed very resilient. With all the harsh experiences from the streets, they do find time to play. Anderson-McNamee & Bailey (2010) posit that, play is vital to the development and learning skill of the child. Respondents from Okonglo reported that, they play football at the Ajax park in University of Ghana. Those at Opeibea play football at a nearby park. The same applies to Tema Station. Other games include chase, ⁵“pilolo” and ⁶“pampanaa”.

On Sundays, most of the children street beggars who participated in the study fellowshipped at the Jesus Loves Street Children Ministry located at Adenta in Accra. The ministry is a Vanguard Assurance corporate social responsibility which aims at inculcating the value of the love of God into street children. Visiting the ministry on two occasions, the researcher observed that after the service, the organization gives incentives to the children. This was a

⁵ An outdoor game played among Ghanaian children to search for something (usually sticks).

⁶ A Ghanaian version of hide and seek

form of motivation for the children to attend the service each Sunday. Speaking to a few children after the service, they confirmed that, their main motivation for patronizing the service was the incentives they received at the end.

4.4 Aspiration of the Child Beggar

Children street beggars have dreams and aspirations for their future families and career. This was explained through interviews and the use of drawings. The researcher realized that children street beggars do have high aspirations for their future some of which they do not know to how to achieve.

4.4.1 Family Aspirations of the Child Beggar

All the participants wanted to have a family in future. What they did not want was for their children to be like them. They described their situation as “bad” because, they face harsh conditions; mosquitoes, cold weather at night and abuse.

“I don’t want my children to be on the streets. This place is not good” (Emma)

During the focus group discussions, participants were asked to draw their future families. Ebo who comes from a family of two wanted to have one child in future. He explained that, having one child is the best since the parent has direct focus on the child. Ebo thinks that his parents were not vigilant enough with him that is why he ended up on the streets. The image below is a representation of his future family.

Figure 4.3: Ebo's drawing of his family



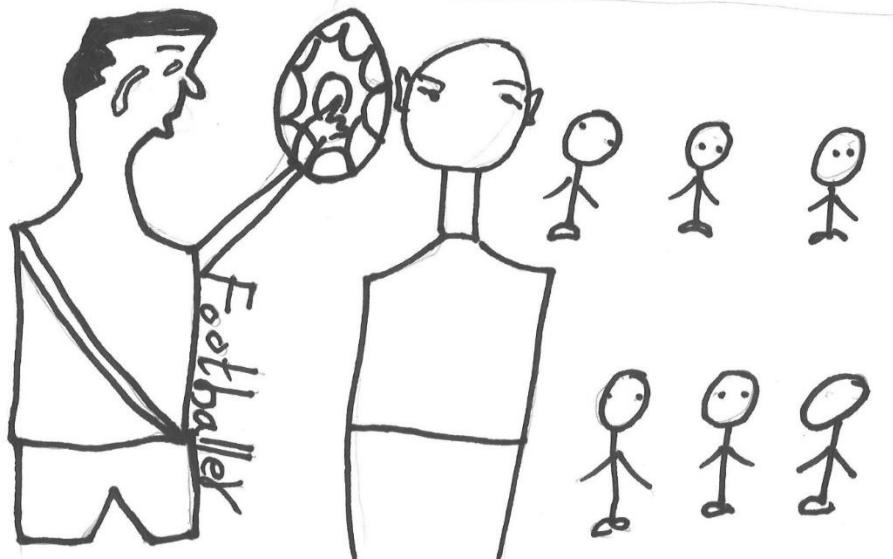
Source: Field data (2018)

Kumi has a different view from Ebo. He wants to have six children. From his narrative, he was the only child before the demise of his mother. He explained that, if his mother had had more children, he would not have ended up on the streets because his siblings would have helped take care of him. He wants to have six children as a means of social capital during adverse circumstances like the demise of his mother.

“I want to have six children. my mother gave birth to two of us. If I have more children, they would be able to take care of each other when I am not around” (Kumi, FGD)

Figure 4.4 is an image representation of Kumi's family.

Figure 4.4: Kumi's Drawing of His Family



Source: Field data, 2018

Divine is the first of three children. He wants to have two children who are like his younger siblings. His younger siblings are in school and currently living with his mother.

“I want to give birth to my two siblings” (Divine, focus group participant)

Figure 4.5: Divine's drawing of his family



Source: Field data, 2018

Through the discussions, “care” evolved as the main reason behind children’s choice of family size. It can be deduced from the narratives that, care for the children meant having full parental vigilance, attaining education, having a warm home environment, having shelter, food and play. This goes to show that children recognize the importance of an adult figure with regard to the provision of their basic needs and also to socialize them into responsible adults.

4.4.2 Career Aspirations

Children begin to form their ideas about their preferred career as early as age of four (Howald & Walsh, 2010). Participants were asked to draw their preferred future career and discussions were made on the knowledge of how to attain their preferred choices. Parents were also asked about their aspirations for their children and their efforts to ensure its fulfilment.

- **Children’s aspirations**

Out of the five participants, Kesse and Mohammed would like to be soldiers in future, Addo and Emma prefer football. Kwei does not have a preferred career.

“I don’t know what I want to be in future. But I know I don’t want to be in school. Any job that doesn’t require you to go to the class room is fine with me” (Kwei)

With respect to knowledge on how to achieve their career choices, Addo and Emma mentioned that they were team members in a football club. Kesse and Mohammed had no idea on how to achieve their choices.

Children were asked to draw their future careers during the focus group discussions. Abu wants to be a science teacher in future. His reason is that, teaching would enable him make enough money to take care of his family and he would also be able to teach his children. Edem and Senam who also participated in the focus group discussions would also like to be

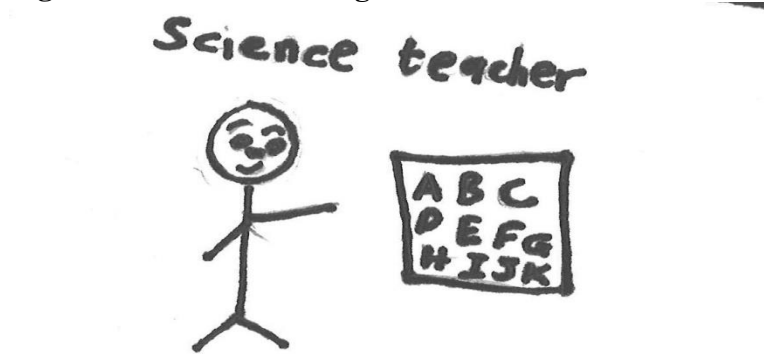
teachers in future. The irony is that, apart from Abu who is in school, Edem and Senam are school dropouts. How then would they be teachers if they are out of school?

“I would pray for someone to enrol me” (Edem, FGP)

“I go to school. Not in a formal class room. I go to school in the bush” (Senam, FGP)

What could children possibly learn in the bush? Senam said that he learns how to smoke in the bush. Inferring from his statement, when he was talking about being a teacher, Senam was not referring to a classroom teacher rather, a teacher who teaches new street boys how to smoke.

Figure 4.6: Abu’s drawing of his future career



Source: Field data, 2018

Oko is the only participant who wants to be a doctor. Being a doctor he explains would enable him save lives and also make him rich. He has been enrolled into a school by a friend he made on the street.

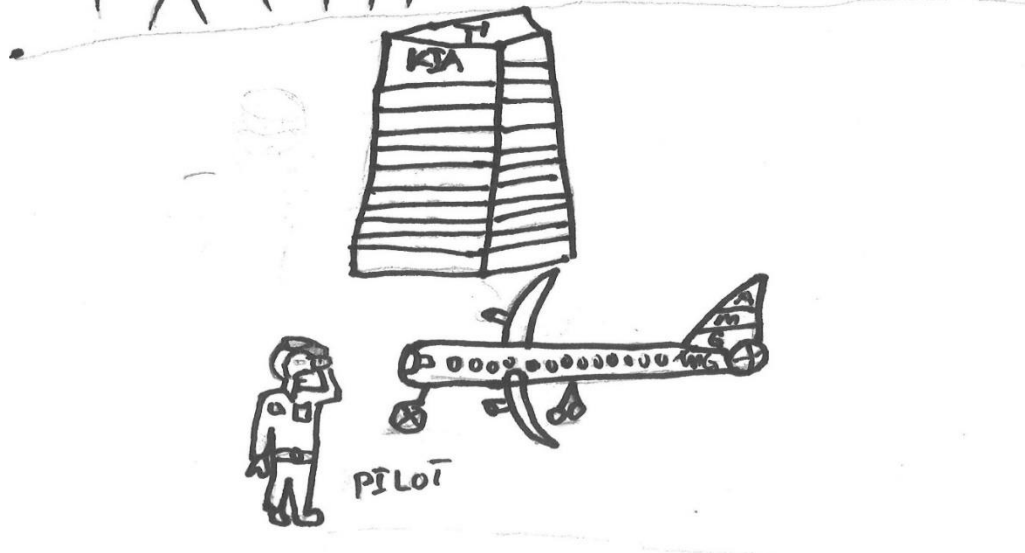
Figure 4.7: Oko's drawing of his future career



Source: Field data, 2018

Three of the participants wanted to be pilots in future. Out of the three, Kwashie is the only one in school

Figure 4.8: Kwashie's drawing of his future career



Source: Field Data, 2018

Football was the preference of three other participants. According to the three, although they are out of school they have joined football clubs. This goes to show that some of these boys are taking steps to ensure the realization of their dreams.

Figure 4.9: Fiifi's drawing of his future career



Source: Field data, 2018

- **Parent's aspirations**

Information was also obtained from parents on their aspirations for their children. It emerged that parents have high expectations for their children. They hope that their children would grow into responsible adults who would be able to take care of themselves and remit to them as well.

A follow up question on how they were going to ensure that their children attained their desired aspirations was asked. Kwei's mother explained that she has realized her son does not want to be in school thus she has asked him on several occasions to name a trade of his choice, unfortunately Kwei has not yet decided on the trade. She sounded very frustrated when she spoke about her son's future. Emma's mother who wants her son to be a mechanic in future mentioned that she has spoken to a mechanic friend of hers to consider training Emma after he finishes with his Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE). Clearly, these parents are taking steps to secure their children's future. This goes contrary to

Fuseini's (2016) findings on the experiences of Muslim child beggars in Dagbon. His study shows that, the actions of parents towards the achievement of their aspirations towards their children contrasts their actions. They have high aspirations but do not take any action to ensure its fulfilment.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESPONSES AND INTERVENTIONS

5.1 Introduction

Children on the streets have received some attention globally and locally. Individuals, corporate organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and governments have responded to the problem in diverse ways. In Ghana, past and present governments have come up with various programs and policies to help curb the problem. Some of these policies have been discussed in chapter two (2.2.3). This chapter presents some responses from the Social Welfare Department, Vanguard Assurance (Corporate organization) and the Special Attention Program (NGO). These three organizations were selected based on reports from the participants who stated these organizations as places where they have received some forms of support as street children.

5.2 ⁷The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) Ghana

The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) is Ghana's agency that is mandated to regulate and operate issues related to children and vulnerable people. The agency is manned by a director, deputy directors, social workers and a secretariat. There are also regional heads in each of the ten regions in Ghana aside the head office which is located in the country's capital, Accra. The obligations of the agency include;

- Promotion and protection of the right of the child
- Justice and administration of child related issues
- Community care
- Budget, planning and monitoring unit

⁷ Information for DSW was obtained from www.ovcghana.org/about_dsw.html

Over the years, DSW have come up with eleven Publications and Press. Notable amongst them is the Child and Family Welfare Policy (CFWP) which was published in 2015. This policy was established in view of one of their core mandates which is to strengthen families. In 2017, to address the issue of street children, the department launched “Operation Get off the Streets for a Better Life”.

On April 12th 2018, the department had a meeting at Agbogbloshi with street children to discuss issues concerning ventures to get children off the streets. In an interview with Afua Cann, the Public Relations Officer (PRO) for the program, she explained that, Operation get off the Streets for a Better Life is a novel approach which presents a holistic perspective to addressing the issue of street children in the country. Thus, the approach takes into consideration child beggars, commercial sex workers, child hawkers, Kayayei and many others who spend time on the streets. Ironically, 99% of the street children who patronized the program at Agbogbloshie were Kayayei. Clearly, the street representation was also limited to Agbogbloshie which defeated the purpose of the holistic nature of the program.

Just as its name implies, the program is geared towards getting street children off the streets for a better life. In order to achieve its aim, Afua stated that, the program has developed a tool which aided in mapping three hundred and forty-five (345) hot spots for street children and four thousand eight hundred street children (4,800) nationwide. Data collected from this tool has been inputted into a data base for assessment and analysis by looking at the specific needs of each individual. The plan is to integrate delinquent children into the society by providing a reunion to their families and also organize a reformation program for such children. They would also strengthen families of children who are bread winners to their families and provide vocational training for those who would like to be trained. Children of school going age would be sent to school. Parents who are not able to cater for their children would also be provided skills and entrepreneurial training in order to boost their income.

Also, according to Afua, the program takes on a long term approach at eradicating the problem of street children. Therefore, the department does not intend to force any child to be a partaker. Instead they would want to slowly strengthen the legal framework. For instance, begging is a criminal offence which is not recognized by beggars and society at large although it is stated in the laws of Ghana. Hence, if the law is strengthened, they would not have to force children off the streets, they would adhere to it and come for aid from the department. In contrast to Afua's example concerning begging, the law does not make provision for juveniles and the penalty for begging. Therefore, if the law is enforced there would be another hurdle with what to do with juveniles who are found begging since begging is illegal.

One major problem the department faces is the issue of consistency and funds. With changes in government which often translates into changes in the directors, being consistent with programs is not often the case. Also, the department is underfunded and therefore does not encourage the success of developed programs. Getting to street children is another challenge. Although Afua claimed they had spoken to the gate keepers of the streets, it was only Kayayei who patronized the program on April 12th 2018.

5.3 Vanguard Assurance Company Limited

Vanguard Assurance is an insurance company in Ghana. Its operations began in October 1974 and has since been a composite insurance company and runs with the mission of offering financial security through innovative insurance solutions. As part of its corporate social responsibility, in the year 2015, Vanguard Assurance began the Jesus Loves Street Children Ministry (Amenyedior et al, *The Life of a Street Child*).

The ministry started under the premise; street children are created not less but in the image of God. They commenced the project after their effort to enrol children in a church failed.

The ministry aims at showing forth the love of Jesus Christ to the neglected. Their mission involves;

- Meeting with the children on Sundays for a fellowship
- Attending to the spiritual and physical needs of the child
- Providing artisanal training to some selected children above the age sixteen
- Re-uniting some children with their families

The ministry plans to enrol boys into the profession of auto mechanic. As one of its long term visions, Vanguard Assurance would like to own a workshop where trained boys can work and make a living for themselves (Amenyedior et al, *The Life of a Street Child*).

Although they have by no means realized their desires, they can boast of some success stories. With regards to their aim of inculcating the word of God in children, visiting the ministry on the 25th of February, the researcher observed that although not all the children paid rapt attention to the teachings, some were very much involved and were able to answer biblical questions. In an interview with David Avor (a Vanguard Assurance team member), he indicated that the ministry has come a long way and the children who come for the meetings have improved a lot with regard to their knowledge of God and prayer.

Another aim which has been partially achieved is the gradual transformation of the life of the street child. According to David, during the initial stages of the ministry, children who attended were very violent. He narrated an incident where a child had pulled out a knife on another child during service. “The situation has very much improved, they are more comported and tolerate each other,” he explained. Paradoxically, the researcher observed that, children are more comported during the service, there is no comported after service. The older boys abuse the younger boys when the instructors are not watching.

Also, they have been able to inculcate a sense of responsibility and belonging into the children. They teach the children that life is not meant for them to live for themselves. They must live in order to make society a better place and be each other's keeper.

Lastly, the ministry aims to enrol children who would like to be trained in a vocation or formal education. They find jobs for children who are old enough to work and would like to live independently. Also, they provide rehabilitation through counselling and reconciling children with their families. They have reconciled four children with their families and have enrolled two children in vocational training (Amenyedor et al, *The Life of a Street Child*).

5.4 ⁸Special Attention Program

The Special Attention Program (SAP) is a Non-Governmental Organization which started in the year 2008. They commenced the organization by enrolling street children in school and providing them with accommodation, text books and exercise books. To their surprise, the children dropped out of school and went back to the streets. This necessitated the pioneers to find a different approach. They therefore embarked on a research and found that most street children had difficulty in learning. This triggered the formation of SAP to deal with learning difficulties as a form of disability which is difficult to detect.

SAP has been able to identify some specific learning difficulties in street children; those who have reading problems (dyslexia), those who have problem calculating simple arithmetic (dyscalculia) and those who cannot do one activity for a long period of time (attention deficit).

⁸ Information for Special Attention Program was obtained from an interview with the director of the organization.

The main aim of SAP is to get street children back to school and provide the right mediation to reconcile them with their families. They also refer children who do not fall within their intervention strategy to affiliate organizations.

In order to get children to be beneficiaries of their program, SAP organizes street outreaches with trained social workers. These outreaches are mainly held to scout street children with learning difficulties. Selected children are sent to SAP where they go through a background interrogation. This is because, if the background of the child is not known, interventions to help the child might be fruitless. As mentioned by the current director, if the reason for the child ending up on the streets is not addressed, provided interventions do not work and is tantamount to waste of resources.

Although SAP aims to see all children in school, they are not well equipped to finance children who are faced with maximum socio-economic issues. For instance, they refer children who do not have family relation to support them after they have been trained by SAP. Hence to meet their criteria for selection, children must have minimum socio-economic issues. Parents or extended family relations should be willing to support the child after SAP.

SAP can boast of some success stories since they started. Through their interventions, they have been able to see some children reach Senior High School level. They have been able to push five (5) children to Junior High School and primary school. They have also been able to enrol some children in Senior Secondary School through affiliate organizations.

Also, SAP can again boast of training children with behavioural issues. The Director explained that, some of the children who come to the program have behavioural issues. They do not want to be controlled. Thus, SAP has adopted a homelike approach to their training. Children are made to be responsible for the things they come to the program with. Each

child is given a locker and a uniform. Before class commences, children are made to take their baths, wash their clothes and sweep the classroom. This is done to instil into children the need for personal hygiene. After going through the normal routine of cleaning, they are given breakfast before learning starts. The activity before class commences is also necessary to discover the forms of disability these children suffer.

One major problem SAP faces is with the issue of reconciliation. As explained by the director, some children are willing to go home but their parents are not willing to accept them, others are not willing to go home at all. He narrated an instance where a man rejected his three children who had learning difficulties. The children threatened their father and poisoned their step mother with rat poison. Due to this, reconciliation was not possible.

Another challenge has to do with sponsorship. Although they have developed ways of getting people to fund the project, the inflow of funds is not proactive. Thus they do not have enough personnel to run a large class. Currently they have three instructors who are assigned to five children each.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The Ghanaian society centuries ago, is not the same as today. There has been tremendous changes which has affected the crux of the family system and children in particular (Nukunya, 2003). Under such circumstances, some children have been left on their own which has birthed street children. The study set out to investigate a peculiar group of street children; children street beggars. The study was aimed at investigating the total life of the child beggar by looking specifically at the family of the child, the relationship between the child street beggar and his family, the reasons why children beg, the lifestyle of the child street beggar and the future aspirations of the child with regard to work and family.

To achieve this goal, the study adopted the qualitative research approach. Observations, interviews and focus group discussions were carried out to unearth the rationales and total lifestyle of the child street beggar.

The chapter presents a summary and conclusions of the findings and recommendations for future research and policy makers.

6.2 The Family of the Child Street Beggar

Children beggars come from both Female Headed Households and Male Headed Households. Like the literature suggests, Female Headed Households have meagre resources which is not enough to bear the brunt of child care. Findings from the study showed that, although this might be the case for many Female Headed Households, female heads are putting in tremendous efforts to ensure the upbringing of their children. Some are involved in trade while other have found alternative care (kin and institutionalized fostering) for their children.

From the findings, children from Male Headed Households also end up on the streets. Within a family, emotions are passed from parent to children, parent to parent and children to children. In cases where children feel a crack in these emotions, they could react by leaving home to be on their own (Brown, 1999).

Findings from the study again showed that, children have warm relationships with their families. The irony is that; the warmth of the relationship does not guarantee that children would want to stay with their families. Like Shanahan (2003) postulated, as children spend time on the streets, they form bonds which make it difficult to separate the child from the streets.

Contrary to studies which reveal a child-breadwinner relationship between child street beggars and their families, participants of the study were not breadwinners. Rather, they were child adults who take care of themselves with the monies they earn from begging.

6.3 Total Lifestyle and Experiences of the Child Beggar.

Children end up on the streets due to several reasons. Whilst most scholars have established that poverty is the main reason why children end up on the streets, the study reveals that peer influence is another strong factor that drives children to the streets. As ascertained by Hey et al. (2004), peers play influential roles in the life of the child. It is therefore imperative that parents pay heed to the kinds of bonds their children form outside the family. Children who spend time with bullies end up becoming bullies, likewise children who spend time with street children might end up on the streets. The study also showed that begging is a skill which is learned. Hence, children who spend time with peers who beg end up learning the skill. Participants of the study expressed that they learned begging from older boys who they called “followers”. Followers are boys who have had some years of experience in begging and are teachers of the begging skill.

The study also revealed that, begging is an adaptive strategy for survival. As children spend time on the streets, they need money to survive. They also need money to live the street lifestyle which sometimes necessitates children to pay compensations to older boys for favours done for them. Children who do not beg go hungry, thus to survive hunger one must beg.

Also, some children beggars are pupils who need money for books and most importantly for food. Thus children beggars who go to school beg after school to earn money for the next day. Others also beg during the vacation to save money for the next academic term.

Children were asked questions on what they spent the monies they earn from begging on. Food, clothing, susu, remittance, school, health, clubbing, Indian hemp and gambling were mentioned. Unlike studies like Ballet et al (2010) and Fuseini (2016), who argue that children beggars make account to their families since they are breadwinners, participants of this study do not make account. This is because as mentioned earlier, they are not bread winners.

Children street beggars also organize themselves into smaller groups for purposes of security, socialization and solidarity. Their sleep patterns are forms of security patterns hence they sleep tightly packed to each other.

Common diseases mentioned were malaria, fever, headache and cholera. The disease pattern is in relation to spending time outdoors both during the day and at night and also the kinds of food they eat. Also, children street beggars do not patronize hospitals when ill and their main support of health during ill health is friends.

Their experiences are also characterized by abuse. The prevailing form of abuse is verbal abuse. Participants mentioned that there is no day without being insulted on the streets. Other forms they face are physical; slaps, pouring of water on them, being spat on and being

beaten. It also emerged that they face lots of abuses from the police. This could be as a result of the criminality attached to children who spend their time on the streets.

6.4 Aspirations

As discussed earlier children beggars have dreams and aspirations. They want to have families and work in reputable places. Interestingly, none of them would like their children to be beggars. They recognize that the street is not the right place for a child to grow, yet they do not want to leave the street life. The streets indeed have formed an integral part of their lives. Also, in choosing their future family size, children beggars mentioned care as an important factor for the reasons why they would like to have large or small families. This goes to show that the care a child receives from a parent moulds the child. One can therefore conclude that participants of the study feel that they did not receive proper care from their family which has resulted in their spending time on the streets.

Also, the study establishes that, parents of children street beggars do have aspirations for their children and to some extent are trying to find ways and means to see their children realize these dreams.

6.5 Responses and Interventions

There have been several interventions to get children off the streets some of which have been discussed in chapter five, yet the street children phenomenon keeps recycling. This could be because these interventions do take a top bottom approach. Decisions are taken for the child without his or her knowledge. Thus there are beautiful policies and intervention strategies but little or no impact is made on the life of the child.

6.6 Conclusion

This study has shown that children street beggars do not only come from female headed households but from male headed households as well. Poverty still resounds as one of the

causal factors of the phenomenon although the study identified peer influence as another casual factor which is nearly at par with poverty. Stubbornness and street solidarity is also another factor which entices children unto the street thus good receptions at home does not guarantee that children who have stayed on the streets for a period of time will not return to the streets after reconciliation. Perhaps this goes to explain why reconciliation programs by Non-Governmental Organizations and other entities do not yield any effective results.

Also, the study identified that as part of the many things that children street beggars use their monies for, their personal upkeep which involves feeding, health, security and entertainment were also found to be key. Children street beggars have beautiful dreams and aspirations which are often linked to their immediate surroundings. For example, children who begged around Opeibea, a traffic light interchange in Accra, were noted to have mentioned pilot as they are close to the Accra International airport.

Interventions are not working because the views of children are not being taken into consideration. Perhaps if children should be actively involved in decisions and interventions meant for them, the phenomenon would have been fairly controlled if not entirely. There is hope for the future if children street beggars are actively involved in the eradication process as they are social beings and as such have their own social constructions of realities.

6.7 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are made

1. Street children should be involved in drawing policies which are made on their behalf.
2. Street children's projects should be done in their setting.

3. As children learn from bigger boys the skills to street life, interventions should target these bigger boys so that children who come to the streets would learn for instance vocational skills rather than begging.
4. Further research should look at child begging holistically by examining children who beg on their own, with adults and migrant children from neighbouring countries.
5. A comparative study should be done in the future research on the forms of begging street girl children engage in as opposed to boys as this study mainly focused on begging in the streets.

REFERENCES

- Abebe, T. (2008). Earning a living on the margins: begging, street work and the socio-spatial experiences of children in Addis Ababa. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 90(3), 271-284.
- Abebe, T. (2009). Begging as a livelihood pathway of street children in Addis Ababa. In *Forum for Development Studies* (Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 275-300). Taylor & Francis Group.
- Adeyemi, O. S., & Oluwaseun, O. (2012). Cultural factors promoting streetism among urban children in Ibadan Metropolis, Nigeria. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(9), 41-46.
- Afrifa, P. S. (2010). Emerging Fostering Practices in Ghana: A Micro-Study of Institutionalized Fostering in the Tema Municipality. (MPhil Dissertation). University of Ghana. Accra, Ghana.
- Akyeampong, K. (2009). Revisiting free compulsory universal basic education (FCUBE) in Ghana. *Comparative Education*, 45(2), 175-195.
- Aluaigba, M. T. (2009). Circumventing or superimposing poverty on the African child? The Almajiri syndrome in Northern Nigeria.
- Amexo, M., Tolhurst, R., Barnish, G., & Bates, I. (2004). Malaria misdiagnosis: effects on the poor and vulnerable. *The Lancet*, 364(9448), 1896-1898.
- Anarfi, J. K. (1997). Vulnerability to sexually transmitted disease: street children in Accra. *Health Transition Review*, 7, 281-306.
- Anderson-McNamee, J. K., & Bailey, S. J. (2010). The importance of play in early childhood development. *Montana State University Extension*, 1-4.
- Ansah-Koi, A. A. (2006). Care of orphans: Fostering interventions for children whose parents die of AIDS in Ghana. *Families in Society*, 87(4), 555-564.
- Apt, N.A., & Blavo, E.Q. (1997). 'Ghana', in N.S. Mayadas, D, Elliott and T.D. Watts (eds) *International handbook on social work theory and practice*. London: Greenwood Press.
- Apt, N. A., Blavo, E. Q., & Wilson, S. (1998). *Children in need: A study of children in institutional homes in Ghana*. Centre for Social Policy.
- Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (Ed.). (1994). *Family and Development in Ghana: Proceedings of International Training and Research Workshop Held at the University of Ghana, Legon on 14th-18th December, 1992*. Ghana Universities Press.

- Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (1995). *The changing family in Ghana*. University of Ghana.
- Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (2006). The family in Ghana: Past and present perspectives. *African families at the turn of the 21st century*, 129.
- Aryeetey, E., & Goldstein, M. (2000). 'Ghana social reform in Africa', in G. Morales., N. Tschirgi., and J.L. Moher., (eds) *Reforming social policy: Changing perspectives on sustainable human development*, pp. 9-43. Dakar: International Development Research Centre.
- Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative research*, 1(3), 385-405.
- Atobrah, D. (2004). Children of dead mothers and 'unknown' fathers'. *Institute of African Studies Research Review*, 2004(Supplement 6), 59-75.
- Awatey, S. (2014). Assessing the Effects of Streetism on the Livelihood of Street Children: A Case Study of Kumasi (in Ghana). *Research on humanities and social sciences*, 4(9), 165-173.
- Awumbila, M., & Ardayfio-Schandorf, E. (2008). Gendered poverty, migration and livelihood strategies of female porters in Accra, Ghana. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift-Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 62(3), 171-179.
- Awumbila, M. (2006). Gender equality and poverty in Ghana: implications for poverty reduction strategies. *GeoJournal*, 67(2), 149-161.
- Badasu, D. M. (2004). Child care among Ewe migrants in the city of Accra: cases of crisis. *Institute of African Studies Research Review*, 2004(Supplement 6), 17-37.
- Baldassar, L., Kilkey, M., Merla, L., & Wilding, R. (2014). Transnational families. *The wiley blackwell companion to the sociology of families*, 155-175.
- Ballet, J., Bhukuth, A., Rakotonirinjanahary, F., Rakotonirinjanahary, M., Divinagracia, E., & Dutreuilh, C. (2010). Family rationales behind child begging in Antananarivo. *Population*, 65(4), 695-712.
- Bello, M. B., Ahmed, S., Ogungbade, O. K., Omotosho, J. A., AlHassan, Y. S., & Mustapha, J. (2012). Patterns of Street-Begging, Support Services and Vocational Aspirations of People Living With Disabilities in Ilorin, Nigeria.
- Benneh, G. (1994). Family development in Ghana: An overview. *Family development in Ghana*, 5-12.
- Berrick, J. D., Barth, R. P., & Needell, B. (1994). A comparison of kinship foster homes and foster family homes: Implications for kinship foster care as family preservation. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 16(1-2), 33-63.

- Boakye-Boaten, A. (2008). Street children: experiences from the streets of Accra. *Research Journal of International Studies*, 8, 76-84.
- Boakye-Boaten, A. (2010). Changes in the concept of Childhood: Implications on Children in Ghana. *Journal of International Social Research*, 3(10).
- Brown, J. (1999). Bowen family systems theory and practice: Illustration and critique. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*, 20(2), 94-103.
- Clark, G. (1994). *Onions are my husband: Survival and accumulation by West African market women*. University of Chicago Press.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). Mapping the field of mixed methods research.
- Darko, A., & Anyidoho, K. (2003). *Faceless*. Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Debrah, E. (2013). Alleviating poverty in Ghana: The case of livelihood empowerment against poverty (LEAP). *Africa Today*, 59(4), 40-67.
- Delap, E. (2009). Begging for Change: Research findings and recommendations on forced child begging in Albania/Greece, India and Senegal.
- Department of Social Welfare (2011). Census on street children in the greater Accra region. *Accra, Ghana: Author*.
- Einarsdóttir, J. (2007). Research with children: Methodological and ethical challenges. *European early childhood education research journal*, 15(2), 197-211.
- Ennew, J., & Swart-Kruger, J. (2003). Introduction: Homes, places and spaces in the construction of street children and street youth. *Children Youth and Environments*, 13(1), 81-104.
- Ermisch, J., & Pronzato, C. (2010). *Causal effects of parents' education on children's education* (No. 2010-16). ISER Working Paper Series.
- Ezewu, E. E. (1986). The relative contribution of the extended family system to schooling in Nigeria. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 55(2), 222-228.
- Fortes, M. (1978). Family marriage and fertility in West Africa.
- Frimpong-Manso, K. (2014). Child welfare in Ghana: The past, present and future. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 4(6), 411.
- Fuseini, T. (2016). *The Experiences of Muslim Child Beggars in Dagbon of Northern Ghana: an Exploratory Study from the Perspective of Salutogenesis* (Master's thesis, The University of Bergen).

- Glauser, B. (2015). Street children: deconstructing a construct. In *Constructing and reconstructing childhood* (pp. 146-162). Routledge.
- Hay, D. F., Payne, A., & Chadwick, A. (2004). Peer relations in childhood. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry*, 45(1), 84-108.
- Hill, A. (1962). 'Administrative Structure for Social Welfare in West Africa', in C. Drake and T.P. Omari (eds) *Social work in West Africa* (Report of The Seminar on Social Work in West Africa). Accra: Ghana Publishing.
- Howard, K. A., & Walsh, M. E. (2011). Children's conceptions of career choice and attainment: Model development. *Journal of Career Development*, 38(3), 256-271.
- Hox, J. J., & Boeije, H. R. (2005). Data collection, primary versus secondary. *Encyclopedia of Social Measurement*, 593-599.
- Hume, P. (2008). Letter to the Editor: Re: African Family. *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 97(385).
- Hutz, C. S., & Koller, S. H. (1999). Methodological and ethical issues in research with street children. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 1999(85), 59-70.
- Ibrahim, A. (2012). Characteristics of Street Children. E-International Relations Students.
- Johnson, S. (2010). Family Systems Theory.
- Kalant, H. (2004). Adverse effects of cannabis on health: an update of the literature since 1996. *Progress in neuro-psychopharmacology and biological psychiatry*, 28(5), 849-863.
- Kamruzzaman, M., & Hakim, M. A. (2015). Socio-economic status of child beggars in Dhaka city. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(5), 516-520.
- Kangsangbata, C. (2008). Streetism and child labour in the Wa municipality of Ghana. *Studies in Gender and Development in Africa*, 2, 14-33.
- Kassah, A. K. (2008). Begging as work: A study of people with mobility difficulties in Accra, Ghana. *Disability & Society*, 23(2), 163-170.
- Kawulich, B. B. (2005, May). Participant observation as a data collection method. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6(2).
- Lalor, K. J. (1999). Street children: a comparative perspective. *Child abuse & neglect*, 23(8), 759-770.
- Laird, S. (2002). The 1998 children's act: Problems of enforcement in Ghana. *British Journal of Social Work*, 32(7), 893-905.

- Lingam, L. (2006). Gender, households and poverty: Tracking mediations of macro adjustment programmes. *Economic and political weekly*, 1989-1998.
- Longhurst, R. (2003). Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. *Key methods in geography*, 117-132.
- Lynch, P. (2002). Begging for change: Homelessness and the law. *Melb. UL Rev.*, 26, 690.
- Lynch, P. (2005). Understanding and responding to begging. *Melb. UL Rev.*, 29, 518.
- Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative interviewing: Asking, listening and interpreting. *Qualitative research in action*, 6, 225-241.
- Masten, A. S. (2011). Resilience in children threatened by extreme adversity: Frameworks for research, practice, and translational synergy. *Development and Psychopathology*, 23(2), 493-506.
- McCarthy, B., & Hagan, J. (1992). Mean streets: The theoretical significance of situational delinquency among homeless youths. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(3), 597-627.
- Mensa-Bonsu, H. J., & Dowuona-Hammond, C. (1994). *The Child Within the Ghanaian Family: A Legal Perspective*. University of Ghana.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1990). *African religions & philosophy*. Heinemann.
- MoGCSP. (2015). Child and Family Welfare Policy. UNICEF
- Namwata, B. M., Mgabo, M. R., & Dimoso, P. (2012). Categories of street beggars and factors influencing street begging in central Tanzania.
- Nanbigne, E. (2004). Helping them grow their teeth: care and conflict among the Dagaaba of northern Ghana. *Institute of African Studies Research Review*, 2004(Supplement 6), 77-83.
- Norman, R. E., Byambaa, M., De, R., Butchart, A., Scott, J., & Vos, T. (2012). The long-term health consequences of child physical abuse, emotional abuse, and neglect: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLoS medicine*, 9(11), e1001349.
- Ntozi, J. P., Ahimbisibwe, F. E., Odwee, J. O., Ayiga, N., & Okurut, F. N. (1999). Orphan care: The role of the extended family in northern Uganda. *The continuing African HIV/AIDS epidemic*, 3, 225-36.
- Nukunya, G. K. (2003). *Tradition and change in Ghana: An introduction to sociology*. Ghana Universities Press.
- Nukunya, G. K. (1969). *Kinship and Mariage among the Anlo Ewe*. L.S.E. Monographs No. 37. London: Athlone Press.

- Oino, P. G., Sorre, B. M., & Bor, E. K. (2013). The Influence of Social Organization among Street Children on their Survival on the Streets. *International Journal of Science and Research (IJSR), India Online*, 2(7).
- Orme, J., & Seipel, M. M. (2007). Survival strategies of street children in Ghana: A qualitative study. *International social work*, 50(4), 489-499.
- Oppong, C. (1973). *Growing up in Dagbon*. Ghana Pub. Corp.
- Oppong, C. (2004). Social capital and systems of care: Some contrasting evidence. *Institute of African Studies Research Review*, 2004(Supplement 6), 1-15.
- Ospina, S. (2004). ARTICLE Qualitative Research. *Encyclopedia of leadership*.
- Owoaje, E. T., Adebisi, A. O., & Asuzu, M. C. (2009). Socio-demographic characteristics of street children in rural communities undergoing urbanization. *Annals of Ibadan postgraduate medicine*, 7(1), 10-15.
- Pagani, L. S., Derevensky, J. L., & Japel, C. (2010). Does early emotional distress predict later child involvement in gambling?. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(8), 507-513.
- Rothbaum, F., Rosen, K., Ujiie, T., & Uchida, N. (2002). Family systems theory, attachment theory, and culture. *Family process*, 41(3), 328-350.
- Sayibu, W. (2016). 'We Don't Even Use Our Older Children': Young Children Accompanying Blind Adult Beggars in Tamale, Ghana. In *Generationing Development* (pp. 175-198). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Scanlon, T. J., Tomkins, A., Lynch, M. A., & Scanlon, F. (1998). Street children in Latin America. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 316(7144), 1596.
- Schmidt, M. J., & Hollensen, S. (2006). *Marketing research: An international approach*. Pearson education.
- Seitzinger Hepburn, K. (2004). Families as Primary Partners in their Child's Development and School Readiness. *Annie E. Casey Foundation*.
- Seni, A. J. (2017). Causes and Effects of Begging Style Involving Children as Guides in Dodoma Municipality, Tanzania: Liability in Basic Education Access. *International Journal of Education & Literacy Studies*, 5(1).
- Shanahan, F. P. (2003). Streets versus elites: tensions, trade-offs, and treaties with street children in Accra, Ghana. *Children Youth and Environments*, 13(1), 360-372.
- Siqwana-Ndulo, N. (1998). Rural African family structure in the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *Journal of comparative family studies*, 407-417.

- Stones, C. R. (2013). A psycho-social exploration of street begging: A qualitative study. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 43(2), 157-166.
- Suda, C. (1997). Street children in Nairobi and the African cultural ideology of kin-based support system. Change and challenge. *Child Abuse Review: Journal of the British Association for the Study and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect*, 6(3), 199-217.
- Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection. *Ethnobotany Research and applications*, 5, 147-158.
- Ungar, M. (2004). A constructionist discourse on resilience: Multiple contexts, multiple realities among at-risk children and youth. *Youth & society*, 35(3), 341-365.
- Van Breda, A. (2010). *Multicultural scale development in social work: Measuring the resilience of military families in South Africa*. VDM Publishing.
- Victor, D. (2011). Begging and almsgiving in Nigeria: The Islamic perspective. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 3(4), 127-131.
- Vyrastekova, J., Huisman, J., Mosha, I., & Smits, J. (2014). Mothers more altruistic than fathers, but only when bearing responsibility alone: evidence from parental choice experiments in Tanzania. *PloS one*, 9(6), e99952.
- Wells, M. (2010). 'Off the backs of the children': forced begging and other abuses against talibés in Senegal.
- Wilson, A., & Mittelmark, M. B. (2013). Resources for adjusting well to work migration: Women from northern Ghana working in Head Porterage in Greater Accra. *Africa Today*, 59(4), 25-38.
- World Food Programme. (2007). *Hunger and Health* (Vol. 2). Earthscan.
- Wutoh, A. K., Kumoji, E. K., Xue, Z., Campusano, G., Wutoh, R. D., & Oforu, J. R. (2006). HIV knowledge and sexual risk behaviors of street children in Takoradi, Ghana. *AIDS and Behavior*, 10(2), 209-215.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

The researcher introduced herself to respondents and discussed the purpose of the research.

For Children

Demographic characteristics

Sex

Age

Ethnicity

Religion

Family background of children street beggars

1. Where do you come from?
2. Who brought you to Accra (migrant children)?
3. Tell me about your parents?
4. What do your parents do?
5. How many siblings do you have?
6. Tell me about your family; uncles, aunties, cousins?
7. Have you lived with any one before?
8. Who did you live and who do you live with now?

Living conditions of children street beggars

1. How long have you been on the streets?
2. How did you start begging on the street?
3. Who introduced you?
4. What is a typical day like for you?
5. What do you eat?
6. How many times do you eat a day?

7. Do you play?
8. What kinds of games do you play?
9. How many friends do you have?
10. Do you assist each other as friends, how?
11. How often do you go home?
12. Where do you sleep?
13. Do you ever change where you sleep?
14. How often do you change your sleep location?
15. What factors make you change your sleep location?
16. How many times do you bath?
17. Where do you bath?
18. Where do you go when you want to use the rest room?
19. Have you ever been sick?
20. What do you do when you are sick?
21. What kind of sickness?
22. How were you cured of the sickness?
23. Who took care of you when you were sick?
24. Have you had an encounter with the police?
25. Have you ever been engaged in any illegal activity?
26. How do people treat you on the streets?
27. Have you ever been beaten, insulted, pushed or raped on the streets?
28. Have you come into contact with any street lord?
29. What was the encounter like?

Education

1. Have you ever been to school?

2. Which class are you or were you in?
3. What schools did you attend?
4. Why and how did you stop? (for children out of school)
5. Which class were you in? (for children out of school)
6. Do you want to go to school again? (for children out of school)
7. There is capitation grant on education how come you are not in school? (for children out of school)

Future aspirations of children street beggars

1. what are your fears and why?
2. Do you like what you do?
3. What will you like to do when you grow up?
4. Would you like to have a family?
5. Would you like to have children?
6. Will you let your children do what you are currently doing when you grow up?

Accountability

1. How much do you make a day?
2. Do you make account to anyone?
3. How often do you make account?
4. What do you use the money you make for?
5. Have you ever used your money for anything illegal?

For Parent/ Guardian/ Relation

Demographic characteristics

Sex:

Age:

Ethnicity:

Religion:

Educational level:

Employment:

Family background

1. Where do you come from?
2. Can you tell me about your family?
3. What occupations do most of the family members do?
4. How is your relation with your family like?
5. How many children do you have?
6. Where are they?
7. Do you get kin support?
8. Is your family involved in the socialization of your child?
9. Who disciplines your child when he/she goes wrong?
10. Who is in charge of monitoring your children?

Income distribution on children

1. How much do you earn?
2. What do you use your income for?
3. How much income goes into child care?
4. What aspect of child care do you use your income on?
5. If you do not work, how do you take care of your children (for parents who do not have jobs)?

Knowledge about children and discipline

1. Do your children stay with you?
2. How often do you check up on them?
3. Who disciplines them when they go wrong?

Aspirations of parents for their children

1. Do you have any aspirations for your children?
2. What do you want your child to do in future?
3. How are you working towards attaining this goal for your child?

Institutions that work with children

1. Which year was the institution formed?
2. What is the main purpose of the institution?
3. Has the institution made any achievements based on its aims?
4. Are there incentives to get children interested to patronize the services of the institutions?
5. What are the institutions major challenges?

Appendix 2



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana

My Ref. No.....

15th December, 2017

Ms. Wilhemina Tetteh
Institute of African Studies
University of Ghana
Legon

Dear Ms. Tetteh,

ECH 068/17-18: UNDERSTANDING THE PHENOMENON OF CHILDREN BEGGARS ON THE STREETS OF ACCRA

This is to advise you that the above reference study has been presented to the Ethics Committee for the Humanities for a full board review and the following actions taken subject to the conditions and explanation provided below:

Expiry Date: 12/06/18
On Agenda for: Initial Submission
Date of Submission: 13/11/17
ECH Action: Approved
Reporting: Quarterly



Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. Prof. J. O. Y. Mante
ECH Chair

CC: Prof. Dzodzi Tsikata, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana.