

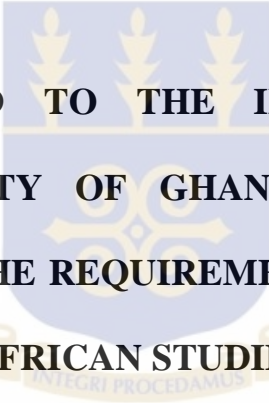
**UNCONVENTIONAL URBAN SETTLEMENTS: AN ANALYSIS OF
THE NATURE, CAUSES AND RESPONSES OF HOMELESSNESS
IN ACCRA.**

BY

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M.PHIL DEGREE IN AFRICAN STUDIES.**

The logo of the University of Ghana is centered behind the text. It features a shield with three golden stalks of grain at the top, a central emblem, and the motto 'INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS' at the bottom.

JUNE 2014

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to works which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is my original research and that it has neither in part nor whole been previously presented for another degree in any institution.

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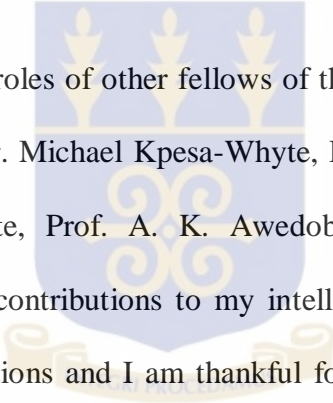
DEDICATION

To my mother Agnes Korkor Zogblah and the memory of my late father Emmanuel Tei-Kumadoe Senior.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The ongoing breakdown of the extended family support system and the economic hardships brought about by the Economic Recovery Programmes of the 1980s have contributed to visible expressions of urban poverty. These are manifested in two types of precarious urban settlements which have sprung up throughout many parts of Accra, the slum and the non-slum. This study perceives the latter as homelessness. It analyses its nature, causes and responses from the public towards the phenomenon. The study applies the concepts of social exclusion, structural poverty and the interconnectedness of home and work in the informal sector in examining the phenomenon of homelessness in Accra. To achieve this, four locations in the Greater Accra region which bear two types of homelessness are observed and dwellers are interviewed. In addition to this, institutions that, and individuals who, interact with the homeless are also examined. These yield the results that the homeless people of Accra are clustered at the town/city centres and dispersed within the residential areas. They also have few personal possessions and engaged in economic activities that principally dictate the nature and place of their accommodation. Few of them benefit occasionally, in clothes and health care, from

charity events organized by some institutions such as Joy Fm and the Maternal Health Channel. More significantly most of the homeless are engaged in daily interactions with non-homeless members of society. These interactions establish relationships of trust and reciprocity which revolve round the daily lives of the homeless making urban life less difficult. This study shows that the homeless of Ghana do not exist outside of the community as it is in most countries but are rather integrated within the community. The study also established that social exclusion results in long term deprivations of the excluded and used the colonial and post colonial government relationship with rural areas of Ghana to support this.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMA: Accra Metropolitan Assembly

ASHMA: Ashaiman Municipal Assembly

CBD: Central Business District

CMB: Cocoa Marketing Board

DOVVSU: Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit

GNA: Ghana News Agency

LEKMA: Ledzokuku-Krowor Municipal Assembly

PD: Peoples Dialogue on Human Settlement

SDI: Slum Dwellers International

UNCHS: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

There is no word for homelessness in any Ghanaian language (Tipple and Speak, 2005). This truth is largely based on residential practices which were rooted in cultures that prevented the development of such a phenomenon. Studies on the cultural residential practices of the indigenous people of Accra (the Ga) by Quarcoopome (1993), Fayorsey (1995) and Atobrah (2009) have showed how organized family structures ensured that every one of their kith and kin had a secure roof over their heads. Although the Ga residential pattern has experienced some modifications over the years (Fayorsey, p. 92), the existence of family homes makes it unlikely for homelessness to emerge among the Ga on condition that they remain at their places of origin. This raises the question of who the homeless of Accra are.

Based on existing studies such as Aikins and Ofori-Atta (2007); Nteuwusu (2012); Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah (2009); Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011); Agarwal et al (1997), this study perceives homelessness as an exclusive preserve of migrants living in Accra. There are many studies globally and locally that explore general and contextual issues within the field of migration and Ghana is no exception but with the study of urban problems the most relevant form is rural-urban (UN-HABITAT, 2003; Obeng-Odoom, 2010).

In Ghana, the main reason why rural-urban migration has been of major importance is the uneven development that exists between the rural and urban parts of the country. Due to a

lack of opportunities people of rural birth have been moving to urban centres in search of sustainable livelihoods for many years. It is estimated that the urbanization rate between 2005 and 2010 was 3.54% (DESA, 2006)

Previously, migrants to Accra had social dependents that were willing to accommodate them on arrival and also support them throughout their stay (Ntewusu, 2005). Over the years however these social safety nets have become overburdened due to the huge numbers of migrants and economic hardships that have arisen from policies such as the economic recovery programmes of the 1980s (Ntewusu, 2012; Speak and Tipple, 2006).

The breakdown of these social safety nets has led to two forms of precarious urban settlements found in the slums and the non-slums. Slums have been defined by the UN-HABITAT as deteriorated old settlements that may have secure tenure on the one hand and also as informal settlements with poor services that do not have tenure on the other hand (UN-HABITAT, 2003). For the purposes of this study, the latter is more appropriate since it is closely associated with the history of migrant settlements in Ghana (Brand, 1971; Grant, 2009). Non-slum settlements which this study equates to homelessness refer to residence in places designed mainly for commercial purposes and not meant for human habitation such as lorry stations and kiosks.

Slum settlement has become the focus of attention in Ghana and other developing countries. It has been the focus of systematic studies; state and non-state interventions such as Target 11 of Goal 7 of the Millennium Development Goals which aims at improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020 (Grant, 2009; Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Davis, 2006; UN-HABITAT, 2003), whereas non-slum settlement has received relatively less academic attention in Ghana.

The focus of this study is on non-slum settlement as a response to homelessness. It examines the nature of this kind of urban settlement in Accra and also seeks to understand how the state and the wider public have responded to this type of urban settlement.

1.2. Problem Statement

Within Accra, there are residents who live in places that are not meant for human habitation. Most of these places are originally meant for commercial activities such as lorry stations, markets, shops, kiosks, containers, among others. These forms of shelter in Accra sometimes last for very brief periods while others occupy these places for years. This study contends that this phenomenon is an indication of the development of homelessness in Ghana.

There is some evidence that suggests that it may have been present for a very long time because in a survey conducted over five decades ago, Acquah (1958) showed evidence of people who slept out at night. The data provided was limited to three groups: migrants who slept in canoes at the beach; the destitute; and children who were picked up by the police sleeping on the streets (p. 53-54). Acquah indicated that the children had at least one or both parents resident in Usher town but did not show whether they were offspring of indigens or migrants. The other two groups however were mostly migrants.

More recent studies of this phenomenon have been conducted by Agarwal et al (1997). This study, conducted within the Central Business District (CBD) of Accra, revealed that female migrants, mainly of northern Ghanaian origin, who worked as head-load porters best known in local parlance as *kayayei* slept at the markets and lorry stations in order to

save enough money to return home. Appiah and Yeboah (2009) also studied the cultural and socio-economic profiles of *kayayei* within the CBD of Accra. Apart from establishing the role of poverty, cultural factors relating to attitudes towards girl-child education and early marriage as the major reasons that push girls out of their places of origin, mainly in the northern parts Ghana, to Accra to work as *kayayei*, they also confirmed findings by Agarwal et al (1997) that the occupation of the porters in Accra has a close relationship with rough sleeping within the markets and lorry stations.

Other studies by Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011) and Ntewusu (2012) also confirmed this close relationship between the occupation of *kayayei* and dwellings at the CBD of Accra. These studies established an undeniable presence of homelessness in Ghana. They established that most of these migrants did not live in homes but in the markets and lorry stations within the CBD for months and in some cases years.

Although these studies have contributed to knowledge on previously unknown precarious urban settlements their joint focus on one occupation raises the question of whether homelessness in Ghana is an exclusive preserve of *kayayei*. Additionally, the shared focus on the CBD also raises the question of whether that area is the only place in Accra to find homeless people. The existence of some factors outside the CBD makes it safe to assume that homelessness could be present in places outside its boundaries. Some of these factors include the increasing levels of urban poverty within the developing world and the presence of the urban poor in places outside the CBD (UN-HABITAT, 2003; Yeboah, 2005).

The study by Aikins and Ofori-Atta (2007) was an attempt at a shift from the narrow focus shared by the studies above. In this work, the authors examined the everyday experiences of homeless people within East-Legon, one of the wealthy suburbs of Accra. The weakness of this study however is in its conceptualization of homelessness. The authors adopted a framework that emphasized the intersection of structural, individual and group (family) factors in causing homelessness with no hierarchy of influence among them. Their findings however suggested that poverty, rural-urban migration and unemployment were the most common causes of homelessness. The strength of structural factors such as poverty over others such as family disruption is clearly suggestive of a hierarchy of influence in Ghana. This calls for an approach that will rethink the conceptual part of the study of homelessness in Ghana and this study is an attempt at resolving this problem.

1.3. Conceptual Framework

This study applies the concepts of structural poverty and social exclusion and how they relate in bringing about a degree of urban poverty which manifests in homelessness. It also builds on the thesis on the inter-connectedness of home and work in the informal sector (Obeng-Odoom, 2011b). Although this study recognizes the strength of factors such as environment and conflict in pushing and pulling rural dwellers to urban areas, particularly from Northern Ghana (van der Geest, 2011), it argues, based on interviews and case histories, that structural poverty is more significant in moving rural dwellers to urban areas. It argues further that there is a direct cause and effect relationship between social exclusion and structural poverty.

Social exclusion refers to economic, political, legal and social processes which bar people from full social participation (Smith, 1999). At the turn of the twentieth century when northern Ghana came under colonial domination the government perceived the region as a labour reserve and implemented policies which pushed mainly able bodied men to southern destinations to work in the mines, cocoa farms and development of urban infrastructure. This was achieved by a policy of direct taxation and forced recruitments done by local chiefs. It must be noted however that in the same period men were pulled by real and perceived benefits of migration to the south (van der Geest, 2011; Amanor, 2011; Ntewusu, 2005, 2012; Konings, 1985).

Decades of this practice fundamentally changed the nature of the economy, culture and social organization of the region and in later periods a new form of migration markedly different from the forced kind emerged. This pattern of migration differed along two lines, first it was voluntary and secondly it involved females (van der Geest, 2011).

In all the changes that took place the people were acted upon by the use of force and barred out of participation in decision making that affected their destiny, culture and social organization. While provisions were made for people of the south to educate their children in earlier periods such as the nineteenth century, the first school in the north was started in the 1930s (van der Geest, 2011).

Based on this long period of exclusion a huge development gap has been created between the north and the south which successive post-colonial regimes have not succeeded in bridging despite some policy interventions such as the waiver of boarding school charges and the Savannah Accelerated Development Programme by the Nkrumah and Mills

governments respectively. As such people of northern Ghanaian origin still migrate to southern regions in search of sustainable livelihoods which the circumstances of their birth and social groups cannot offer them. The circumstances of birth and social group introduce the concept of structural poverty. According to Illife (1987) this concept refers to a dimension of poverty that is caused by individual and social circumstances. This relationship between social exclusion and structural poverty is not peculiar to the case of northern Ghana; it reflects other cases of rural urban migration in other regions of Ghana but in varying degrees. Its validity is also confirmed by works done in South Africa (Olufemi, 2000), United Kingdom (Smith, 1999), Japan (Hayashi, 2013) and the United States of America (Goetz, 1992).

At the urban destinations, former rural dwellers are absorbed by social safety nets such as the extended family system. A combination of factors such as the high rate of migration and harsh economic policies particularly from the period of structural adjustment have overburdened this safety net as such it is unable to function efficiently as it used to. This has led to the visibility of forms of urban poverty that were previously hidden by the functional social safety nets. Among these visible expressions are slum settlements and non-slum settlements. Although these populations have existed over long periods, their inclusion by their extended family members as part of their households concealed the fact that they lacked homes of their own in the urban areas. The breakdown of this safety net reflects another form of social exclusion in the provision of housing needs (Ntewusu, 2005; Speak and Tipple, 2006).

Where these excluded populations reside at the urban areas rest largely on where they find work and some degree of social support. For those who work at city and town

centres their main dwelling spaces are the markets, lorry stations and nearby buildings whereas those who work in residential areas largely resort to kiosks, uncompleted and abandoned buildings. Another significant difference between the two groups is that, the city and town centre homeless are concentrated in the nature of their settlement whereas the homeless of the residential areas are dispersed.

Prescribing an appropriate name for the above phenomenon of people living in places not meant for human habitation has been a subject of debate in the literature. Some maintain it is 'homelessness' but others have argued that a home means much more than a physical space as such it is more appropriate to use 'houselessness' (Somerville, 1992; Springer, 2000; Dupont, 1998). This study argues that although a physical space is not a sufficient condition to make a home, it is a necessary condition. As such the concept of houselessness is flawed. There is however a growing consensus that these concepts must be context-specific (Springer, 2000; Tipple and Speak, 2005). This study supports this consensus.

1.4. Objectives

The broad objective of this study is to examine the nature of homelessness within Accra and how it relates to concepts of structural poverty, social exclusion and the nexus between home and work within the informal sector. Additionally, it also seeks to examine various kinds of responses to homelessness and their associated impacts.

1.5. Research Questions

- How do the peculiar conditions of homelessness influence the nature of assets that are kept by the homeless?

- How do the nature and place of work influence the choice of residence among the homeless?
- In what ways do structural poverty and social exclusion by the state and extended families relate to produce homelessness?
- What impact does institutional and non-institutional responses have on the nature of homelessness in areas where they are applied?

1.6. Research Methods

This study utilizes both primary and secondary sources of data. The secondary sources include systematic studies, policy statements and documents prepared by state and non-state organizations such as the Ghana Statistical Service, Ghana Homeless People's Federation, Ghana Federation for the Urban Poor, People's Dialogue on human settlement.

The primary sources included observations, formal, semi-formal and informal interviews. These techniques presented the most suitable conditions for the study to observe how the concepts within the framework inter-relate and how they do not. The process through which data was collected is discussed below.

A preliminary tour was conducted at night in markets and lorry stations between January and February. Places visited include the Central Business District (CBD) of Accra which includes Tudu, Tema station. Other major business centres that are not within the CBD such as Malata market, Madina market, Ashaiman market, Nungua market and their adjoining lorry stations were also toured. These tours also included informal conversations with the residents and were facilitated by a research assistant. This first

step was useful for the following reasons. First, I identified and gained access to the people and their dwelling places. Secondly, it was very important in developing the needed relationships without which the study would not have been possible. It also informed me in choosing what kind of questions to ask in order to get the most useful responses. Finally, by combining observation with interviews the study was able to confirm some of the things that respondents shared about their experiences (Mack et al, 2005).

This first step established the extent to which these forms of urban settlements were common in Accra; it also revealed that the city and town centre homeless populations were clustered. In addition, gender and age groupings seemed very important in places where they were clustered. Other related cases such as people who spent the night in isolation yet in open spaces like on pavements were also recorded. Such incidents were observed around the Kinbu Secondary School and at the Okponglo junction, the new main entrance of the University of Ghana, Legon. Follow up observations revealed that some of the isolated persons belonged to another group of people who have been excluded from social participation and have been on the streets of Accra for a very long time: the mentally ill.

This step was however limited to the phenomenon of people sleeping out at night, which is a broader category within which the homeless are found. In order to separate the population under study from the others who were present at the town/city centres for various reasons mainly related to work, part of the observation was narrowed to the presence of children and nursing mothers. The assumption used here was that mothers who had homes in Accra but had to work at odd hours of the night were more likely to

leave their kids at home. Hence the presence of children and nursing mothers served as a guide in choosing who the homeless are.

Another tour was conducted within the same period at East-Legon, Nungua and Ashaiman. Unlike the earlier one which focused on city/town centres, this exercise was carried out in residential areas. The Ashaiman tour was facilitated by a resident who has lived there for a long time and has also been involved with the activities of the Ghana Homeless People's Federation, Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor and the People's dialogue on human settlements. The parts of Ashaiman that were toured were the outskirts of Tulaku and Official town. These are mainly low-income neighborhoods near a slum.

At Nungua, the tour took place within some high income neighbourhoods such as the Teshie-Nungua estates and along the lane from Nungua Secondary School to Adogon last stop. Along this lane is a mix of middle class, high income, and low income settlements as well as indigenous family houses. This stage of fieldwork established the existence of a high incidence of homelessness that is at variance with the type observed at the city/town centres. It is manifested in kiosk habitation.

During the Easter holidays I volunteered for Joy Fm's annual soup kitchen. It is an event that serves hot meals, provides clothes and conducts medical screening for the underprivileged populations of Accra. This experience again took me on a tour of other parts of Accra with evidence of rough sleeping. Some of the areas that I conducted my preliminary tour were included, namely Malata market, Tema station, and Tudu. There were other places that I was visiting for the first time such as Kaneshie market, Old

fadama and the immediate surroundings of the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) known as Abuja. The purpose of this trip was to issue invitational coupons to those who spent their nights in these city/town centres.

On the day of the event thirty-four respondents were selected for informal conversations. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were combined at this stage. Purposive sampling was used to identify the respondents by place of residence. This helped to exclude respondents that lived in places which fall out of the scope of this study such as slum dwellers. After obtaining a respondent from a particular place of residence, snowballing was applied to obtain other respondents from the same place. The distribution of the thirty-four respondents is shown in the table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 Showing the Distribution and Locations of Participants for who took part in the Informal Conversations on the Day of the Joy Fm Easter Soup Kitchen.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	MALE RESPONDENTS	FEMALE RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
TEMA STATION	1	8	9
MALATA MARKET	3	6	9
KANESHIE MARKET	4	4	8
TUDU	4	0	4
COCOA MARKETING BOARD	0	4	4
TOTAL	12	22	34

Throughout this stage of fieldwork, some of the conversations were recorded with an audio recorder when the permission was granted. Not all of the respondents allowed for an audio recording and in such cases the essential points were recorded in a notepad shortly after the conversation.

The data clearly showed that the major difference between homelessness in the city/town centres and in residential areas was that it was clustered in the former and dispersed in the latter. The clustered kind involved a huge mass of people living within the same space whereas the dispersed type had the population scattered within a neighbourhood. While the clustered form generally had awareness and contact among one another the dispersed form had awareness but less contact. Based on this distinction, two areas were chosen for the study of each type of the phenomenon. Malata market and Tema station, both within the Accra Metropolitan Assembly, were chosen for clustered homelessness. For the dispersed type, the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly and Nungua, within the Ledzokuku-Krowor Municipal Assembly, were selected. Based on the advice of the research assistants, the markets and lorry stations of Nungua and Ashaiman were also observed at night but with no interviews.

Deciding on these study areas were also based on earlier relationships that the research team had built on our previous tours. In Ashaiman for instance, the research assistant had long been involved in efforts of mobilizing the urban poor and had in the process established that rapport with the homeless population there. In Malata, the assistant had a great deal of knowledge about the place as such it was not difficult to gain access to the people.

This stage of fieldwork took place between April and July and it involved semi-structured interviews with twenty four respondents reached through snowballing. Out of this, fourteen were drawn from the clustered homeless population and ten from the dispersed. The distribution of respondents is shown in the table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2 Showing the Distribution of Participants who took part in the Semi-Formal Interviews

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	MALE RESPONDENTS	FEMALE RESPONDENTS	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS PER AREA
MALATA MARKET	2	6	8
TEMA STATION	2	4	6
NUNGUA	3	2	5
ASHAIMAN	5	0	5
TOTAL	12	12	24

These numbers were obtained due to the availability of respondents to fit within the time-table drawn for the interviews. The numbers for town/city centre homelessness were more because they were relatively more connected than those within the dispersed group. Based on these connections and many studies on homelessness in different parts of the world (Olufemi, 1998, 2000; Olufemi and Reeves, 2004; Appiah and Yeboah, 2009; Oberhauser and Yeboah, 2011), the snowball sampling technique was employed. Permission to use a voice recorder was granted for some of these interviews but in some cases a note pad was used.

The decision to use semi-structured interviews was based on the nature of concepts and interrelationships that this study is dealing with. For instance to understand the process of social exclusion, a narrative of the respondent's social origin and reasons why he/she could not find shelter among relatives in Accra, would be more useful than a rigid questioning format. In a narrative there will be opportunities to gain additional information that may not have been captured on the interview guide that was designed before the interviews (Berg, 1995).

The above approach was used to explore the nature of responses that the homeless have experienced and from what sources they came from. It was also used to examine the kinds of assets that the homeless had and whether their living conditions made this possible or not.

The research team and all the respondents were conversant in Twi as such it served as the medium of communication.

Two groups of people were interviewed in addition to the samples above. They were previous homeless people and social workers who were reached through snowballing and purposive sampling respectively. The number of previous homelessness people was seven (7) and the social workers were four (4). Again semi-structured interviews were used to explore the interrelationships under study. These took place in July.

1.7. Literature Review

There are three major approaches in the body of literature on homelessness. These are the policy centred approach; the phenomenological approach; and conceptual approach. In what follows contributions within each approach are critically analyzed.

1.7.1. The Policy Centred Approach

This body of literature examines the relationship between homelessness and policy decisions at local and central government levels. The studies have been conducted, in most cases, by developing case studies that examine how policy decisions have shaped the development of homelessness in three different ways. First, how policy contributed to the creation of the phenomenon; secondly, how policy has reacted to the phenomenon; and finally, the impact of such reactions.

1.7.1.1. Policy Contribution to the Development of Homelessness

In a study of youth homelessness in the United Kingdom, Smith (1999) demonstrated how a particular policy decision led to a sharp rise in the number of young people who slept rough and a decrease in the ages of those who sought shelter at hostels in London. The decision was a withdrawal of welfare benefits to people between the ages of 16-18 years by the central government. Although other causes such as family disruption, migration to the bigger cities in search of employment and cases of previous institutional dwelling were present, this particular policy decision served as a turning point in the development of youth homelessness in the UK.

In addition, although the British government's definition of homelessness is broad enough to cover all those who are homeless as well as those living under threat of it, the statutory duty imposed upon local authorities has been to provide housing support for families with dependent children and the aged. As such young homeless people are legally excluded from housing support. Along with the fact that some young people (below 18 years) are neither old enough to vote nor understand what is happening to

them, Smith suggested that the government has used a policy of social exclusion to worsen the state of homelessness.

Social exclusion refers to economic, political, legal and social processes which bar people from full social participation (Smith, 1999). Seven different types of social exclusion have been suggested, exclusions from livelihood, social security and welfare, consumption, the right to vote, popular organisation and solidarity, an understanding of what is happening to the person concerned and family life (Wolfe, 1995; Smith 1999).

The policy-centred approach to homelessness has argued with evidence, suggesting one or a combination of a few of these forms of exclusion, that homelessness has been created, and worsened in some instances, through policies of social exclusion by local and central governments. This study builds on this approach using a combination of some of the types of exclusion such as social security and welfare, livelihood and an understanding of what is happening to the population concerned to show how policy has contributed to the state of homelessness in Ghana.

In Los Angeles, Goetz (1992) showed how land policy by the local government led to astronomical costs in housing within the city. This land policy was guided by the desire of the officials to beautify the built environment in order to attract investments. In the five year period that immediately followed a phase of urban restructuring between 1980 and 1985, there was a dramatic rise in the population of homeless people in the city. These were mainly migrants and undocumented workers who could not find jobs and those with work did not earn enough to afford housing within the city. In this case, the policy of redesigning-to-attract-investments was used to eliminate low-income earners from certain neighbourhoods due to the rise in rent that it brought about. This served to

exclude some populations from residing in the beautified parts of the city. Whether the local government of Los Angeles represented this population or not, their decision to eliminate them from residence within certain parts of the city amounted to a form of exclusion. The type of exclusion employed here however is not clear but the extent to which it influenced the development of homelessness cannot be disputed. What this suggests is that there could be other types of exclusion beyond the known seven such as exclusion from habitation.

A more glaring case of exclusion from habitation is shown in the case of South Africa. In this study the causal relationship between social exclusion and homelessness was demonstrated by Olufemi (2000). She established how homelessness in South Africa takes its roots from a combination of other forms of exclusions: the right to vote, family life, livelihood, organizational popular movements, social security and welfare. Using a historical analysis, she showed how the racial segregationist policies of the apartheid government created the crisis in housing among Africans which includes homelessness. She went ahead to develop a causal theory of homelessness based on spill-overs from nearby slums. This suggested a close relationship between slums and their surrounding areas. In other studies (Goetz, 1992; Hayashi, 2013) this observation was validated in Los Angeles and some cities in Japan such as Tokyo and Yokohama.

1.7.1.2. Policy Reactions to Homelessness and its Impact

The studies under this theme have examined specific policy actions, the basis for these actions and the impact that the various acts have had on homelessness. In a study of the phenomenon of homelessness in Japan, Hayashi (2013) provided three regulatory spaces

for forms of poverty, including homelessness. Interventions to support the homeless were generated through these spaces until 2002-2003 when new spaces were added. The three were the labour market, the social fabric and public provision. The labour market supported by providing employment for the poor; family and kinship network support constituted the social fabric; and the public provision involved direct provision from the state.

The ability of any of these spaces to function effectively was limited to the economic growth pattern of the particular period under study. In all the study examined five different periods within the last sixty years of Japan's history.

The notion of policy in use in this study is limited to decisions by local and central governments as such the social fabric and labour market spaces are not of relevance for now. This places the focus on public provision. Except for the first and second periods (1950s-1972; 1973-1985) public provision either failed or remained stagnant. The reason for its somewhat positive show in the earlier periods, according to Hayashi, was the relatively low extent of global capital penetration of the times.

Hayashi assessed the impact of poverty regulation by looking at urban spaces. Throughout the earlier periods, the homeless remained in *yoseba zones* until the 1990s and after. These zones were Japan's poor neighbourhoods and could be likened to the skid row neighbourhood in Los Angeles (Goetz, 1992) and the African reserve settlements of Johannesburg (Olufemi, 2000). The failure of all three regulatory spaces in the 1990s, and after, led to a movement of the homeless out of their zones into the streets in large numbers. This phenomenon lends support to Olufemi's spill-over theory.

The visibility of the homeless on the urban streets of Japan led to various policies of containment which involved evictions by the police and local authorities. It also moved the government to act in ways described by Hayashi as trial and error reactions. A major component of this set of reactions was an attempt to provide public assistance to those most deserving of it and in so doing excluded single men.

Beyond containment, other new regulatory spaces were created. These included the establishment of shelters and the provision of housing support for a period of two years. Hayashi's work showed how long periods of exclusion led to the spill-over of the excluded populations from their original zones into the streets. It also showed short sighted policy interventions that sought to contain the problem after long periods of neglect of the causes. It also demonstrated institutional responses and their impact on homelessness. In the case of Japan, institutional responses led to the reduction of visible homelessness and not homelessness. What became of those supported with housing and shelter was left out in the study. Perhaps an approach that would examine the homeless in closer detail such as the phenomenological one could have been more helpful in addressing the issue of what was left out.

In a similar manner, Goetz (1992) demonstrated how policy actions of containment employed by the Los Angeles city authorities tried to keep the homeless within their zone and not spill over into the 'beautiful' parts of the city. The trial-and-error responses that were applied in Japan were also applied in Los Angeles; here it was described as policy spasms. These involved a series of temporary and contradictory actions aimed at managing the problem. The actions of the city authorities either sought to provide welfare by providing temporary shelter or to protect business interests by arresting and evicting

the homeless from the streets. Goetz suggested that welfare provision was carried out within a framework that sought to protect business interests.

In what followed, Goetz showed a direct relationship between policy objectives and the impact of policy actions. What was achieved, after spending millions of dollars, was not a solution to the problem of increasing homelessness but a solution of containing homeless people within a restricted urban space that ensured that they were “geographically pooled, economically reproduced and politically contained” (Hayashi, 2013).

In Ghana, Aikins and Ofori-Atta (2007) showed similar forms of harassment of homeless people by city authorities in the East-Legon area. The basis for these harassments was on the one hand to move illegal settlers from their occupied spaces and the other hand, for corrupt officials of the AMA to take bribes. Unlike the studies above that demonstrated coordinated policy responses from local governments, Aikins and Ofori-Atta did not show whether these harassments were coordinated or not. In other studies that examined the policy decisions of the AMA (Grant, 2009; Obeng-Odoom, 2011b), bribery was identified as a real practice among operatives of the assembly and not of the assembly itself. These acts did not achieve any positive results in dealing with homelessness. They left the homeless in perpetual fear but did not improve their conditions in any way. This best demonstrates the trial-and-error reactions and policy spasms analysed by Hayashi (2013) and Goetz (1992).

In addition to establishing the role of policies of social exclusion in causing homelessness, the studies above have also established one arm of this study: the nature of responses to homelessness and its impact. In most of these cases the focus has been on

institutional responses and how they have impacted the phenomenon. This study builds on this by examining non-institutional responses and the effect they have on homelessness.

1.7.2. The Phenomenological Approach

This approach to the study of homelessness differs from the policy centred one by its focus on the original experiences of homeless people. It analyzes the phenomenon mainly through direct interaction with homeless people mainly through interviews, focused group discussions and observation. In addition to policy causes, this approach suggests interactions of individual and family causes such as drug use, teenage pregnancy, abusive marriages, family disruptions, lack of skills and labour market discrimination (Aikins and Ofori-Atta, 2007; Olufemi, 2000; Olufemi and Reeves, 2004). This study does not dispute these other causes but contends that their ability to lead to homelessness is largely dependent on the presence of policy causes such as structural poverty. This point can be understood by examining two causes of homelessness among women namely teenage pregnancy and labour market discrimination.

Girls from different economic strata encounter the problem of teenage pregnancy but why do some find themselves on the streets and others get the chance to get back to normal life? The answer lies in the ability of one's family to support new dependents. In cases where the family is capable it is most unlikely that the teenager involved will end up on the streets or in other places not meant for human habitation. Additionally, where the state is in the position to support mothers at risk of homelessness teenage pregnancy might not lead to homelessness. In the United Kingdom for instance, dependent children

and the aged (those above 60 years) are entitled to housing support by local authorities (Smith, 1999) as such a close relationship between teenage pregnancy and homelessness might not be possible. The absence of state and family support appears to be more influential in causing homelessness and not teenage pregnancy.

Secondly, labour market discrimination, a phenomenon which makes entrance into and engagement within the labour market relatively difficult and less rewarding for women than for men (Olufemi, 2000b), is another cause of homelessness which cannot stand on its own. Where a family is in a position to support an unemployed or underemployed member or where the state is in the position to do so, this factor will not lead to homelessness. At best it can only play a supporting role in creating homelessness when the policy cause is present.

To lend more support to this argument of a prime role of policy in causing homelessness, the study conducted by Aikins and Ofori-Atta is again visited. In this study, the authors used a framework that emphasized the intersection of individual, group (family), and structural factors in causing homelessness. They argued against the existence of a hierarchy of influence among these factors. From the data provided however, it was very clear that poverty, unemployment and rural-urban migration did have a prime role in bringing about homelessness among the participants. This suggests a hierarchy of influence between the structural factors and other factors such as individual and group causes.

Beyond this limitation of the phenomenological approach, it has made relevant contributions for the study of homelessness. This study seeks to highlight a few such as survival strategies and types of homelessness.

1.7.2.1. Survival Strategies

The study of survival strategies of homeless people under the phenomenological approach is very common. It has focused mainly on the means by which the homeless earn a living. In what follows, studies with such focus conducted in Ghana and other countries are analysed.

In a study of the everyday experiences of Ghana's homeless people, Aikins and Ofori-Atta (2007) demonstrated how they coped with financial and food insecurities as well as a constant fear of forced eviction. They survived by borrowing food and money and got themselves in debt in the process. Regarding the fear of forced eviction, the respondents demonstrated an awareness of its possibility and were prepared to face it in their own way by moving into other areas. Some of the respondents had some job skills with which they occasionally earned some money to support their families.

The fact that they borrowed money from others is an indication of some responses from their immediate environment. Most of these responses were non-institutional since they came from the community of homeless people that lived nearby. Sometimes they also received financial support from non-homeless people such as members of their churches.

This study also presented evidence of homeless people that lived as a community even though they were not settled in a town/city centre. What it suggests is that residential area homelessness can move from its dispersed nature to a clustered form if there are conditions within the neighbourhood that permit its expansion. In other studies of homelessness in Ghana, the focus has been on town/city centre homelessness. It is to these studies that we now turn.

Agarwal et al (1997) studied the case of head load porters or *kayayei* who worked mainly within the Central Business District of Accra. The *kayayei* of Accra are all females and their occupation, which involved the provision of human transport for goods from the point of sale to lorry stations, is their most defining feature. What distinguishes this group from other groups of homeless people is the fact that they are economically active on a daily basis. In the case examined above (Aikins and Ofori-Atta, 2007) there are occasional jobs however with this group they work daily as such they are assured of income.

There was strong evidence of financial planning, residential and social support because they mostly live in groups and were also related along family lines. The fact that they work also takes them out of other groups of homeless people that suffer food insecurity. The social support system among them helps in addressing the insecurities associated with their work and places of abode. The nature of work placed them in harm's way since they have to share very little space with human and vehicular traffic. In addition, their dwelling places were mostly shacks or kiosks, pavements and streets and these placed them under constant threat of illness and sexual exploitation.

Similar findings were made by Oberhauser and Yeboah (2011) in a study of *Kayayei* within the CBD of Accra. This study drew on gendered livelihood strategies and its interaction with global economic policies. Livelihood strategies refer to the social and economic means available to individuals and households in dealing with the difficulties of policy decisions and economic restructuring (p. 24). The policy decisions and economic restructuring here arose from neoliberal policies by government. The application of gender served to differentiate between female and male pottering practices.

This framework was useful in explaining the intensification of urban poverty and also supports the nexus between place of work and choice of residence within the informal economy. The latter is employed by this study but the point of divergence between both studies is the study areas chosen. While their focus was only on the CBD, this study has chosen to move into other areas where the precarious settlements are not as clustered as it is at the CBD.

Other studies such as Ntewusu, 2012; Appiah and Yeboah, 2009 also studied the *kayayei* in the CBD particularly Tudu, Makola, Agbogbloshie and Tema station. Both studies confirmed the existence of a social support system and the threat of sexual exploitation as well as the places of residence which this is focused on. Appiah and Yeboah (2009) examined the economic and cultural practices that lead to migration to urban areas. Through the methods that this approach relies on, namely interviews, focused group discussions and observations, their study discovered that cultural beliefs about girl-child education and early marriage in northern parts of Ghana played supporting roles in migration to Accra. The main factor that was discovered, which is consistent to the conceptual framework of this study, is structural poverty and its associated lack of economic opportunities.

Ntewusu (2012) was essentially a history but his reliance on interviews of *kayayei* should suffice its inclusion. His study provided a historical interpretation of the development of head-load portage in Accra. It differs from other studies such as Agarwal et al, 1997, Appiah and Yeboah, 2009, Oberhauser and Yeboah, 2011 by the historical analysis which showed how the *kayakaya* occupation moved from male to female predominance around the 1980s.

He however highlighted the role of structural adjustment policies and conflicts in the northern regions of Ghana in creating the phenomenon of *kayayei* but did not leave out the fact that the colonial government had created a huge development gap which had fueled north-south migration throughout Ghana's history. The emphasis on conflicts and SAPs can be understood from his focus on *kayayei* at Tudu hence a study that moves away from the CBD is required to test the strength of his interpretation and this study is an attempt at such a test.

But this study's primary focus is on the nature of residence among the urban poor which includes other low-income earners apart from the *kayayei*. It can be seen that the available studies have focused primarily on the occupation of *kayayei* and not extensively on their residence. These studies have demonstrated that sleeping rough is part of the occupation of *kayayei* and not because there is a shortage of housing in Ghana. By studying other occupations and groups that sleep rough in other parts of Accra, it may be established fully whether the homeless in the city present the existence of a problem of housing or not.

1.7.2.2. Types of Homelessness

From the studies under the previous theme, there is very little evidence of destitution. This could be as a result of the fact that they were limited to Ghana. It has been established that the homeless of Accra's CBD are there because of poverty but it is quite clear that they are capable of caring for themselves since they are mostly economically active. A distinct nature of homelessness in Ghana can also be observed in the studies above although they are limited to one occupation. This distinct nature is that the

homeless of Accra have homes in their places of origin. This suggests that homelessness is largely an urban challenge and may not be a rural one. In a few studies by Korboe, Amole et al (1993) the place of the family house in preventing homelessness is explored.

Studies elsewhere paint a very different image of the phenomenon of homelessness. In South Africa, the homeless people of Johannesburg appear to be dealing with extreme forms of deprivation and destitution that did not show in the study of *kayayei* within the CBD of Accra (Olufemi, 1998, 2000; Olufemi and Reeves, 2004). Through an examination of the relationship between the political economy and individual factors such as background and gender, Olufemi (2000) analysed a kind of homelessness with an extreme form of deprivation. The interaction between political economy and individual factors are also examined conceptually and empirically in this study particularly through the examination of social exclusion at the policy and family levels.

The distinct types of homelessness based on place of shelter that showed in the studies conducted by Olufemi are as follows: city shelter homelessness; other temporary shelters such as bus and railway stations, and on the streets and pavements. Studies conducted elsewhere show that these distinctions have cross-cultural validity (Speak and Tipple, 2005; Springer, 2000; Smith, 1999). It also emerged that there is a close relationship between the place of shelter and the nature of sleeping material. The street and pavement dwellers made use of card boxes whereas some of their counterparts in city shelters slept on beds with blankets (1998, p. 233). Most of the homeless studied were jobless and depended solely on soup kitchens run by charity organizations. What this study adds to the existing literature within this approach is an examination of peculiar conditions of homelessness and their relationship with the kinds of assets that the homeless have.

Another distinction can be made based on economic activity, within this category there are three broad types of the phenomenon, they are the economically active (Agarwal et al, 1997), economically inactive (Olufemi, 2000) and those who move between periods of activity and inactivity (Aikins and Ofori-Atta, 2007).

1.7.3. Conceptual Issues

This approach is involved in clarifying the concept of homelessness and providing suitable definitions for the phenomenon. The debate has been on whether one definition could be globally acceptable or otherwise. In this process a great deal of insights have been shared which have aided in establishing various dimensions of this complex phenomenon.

Snow and Anderson (1993) have contributed three dimensions to address this complexity. The dimensions are residential, familial support and role-based dignity and moral worth. The residential dimension is characterised by a lifestyle which lacks conventional permanent housing. The familial-support dimension refers to whether or not the homeless are included in functional family life which provides support during crisis. Finally, the role-based dignity and moral worth dimension refers to the perception of the wider society about its members based on their position and roles in life. A comparison between a doctor and a homeless person and how both are perceived by society is useful in clarifying this dimension. While the doctor will be perceived as someone who is worthy of respect, the homeless will not be perceived in such a manner. These three dimensions are helpful in directing the debate about the concept of homelessness. The debate is

mostly centred on the two earlier dimensions, residential and familial support and whether both must be included in conceptualising homeless.

Somerville (1992) approaches the phenomenon by drawing meanings from the functions of a home and concludes that homelessness refers to a situation where these functions are lost. For instance he suggested that the concept of home had seven key signifiers, shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise and each of these held separate meanings for persons. The heart for instance connotes warmth, shelter connotes security from adverse weather conditions and privacy determines how a person relates to others. The loss of these elements and their replacement by coldness, indifference, lack of privacy, shelter is homelessness. The references to heart, roots and shelter share the residential and familial support dimensions presented by Snow and Anderson (1993). Tipple and Speak (2005) build on the distinction between these dimensions with the terms rooflessness and rootlessness and how these vary from homelessness depending on the circumstance. Rooflessness suggests the situation of rough sleeping whereas rootlessness denotes the loss or disconnect from family. In Ghana for instance the phenomenon is more illustrative of rooflessness rather than rootlessness since the homeless are sometimes here because of family needs that ought to be met by income. Even though the collapse of the extended family support system in the urban areas is also held as a factor in the development of homelessness in Ghana a closer look will show that the reasons for migration from rural areas are sometimes closely related to a family need at home.

In a contribution made by Ghafur (2001) to the DFID Research project on Homelessness in Developing countries, he introduces extreme homelessness, passive homelessness and

potential homelessness. Extreme homelessness is defined as people who live on the streets and public spaces with no place to consider as their own. It is consistent with what Sommerville (1992) considered as rooflessness and also the United Nations (1998) definition:

households without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry their few possessions with them sleeping in the streets, in door ways or on piers, or in any other space, on a more or less random basis. (UN, 1998, p. 50).

Passive homelessness refers to the case of squatters. This group is known to have places that could be considered as theirs, owned or rented, but mostly illegal and constitutes inadequate shelter according to UNCHS (1996). In this case they are not roofless and could either be rootless or not. The difference between passive and extreme homelessness reflects the distinction made in the introduction of this study between slum homelessness and non-slum homelessness in Ghana.

Potential homelessness hinges on the possibility of falling into one of the two categories above (extreme and passive). It includes slum-dwellers, refugees, among a host of others who are living in uncertainty. This particular category seems somewhat vague in that it could include everybody. In the event of an environmental disaster even the most secured forms of settlements could fall within this category. Although this category underlines a real possibility that even the most secured settlements in any part of the world is could be at risk, it does not seem well connected to the concept of urban poverty which this study is focused on. In addition, the issue of social ties was recognized by Ghafur (2001), within the general Bangladeshi context studied, but did not seem of interest in his three categories of homelessness.

There is another approach which adds more emphasis on the notion of time into the concept of homelessness. In a study of Australian aborigines, Beavis, Klos, Carter, and Douchant (cited in Tipple and Speak, 2005) added the concepts of situational or temporary homelessness, episodic homelessness and chronic homelessness. Chronic homelessness refers to those who encounter phenomenon over a long term whereas situational and episodic refer to shorter terms. Episodic homelessness suggests brief successive movements from having a home to being homeless. This perspective introduces a very useful dimension to the phenomenon and it guided this study in gathering data to build the cases in Chapter 3.

It is important to note that the concepts and their associated definitions in the foregoing have been criticized for the use of the term 'homelessness'. Drawing on regional and cultural differences as well as a study by Dupont (1998), Springer (2000) argues that there is a need to use words which are not burdened with controversy. As such she proposes 'houselessness' in line with Dupont (1998) whose reasoning is based on the fact that the term 'home' is burdened with the idea of social ties. Dupont (1998) argues that the loss of shelter does not mean the loss of social ties and he illustrated this with cases of homeless people in India whose status do not preclude them from participating in their family engagements. This study argues against this practice of renaming the phenomenon with two points. Firstly, as mentioned in the foregoing, Snow and Anderson (1993) observed the familial dimension of homelessness yet it did not lead them to avoid the term 'home'. The reason for this is that in some cases homelessness reflects an attenuation of family bonds. Olufemi and Reeves (2004) provided evidence of women who had broken away from their families permanently and live in isolation in South

Africa. Additionally, family represents one aspect of a multidimensional phenomenon as such changing the term for its sake leaves the other aspects uncovered. Secondly, this study admits that the term home is loaded with various meanings, for instance it is often used in references to geographical locations such as ‘home country’ and ‘home region’. However its relationship with shelter can also not be denied. The term ‘house’ is also closer in meaning with shelter but it is not without secondary meanings either, the insect housefly is a case in point. Hence avoiding the usage of the term ‘home’ on the basis of its other meanings is rejected by this study.

It is important to state at this point that much of the literature reviewed under this section is based on western and Asian experience with homelessness and may fall out of the real issues in Africa. The lack of data on the African experience is recognized by the few studies in the area. Yet still, there are relevant insights that the western and Asian concepts provide in understanding the African experience

Tipple and Speak (2005) present a set of criteria for defining homelessness, based on a study of nine countries (Ghana, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Peru, Bangladesh, China, Egypt, India, South Africa). They are lifestyle, location, permanence of occupation or security of tenure, welfare entitlement, and quality. They went ahead to conclude that official definitions are usually based on available interventions and not the “reality of deprivation”. In states where housing is viewed, in somewhat strict terms, as a right and not as commodity, several groups of precarious settlements are classified as homeless. Interventions which are usually in the form of land title are directed at those so characterised. Some examples are Zimbabwe, India, Peru and Egypt. It is important to state however that the implementation of these welfare policies is fraught with challenges

that sometimes do not serve those in greatest need as stated above. China and South Africa also form part of states whose definitions have led to interventions that have left out those in greatest need. It is not clear from the study how strict China and South Africa perceive the issue of welfare housing. China for instance has a welfare policy but it is only limited to citizens who are registered in particular provinces as such citizens from other provinces are denied welfare although they are allowed to reside.

In states that are unable to provide welfare housing, definitions sometimes lack clarity as in the case of Ghana. The Ghana Statistical Service employs a definition of homelessness which emphasises social ties and the presence of a roof and this has led the service to pronounce that kiosks, containers, abandoned houses, shops and other forms of precarious settlements are houses. The notion of quality is left out in this definition. Yet in Egypt these same settlements (abandoned houses and shops) are considered as homeless on the basis of their poor quality.

The study by Tipple and Speak (2005) also added that in most cases NGOs that work in most of these states recognise the gaps in the official definitions and try to focus their interventions in meeting these 'left out' groups. Evidence of this in Ghana is seen from the study of Grant (2009). In this study, the Ghana Homeless Peoples' Federation (GHPF), which included residents of the Old Fadama slum, collaborated with Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and the Peoples' Dialogue on human settlements (PD) to negotiate the terms of their eviction. Although the official definition classifies their settlements as shelters they considered themselves as lacking shelter. This raises the question of who defines homelessness.

Tipple and Speak (2005) stressed the relevance of definitions developed from the local context over those that seek global harmony in defining homelessness. A recent study by Obeng-Odoom (2011b) agrees on the importance of definitions based on the local context. But in cases where the various positions within the local context are not in agreement it is not clear whose voice must supersede the other. This study will seek to resolve this problem.

1.7.4. Conclusion

From the foregoing, the prime role of structural factors such as policies of social exclusion in causing homelessness has been established. Studies conducted in different parts of the world namely Asia, North-America, Europe and Africa with a period of two decades between the publications have all pointed to a trend in local and central government actions. First, is a long term neglect or trade off of the welfare of some sections of their populations which has created an endemic form of urban poverty. Depending on the peculiar conditions within the context, the poor have either lost the ability to care for themselves and have become permanently dependent on institutional welfare, if present, or are still involved in various strategies to survive. Secondly, the state has employed disjointed actions in attempts at addressing this problem. These actions have mostly sought to manage and politically control the effects of its neglect rather than confronting the fundamental causes of the phenomenon of homelessness. This study's reliance on social exclusion, structural poverty and the nexus between home and work among the informal sector workers of Ghana are in line with the trend identified above.

It is important to note however that other causal factors such as family disruption and teenage pregnancy are valid but their role in bringing about the phenomenon could only be supportive to structural factors.

One major limitation shared by most studies under the phenomenological approach is the excessive focus on town/city centres or their outskirts. This approach to the study of the phenomenon has also been used by the policy-centred school as well. In Ghana, this reflects a narrow focus and this study seeks to address this limitation by moving into residential areas where a distinct type of homelessness exists. Another limitation has been the focus on institutional responses to the phenomenon. Based on Illife's study (1987), which identified both institutional and non-institutional care for the poor, in Africa, this study incorporates both forms of responses in addressing the limitation on only institutional responses.

1.8. Outline of the Study

The thesis is divided into five main chapters. Chapter one provides the background, problem statement, objectives of the study and research questions, methodology, conceptual framework and literature review.

The second chapter examines the nature of homelessness. It looks at where they sleep, the kinds of assets that livings conditions permit, and other survival strategies of the homeless in the stated study areas. The third chapter examines the relationship between the nature, and place, of work and the choice of residence among the homeless. It also discusses why they live as homeless people in the urban centres, their regions of origin and if that is related to the reasons why they are homeless.

Chapter four examines the responses of the state and the wider public to their conditions and how these responses have affected their lives in any way. The final chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TYPES OF HOMELESSNESS AND ASSOCIATED ASSETS

2.1. Introduction

The study of the characteristics of homelessness across cultures has established a distinction between permanent city shelters and temporary shelters. The former refers to institutional structures that could be well organised with qualified staff who serve the homeless in various ways such as assigning them to beds and preparing their meals. The latter on the other hand refers to the situation where the homeless provide everything for themselves. This is characterised by bus, markets, railway, streets, and pavement occupancy as well as other permanent or temporary structures where there is no regulation by any institution. The Ghanaian phenomenon is in sync with the latter since institutional accommodation for homeless people is still in its infancy in Ghana. This chapter is about the peculiar conditions of this Ghanaian phenomenon. The dimension that this study adds can be found in its interest in the personal possessions or assets that the homeless keep. The chapter establishes a relationship between homelessness and the assets of the homeless. It also provides a description of the various localities in which homelessness can be found in Accra. These include markets and lorry parks where the homeless are to be found sleeping under sheds, shops and kiosks. It also includes residential areas where they are found mostly in kiosks. Additionally other forms of occupancy were encountered on a football field and uncompleted houses.

The chapter examines the homeless at Mallam Ata market, Tema station, Ashaiman and Nungua. Under each locality the study provides descriptions of the conditions under which the homeless live and their personal possessions and how these are kept. It also

adds an examination of the differences and similarities between the two main categories of homelessness, clustered and dispersed, and also the relationship between living conditions and the nature of assets kept by the homeless.

2.2. Malam Ata Market

Malam Ata Market is located at Accra New-Town which falls under the Ayawaso-Central sub-metropolitan Assembly of the AMA. The market and its surrounding areas are sited on a piece of land which is originally owned by the Gbese-Korle We (lineage).

Malam Ata was an Islamic cleric who was made the caretaker and supervisor of the area prior to independence. This was made possible through the assistance of a friend called Mr. Sogborjor who was well known to the lineage and acted as a liaison. Apart from being the caretaker, Malam Ata had also built a mosque and an Arabic school and these contributed to making him a man of considerable influence within Accra New Town. It was at his behest that the market was relocated from the old BP station to where it is currently sited. Since the new location was within his domain as caretaker it was he who issued pieces of land to all traders who sought to engage in their economic activities there. He did this with the assistance of some close allies, Ataa Moro, Mahama Moshie, Dede Tse and another only remembered as Goldsmith. This process contributed immensely to making the place come to be known as Malata market (a corrupted pronunciation of Malam Ata)¹.

Two types of settlements were observed within this area. They were made up of those who slept in shops and those who slept on the porches of shops. Each type has a distinct means of asset storage.

¹ Interview conducted with Mohammed Muktar Mallam Ata (the only surviving son of Mallam Ata) on September 22, 2013 at his residence near the market.

2.2.1. Shop Dwellers

This category of residents was found mainly within the market. It included both adult males and females. In most cases they had been charged with the responsibility over the items kept within the shops as such they were serving the interest of the shop owners and received safer sleeping conditions as rewards for their services. Yet in other cases, the security of the items did not seem to be of much interest to the shop owners. This was dependent on the kinds of items that were often left behind after the close of day. In the case of one of the respondents who worked in a local restaurant or ‘chop bar’ as a fufu-pounder, he was not living in the bar for the security of the items since, in his view, the items left behind could not be appropriated by a thief because of their respective weights and the presence of residents nearby. The above examples portray the various kinds of arrangements that grant access to the homeless people in this category.

The sleeping items under this category range from mattresses to pieces of fabric with real pillows in some cases and a collection of items, such as clothes tied together, that served as pillows. There were also instances of co-habitation between males and females.

The most common forms of assets kept by this set of residents were mainly clothes. In some instances, there were mobile phones and tools for work in the case of one respondent who mends shoes. For this group, most of their assets were kept in the shops during the day when they were out working. It was suggested that the shop owners had no difficulty with this arrangement.

2.2.2 Porch Dwellers

This category was located at the outskirts of the market specifically on the porches of the shops that lined the outer walls of the market. Most of these shops situated there had roofed exterior spaces where some of the wares were displayed during regular shopping hours. These spaces also served as resting areas for shop owners, attendants and visitors on days that business seemed less brisk than was normal. Even on days when business seemed brisk shop owners and attendants could be seen either resting or receiving visitors while trade took place inside the shop. Sometimes some attendants were stationed there to help buyers with items that are kept in these spaces. These porches served the above and other purposes depending on what kind of merchandise the shop in question dealt in. Interestingly, these were all exclusive day time purposes.

When the shops closed all the items on sale were placed inside and locked up leaving empty spaces in front. These empty spaces were swept and cleaned with detergents and used as a sleeping area by the homeless residents of Malam Ata market. After cleaning these porches various materials such as cloths, mats, blankets and card boxes were laid on the cemented and tiled floors. Yet in some cases the residents slept on the tiled floors without covering them with any of the above items.

For those who used sleeping materials there was an additional responsibility of ensuring that they are well kept. What appeared most common was that these items were usually kept within or around the shop. Those who used blankets and other sleeping materials that are more expensive usually take them to safer places to keep during the day. Sometimes the shop owners allowed these relatively expensive sleeping materials to be kept within the shops. This is discussed more extensively in chapter four. A few of these homeless residents of Malam Ata market cooked their supper once a while with utensils

borrowed from clients—families that occupy nearby residential neighbourhoods who contract the services of the homeless for their laundry.

It is important to note that residents in every porch shared common places of origin. Every porch had a senior member who was in charge of the all those who slept there. Often it was this person who has the permission from the shop owner to use the place and she was held responsible for any untoward event that occurred.

The difference between this group and the stall dwellers is that, they are mostly females. The males found within this group are mostly children. The reasons for this difference are varied. For some of the young women, it simply represented a sleeping culture at the market which had no solid basis. For a male respondent however, this reflected the extent of bonding between the male and female groups. Another female respondent also suggested that the choice of residence depended largely on the duration of stay at the market as such most of the young ladies slept in the open because they had no intention of staying beyond a few months but those who stayed longer sometimes chose to cohabitate with the men who slept within the market.

Apart from items used as beddings the most common form of assets were clothes and in some cases mobile phones. Most of these clothes were kept in sealed plastic buckets which were used for washing clothes, bathing and also as seats for visitors. It was on these buckets that members of the research team sat during the interviews for all the porches visited.

In some cases the shop owners had granted them spaces to keep their belongings but in other cases these belongings were kept with friends who were mostly traders within the market. This showed the strength of bonds that this population under study had

established. This particular practice sets the homeless people in this area apart from those studied by Olufemi and Reeves (2004) which found that the homeless, at best, had superficial relations with one another and outsiders.

On rainy nights they use dark and sometimes transparent rubber coverings which are usually large enough to cover the whole entrance of the porches to prevent the water from coming in.

2.3. Tema Station

Unlike Malam Ata market, the residents of Tema station are mostly roofless. What accounts for this difference is the fact that the latter was designed to serve as a lorry station whereas the former is a market. There are sheds for passengers which serve as sleeping places at night. But these sheds have been designed in a manner that does not allow for what seemed to be the preferred lying position of other homeless groups: laying side-by-side. One can only lay in a manner where heads meet from opposite directions or one's head facing the direction of another's feet. Because this lying position is not comfortable relatively few people are found lying under the sheds. It was noticed also that females were usually not present in these parts of the station. A reason given for this was that they were more exposed to sexual abuse.

The most common form of dwelling at Tema station was on the pavements. Huge numbers were clustered on the pavements in their preferred laying positions, side-by-side. Most of the sleeping materials were mats, pieces of fabric, blankets and card boxes. The residents are mostly females and children. Most of the women in this category were porters who worked within the CBD. Their belongings were also kept in sealed plastic

buckets just as seen at Malam Ata market. They commonly owned large transparent rubber coverings which are used on rainy nights because of its waterproof quality.

2.3.1. The Case Of Suraya

Suraya is an eighteen year old native of Walewale who had been in Accra for about four months on the day of the interview in March. She worked as a porter within the central business district and was a resident of Tema station. Her average daily income was twenty (20) cedis. Out of this she usually saved 15 cedis, which constituted 75 percent of her daily earnings.

Her belongings included a mobile phone, a few clothes, a piece of fabric and a mat. These properties are kept with one of the traders near the lorry station. According to her, the said trader was trustworthy and served many clients. There were such relationships among the residents of Tema station and many of the people who did business on a daily business within the precincts of the station. This presented a similar arrangement to that found at Malam Ata market. Other porters who did not have such relationships with those within the precincts of the station relied on other trustworthy partners far and near the central business district who performed this property-keeping duty for no financial reward. In order to maintain this relationship of utmost trust, the porters were required to render services to their partners as and when the need arose. Since most of these partners were traders, they usually required that the porters carried their goods from their points of procurement to various points of sale. According to Suraya, she will return to Walewale only when she considers herself to have made enough money.

2.3.2. Bus Conductors

Another group of homeless people at the station were the bus conductors. This group slept in the buses that parked on the premises during the night. They slept on the cushioned seats within the buses as such they did not need to use other sleeping materials like their counterparts who slept outside. Their belongings were mainly clothes and mobile phones. The clothes were kept within the vehicles and the mobile phones on themselves during the day. When asked about how they charged the mobile phones, they stated that they did so through friends or their masters (bus drivers).

2.4. Ashaiman

Ashaiman is the administrative capital of the Ashaiman Municipal Assembly. The assembly is bordered at the east by Tema Metropolitan Assembly; Adentan Municipal to the north; La Nkwatanang-Madina to the west; and Ledzokuku-Krowor to the south. It has a population of 190, 172 out of which 93, 727 are males and 97, 245, females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012) and covers approximately 45 square kilometers area.

The main market shares a boundary with the main lorry station in this town. There were very few spaces through which persons could pass through even during the day. Electric power was not present in some of the stalls, as such moving through the market at night was very difficult. In spite of this, the few places that were accessible evidently served as sleeping places. In the dark areas within the market we (the research team) heard snores as we tried to find our way through.

It is important to state that, in this particular area those who slept in the markets were not necessarily homeless. Some of them had decent accommodation within the town but had to sleep in the stalls for security reasons. The practice of sleeping in the market, I observed, seemed quite common among those who dealt in foodstuff. The vehicles that

brought the farm produce to the market place usually arrived very early in the morning as such it was strategic to be present when the vehicles did. The traders who happened to be present usually got the best products at the best prices. According to one trader, this was a well known practice among foodstuff dealers in major markets around the country. A follow up on this issue at Agbogbloshie market revealed that vehicles carrying foodstuff arrived at all times of the day including very early in the mornings.

This established practice of foodstuff dealers played a vital role in accommodating new urban migrants. According to one respondent, it was not a very difficult decision to sleep in the market place since she saw others doing it with no difficulty. According to her, when she first arrived in the town and had nowhere to spend the evening, she was informed of the long standing practice of dwelling at the market place and its adjoining lorry station. With her few belongings, she managed to fit in for a few weeks until a distant relative offered to accommodate her.

Non-slum homelessness manifested greatly in Ashaiman through kiosk dwelling. There are as many kiosks in the town as there are houses. Many of these kiosks were originally meant for commercial purposes yet they also served as sleeping places. The kiosks that lined the street along which the main lorry station stood presented numerous cases of this phenomenon. This practice was also visible in various residential parts of the municipality. The main reasons for this choice of shelter were security, homelessness and in some cases, both. As observed in Mallam Ata market also, homeless people had been offered shelter in commercial facilities in order to secure goods and pieces of equipment in them. Among those who sought to protect their tools were barbers and hair stylists.

It was observed that some kiosks were not commercial facilities at all. They were used only for residential purposes. They were usually closed during the day or opened but not available for any commercial activity. Evidence of family life was visible in these settlements. Around late afternoon children were seen returning from school.

Kiosk dwellers usually had more belongings than the market and pavement dwellers. In the case of kiosks used solely for residential purposes, there were varied degrees of sophistication. To understand these degrees I had to set upper and lower limits. At the upper limit, there were elements such as television sets, refrigerators, sound systems and satellite dishes. The lower limit had a few clothes, tables, chairs and sleeping material. The presence of these chattels, in the case of the upper limit raises questions about the validity of using poverty related concepts to examine this form of settlement while the lower limit, to some extent, makes such concepts unquestionable. In order to understand whether or not these are poverty related issues the research raises questions about individual reasons for this kind of settlement which is more elaborately dealt with in the third chapter of this work.

Sleeping material varied under this category just as with their counterparts in the markets and on the pavements. In the case of the kiosks used solely for residence, some were partitioned into bedrooms and living rooms even though space was scarce. In one example, a structure of about 2.5 metres in length; 3.5 metres in breadth and 3.5 in width was divided in such a manner with opaque curtains. In this case there was a one and a half size mattress on the wooden floor. In many other cases, there were comparatively modest sleeping materials such as fabric, thick blankets, and mats.

2.5. Nungua

Nungua is one of the Ga towns located along the coast of the Greater Accra Region. On 1st November, 2007, together with its western neighbour Teshie, it came under the Ledzokuku-Krowor Municipal Assembly (LEKMA) under the Legislative Instrument (LI 1865) and subsequently inaugurated on 29th February, 2008. Prior to this, it was under the authority of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) as a sub-metropolitan assembly. Under this structure it was known, together with Teshie, as Kpeshie. LEKMA is bordered by Accra Metropolitan Assembly on the west and north. To the east, it is bordered by the Tema Metropolitan Assembly and to the south, the Atlantic Ocean. It covers approximately 50 square kilometers with a population of 227, 932 made up of 109, 185 males and 118, 747 females (LEKMA Service Delivery Charter, 2010; Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

The instances of people sleeping at the main lorry station opposite the Nungua Senior High School are irregular. On a few occasions, a thorough tour of the station at night yielded no results. On other occasions, a mentally ill person was found sleeping there. As I saw it, the reasons for this could be understood through a comparison with Tema station. First, Tema station is paved whereas the Nungua station is not. Secondly, although the Nungua station is close to the main market as it is with Tema station, the scales of trade between the two markets vary greatly. Some of the items sold at the Nungua market are usually brought from the Central Business District of Accra. Thirdly, business at the Nungua market starts relatively later in the mornings compared to that at the CBD. As early as 4am, and sometimes before, trading activities at some parts of the CBD like Kantamanto have already started. It is based on this early start to trading that some of the porters choose to sleep at the lorry station. One respondent informed me that

she could afford to pay rent of 10cedis on a weekly basis at Old Fadama but chose not to because she might lose the early morning customers.

At the main market, there are buildings, kiosks as well as sheds. My tour of the sheds during the night yielded no results. No one slept in the sheds during the evenings I visited. Within the buildings and kiosks however, there was much evidence of people who spent their nights there. Some of them did so in order to provide security for their goods, others did so because they were homeless. The homeless were usually single men and women who lived without families. The reason for this is similar to the reasons found at Ashaiman. Structures that are originally meant for commercial activities could hardly sustain family life. But this position is at variance with what pertained at Tema station and Mallam Ata markets where there were no structures yet there was overwhelming evidence of women who lived with their children.

Away from the lorry station and market, I learnt that structures that are originally meant for commercial activities could also sustain family life. A number of kiosks dwellers lived either as single parents or married couples and children. The case of Dela, a seamstress with two children who lived within the same locality with Leisure Hotel illustrates this. She owned the kiosk which served as her home and workplace. The kiosk was partitioned to serve both purposes. When she needed to rest during the day, she moved to the side on which her medium sized student mattress lay. When her children were not in school, they are either with her in the kiosk or playing around.

The piece of land on which Dela's kiosk stood was owned by a native who lived at the part of town known as Nungua *maamii* (Nungua town). He also owned a compound house very close to Dela's kiosk where she and her kids are allowed to take their bath and

dry their laundry. As pertains to some compound houses at Nungua, there were no toilet facilities as such the occupants of the house and Dela used a nearby public toilet. As payment to the landlord, she provided her sewing services for free to his wife and daughter. Prior to this arrangement she paid an undisclosed sum of money before she mounted her kiosk about eight years ago.

At Nungua, there were just as many kiosks as there were in Ashaiman. Kiosks which were positioned next to one another within residential areas and others which stood on compounds of homes as seen in the case above. In addition, there are others around lorry stations and in the markets. Evidence of people living in these structures was revealing. There were large numbers that lived as individuals, family units, friends and people involved in the same occupation.

An interesting case in Nungua was most curious. It was a homeless person who slept on a football field. His case pointed to the strong will on the part of the urban poor to survive. This man, like all the homeless people encountered in this study, was not a native of any Ga town. Although an urban migrant, he does not fall within the broad category of rural-urban migration. Rather he represents another category of economic migrants that cuts across the West-African region which has been in existence for long (Acquah, 1958).

In recent times the members of this category have become very visible, especially those of Nigerian extraction. The numbers of Nigerian youths seen within and around internet cafes across Accra has increased tremendously in about a decade. This is a more glaring fact among the cafes that operate during the night. Although this situation falls outside the scope of this study, its link with homelessness within Accra is strong. There are some of Nigerian youths in Accra who are homeless on arrival for their first few months and

others who become homeless when they ran out of money. In the case of this man, he had to come for a long stay in Accra but could not afford rent and had to sleep on the football field for the time being.

He owned a mat which he bought on his arrival, a piece of cloth, a mobile phone and a few clothes. His sleeping materials were the mat and the piece of cloth which he laid at one end of football field on nights that he did not go to his work in the internet café, not as an employee of the café but a customer.

2.5.1. The Case of Yaw and his Brothers

Yaw and his brothers are five in number. They consider themselves as brothers on the basis of the fact that they all come from one village and not necessarily because they are blood-related. They all hail from Yamfo in the Brong-Ahafo region. They have been living at Nungua for the past thirteen years. Prior to this, they were residents of Accra Newtown for about two years. The average age of the five men is thirty-five (35) years.

Their main occupation in Accra is shoe mending. They ply their trade moving from one vicinity to the next during the day and returning at night to the kiosk in which they reside. They are engaged in other economic activities during different parts of the year when the weather conditions and profit rates favour these activities ahead of their primary occupation of shoe mending. In Accra, their supporting economic activities are in the construction industry and in the Brong-Ahafo region it is in farming. The latter is dependent on changes in the weather as such it is fixed to particular times of the year, usually between March and June. The former however is dependent on promptings by their networks within the construction industry as such it is not fixed to particular times

of the year. In some years, it takes them away for months while in others it does not take them away at all.

Throughout the thirteen years that they have been resident at Nungua, they have lived in kiosks. Between the years 2000-2003 they lived in a kiosk that was owned and used by a seamstress for commercial purposes during the day. From 2003 to date, they have been living in another kiosk owned and used by a barber during the day. In both cases they have slept on mats which are kept inside the kiosks during the day. The other sets of properties they own are mainly clothes which have always been kept within the kiosks. The first kiosk was situated within the compound of a large house with tenants who allowed them, like in the case of Dela's above, to use their bathroom. The house had no toilet facilities as such they have to rely on a nearby public toilet.

2.6. Conclusion

In the cases examined above, two main forms of homelessness were presented. The link between the peculiar conditions of homelessness and the nature of assets kept by the homeless can be understood in two ways. First, for those who lived in kiosks and shops (dispersed) a general practice was observed. Irrespective of their statuses as owners or tenants, their items were stored during day and night in these places. Inhabitants of kiosks /shops that served the dual role as places of commerce and residence kept relatively few items compared to inhabitants of kiosks/shops that served a singular purpose as residence. Secondly, the experiences of the pavement and porch dwellers (clustered) presented a more complex practice. For kiosk/ shop dwellers at Mallam Ata Market, it was found that their assets, even though similar to those of inhabitants of Kiosks/ shops that served a dual role of residence and place of commerce, were kept using two different

methods. Assets were kept either in front of or around the immediate surroundings of their sleeping places or at more distant places with close friends. The second practice showed the nature of bonds that have been created between the homeless and other persons whom they have met at the urban areas. This draws our attention to two issues: firstly, the reason(s) why they survive under conditions which ordinarily would prove extremely difficult for others to survive in; and secondly, the nature of responses that their conditions received from some sections of society. The following chapters seek to explore these two issues.

CHAPTER THREE

WHY THEY CAME AND WHY THEY STAY: SOCIAL EXCLUSION, STRUCTURAL POVERTY, INFORMAL ECONOMY AND HOMELESSNESS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes two dimensions of homelessness in Ghana. They are the causes of homelessness and the reasons why the homeless choose to stay in their precarious conditions in Accra. Depending on where it occurs, homelessness is attributed to gentrification, family breakdowns, the use of drugs, mental illness, among others. In contrast, this chapter argues that homelessness arises from structural and historical factors related to regional inequalities and social exclusion of certain parts of the country. These factors have created widespread structural poverty evident in the extent of material deprivation of many families that hail from the affected parts of the country. This manifests in people moving to urban areas in search of sustainable livelihoods. Out of this group of migrants, some are accommodated by social dependents in the cities and towns while others have to settle in precarious urban conditions. It is out of the latter group that homelessness emerges. However, homelessness is also influenced by the nature of work and livelihoods that new migrants to urban areas pursue.

This chapter develops this analysis by establishing indicators on the basis of the geographical origins, educational levels, age, gender and type of economic activities engaged in by the migrants. An examination of the relationship between social exclusion and structural poverty is conducted based on the geographical origins of the participants. This factor directs some attention to the nature of colonial and post-colonial government

relations with these areas of Ghana and provides an analysis which ends in establishing a causal relationship between social exclusion and structural poverty. The chapter also develops case studies of the homeless and how their livelihoods, circumstances and assets influence the nature of residence. The analysis is also built on narratives about life in their places of origin and supported by some relevant literature. Where necessary some of the data are summarized in table forms.

The chapter is divided into four parts; these include the introduction and analysis of the demographic data presented in Table 4; a section which addresses social exclusion and its relationship with structural poverty; a section which explores case studies of the respondents; and a conclusion which sums up the entire chapter.

Table 3.1: Profile of Participants

This table presents a profile of the participants who took part in the semi-formal interviews with the respective locations, gender, age, level of education, home and nature of job. P stands for participants and the numbers attached to them represent the order in which they were interviewed.

LOCATION	PARTICIPANT'S PROFILE (gender, age, hometown, level of education, nature of job)
Ashaiman	P1, male, 29, Ningo, basic school drop out, porter P2, male, 32, Ho, basic school drop-out, shop attendant P3, male, 22, Ada, basic school drop-out, bus conductor P4, male, 27, Sogakope, dropped out of basic school, trader in herbal products P5, male, 24, Liati-Wote, dropped out of basic school, bus conductor
Nungua	P1, female, 33, Adedome, basic school drop-out, dressmaker P2, female, 29, Kwahu, basic school drop-out, trader in foodstuff P3, male, 46, Mampong, basic school drop-out, cobbler P4, male, 34, Yamfo, basic school drop-out, cobbler P5, male, 35, Yamfo, no formal education, cobbler
Malam	Ata P1, female, 19, Yaaba, no formal education, porter

Market	<p>P2, female, 18, Mankerigu, no formal education, porter</p> <p>P3, female, 22, Lukula, no formal education, trader in foodstuff</p> <p>P4, female, 38, Lukula, no formal education, porter</p> <p>P5, male, 20, Bolgatanga, basic school drop out, fufu-pounder</p> <p>P6, male, 47, Bolgatanga, no formal education, security guard</p> <p>P7, female, 26, Mankerigu, no formal education, porter</p> <p>P8, female, 27, Yaaba, no formal education, porter</p>
Tema Station	<p>P1, male, 19, Krachi, basic school drop-out, bus conductor</p> <p>P2, male, 22, Swedru, basic school drop-out, bus conductor</p> <p>P3, female, 18, Walewale, no formal education, porter</p> <p>P4, female, 18, Walewale, no formal education, food vendor</p> <p>P5, female, 21, Yendi, no formal education, trader in local beverages</p> <p>P6, female, 27, Yendi, no formal education, porter</p>

Source: Author

All the participants drawn from the four research areas were migrants. For those under the category of clustered homelessness (the type of homelessness seen at the town/city centres such as markets and lorry stations) they were mainly from the northern part of Ghana. As shown in the table above, 12 out of 14, 85% of the residents of Tema-Station and Malam Ata market are from the Northern and Upper-East regions. Out of this, two are from the Upper-East region and the remaining ten are from the Northern region. This leads to the observation that the Northern region constituted the heaviest representation.

The ethnic groups involved in this representation are the Mamprusi and the Dagomba. Relating to the participants from the Upper East region they are of the Frafra ethnic group. It is also worthy to note that with the exception of Bolgatanga most of the areas mentioned are rural areas. The natives of Yendi are originally from communities within the municipality such as Sakpe and Bonbonyayili but had been resident at Yendi due to cultural practices which transferred the girl child to go and live with other relatives, in this case aunts as suggested by Yeboah and Appiah-Yeboah, (2009).

For dispersed homelessness (the kind of homelessness present in residential areas), their origins were mostly rural areas in the following six regions, Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Volta, Eastern, Greater-Accra and Central. Rural origins stood out as the strongest trend within this set. It is also worthy to note that the representation was 40% each for the Akan and Ewe ethnic groups with the remaining 20% for people from the rural parts of the Dangme areas of Greater-Accra region. There should be no difficulty in asserting the migrant status of the latter group despite the fact that they are from the Greater-Accra region and are often classified with the Ga as one ethnic group, the Ga-Adangbe, because in reality there is a distance of about 100 kilometres separating the Dangme areas from the Ga areas within the region.

Their ages ranged from 18-47 years². The stem and leaf diagram in the table below provides a closer distribution of the ages. It can be seen that the age range of 20-30

² It is important to note that at Malam Ata market a case of an elderly lady whose age could not be ascertained due to language barrier was encountered in one of the porches. It was discovered that she was not economically ²active but had been visiting her daughters who were both in their twenties and assisting them to care for their children. This shows the extent to which the lack of real homes to stay for the homeless does not make them difficult to find when relatives come searching.

predominates the sample and it is followed by the late teenage range of 18-19 and the 30-40 years range with the post-forty years group making the least showing. The specific difference within these age groups is that the participants within the clustered homelessness are relatively younger than those of the dispersed group. The averages are 28.5 for the former and 31.1 for the latter. The general significance about the ages is the fact they are all adults. This shows that they are well within the age range of providing themselves. The points in their lives when they are free enough to decide which options to take in life. The choice between staying at home and live in continuous deprivation or leaving home to places where the grass is perceived to be greener. Additionally these decisions are also made in light of immediate responsibilities and changing roles as in the case of Sadia (a 38 year old resident of Malam Ata) who first came to Accra in her early twenties after she got pregnant. A decision taken together with her husband since the birth of a child would increase their need for money which they had managed to live without, or on very little, during their marriage. Travelling to the south had been avoided until she conceived and this left her with no other choice. Her new status as an expectant mother led to the decision as such the place of changing roles in adulthood has been made clear in her case. Other reasons provided by other participants which also underscore the point on changing roles include the need for money to learn a trade, to attain a certain status which comes with being an Accra resident and to support family back home.

Table 3.2 A Stem and Leaf Table Displaying the Various Age Groups of Respondents. Each Row Represents a Decade.

STEM	LEAF
1	9, 8, 9, 8, 8
2	9, 2, 7, 4, 9, 2, 0, 6, 7, 2, 1, 7
3	2, 3, 4, 5, 8
4	6, 7

The distribution between male and female homeless people for the participants in this study is 12; 12. The sites for clustered homelessness were predominantly female occupied areas whereas the sites for dispersed homelessness presented a balance. Beyond the participants however a few observations regarding this distribution were made. First, the overall distribution observed throughout the field visits showed that females far outnumbered males. This is based on a comparison of both categories. Comparing the numbers observed under clustered homelessness to those encountered within the category of dispersed homelessness is however a mismatch since they are far outnumbered by the former. This is because with the former, the phenomenon is open and not hidden especially from late afternoon to night to even uninterested persons. Anyone who visits either Tema station or Malam Ata at these times of the day is very likely to encounter it. This leads us to the second issue which borders on the fact that dispersed group is relatively well hidden from the glare of the general public.

This aspect of the phenomenon is not as open to uninterested persons as the former. It is known mainly to those who interact with them (these interactions are explored in the next chapter). What is certain within the localities studied at Ashaiman and Nungua is the fact that there are as many kiosks as there are houses and occupancy of these structures is gradually becoming a recognized form of accommodation known to the people of the neighbourhoods. This suggests that the scale and prevalence of dispersed homelessness could be judged by the number of kiosks that are present within these areas as well as other parts of Accra where kiosks residence is also becoming a recognizable form of accommodation. In kiosk occupancy there are as many males as there are females. This leads to an inability on the part of this study to reliably state whether the general picture of homelessness in Accra places it as a gender based problem as suggested by Olufemi (2000) and Olufemi and Reeves (2004) in their studies of the phenomenon in Johannesburg. It also leads to the point that in order for us to sufficiently explore the issue of male: female distribution of Accra's homeless an approach which utilizes a headcount should be considered.

An overwhelming majority of the market and lorry station dwellers were porters. At Tema station, the main livelihoods of dwellers are based around porters and bus conductors whereas at Malam Ata, additional sources of livelihood included washing clothes for the residents of the nearby community and cleaning their compounds. In a few instances, at Malam Ata, a few had given up portering for trade in food items such as a local beverage popularly known as *brukina*, others sold water, groundnuts and a few were involved in work at local restaurants. Unlike the category above, their counterparts in the dispersed homelessness group were involved in economic activities that are relatively

diverse. They were made up of cobblers, traders, tailors, seamstresses, male porters (they used trolleys and not head pans as their female counterparts) and security men. Some also worked in other areas to supplement their incomes for instance Yaw and his brothers (see chapter two) are primarily cobblers but have worked in construction over the years. These sources of livelihoods are all in the informal economy which is the only sector that can contain them since their skills are very limited. With the exception of cobblers, who spend a minimum of two-three months to learn their trade, most of these economic activities require no special skills. The issue of skills lead us to the area of training and education which is what the next section attempts to address.

Apart from adding to the demographic representation, the level of education attained by participants served as a useful indicator of poverty and exclusion. Most of the participants either dropped out of school early or did not have any formal education at all. At Malam Ata market and Tema station, 11 out of 14 of all the participants interviewed had no formal education. The remaining three could not complete basic school. These figures represent 78.5% and 22.5% respectively. For Nungua and Ashaiman, eight out ten had dropped out from basic school and with the remaining two participants, one had no formal education and the other stood out as the only participant who had completed basic school. The respective percentages are 80%: 10%: 10%. In most cases, it was not as a result of the unavailability of schools in the areas where they grew up but a lack of support from their parents or guardians. Although a few responses from the Walewale areas (Lukula, Mankerigu and Yaaba) indicated that the schools were far away from their homes and involved long distances, the lack of financial support emerged as the strongest factor in their inability to either attend or complete school.

3.2. Why they came: Social Exclusion and Structural Poverty

The background provided above particularly on places of origin, age and lack of basic education presents what this study adopts as its indicators of those who may potentially fall into the category of the urban poor. For various reasons people with these characteristics migrate to the urban areas in search of income and sustainable livelihoods. It is here that this study attempts to interpret in much detail the relationship between social exclusion and structural poverty.

The inability of their parents and guardians to support their education establishes the concept of structural poverty: a dimension of poverty which is based on an individual's personal or social circumstances (Illife, 1987). Thus, the kind of deprivation, which results in adults leaving homes to places where they live with either no roof, or insecure ones, over their heads, is based on the family into which one is born. For all of the participants this deprivation existed. The form of deprivation in focus here is that of income which falls under the broader category of material deprivation. Material deprivation suggests an inability to meet basic needs such as food, clothing, housing, among others (Sen, 2000; Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997). A distinction ought to be made on this point of deprivation between the homeless of Europe and other western countries. All the homeless people interviewed in this study have homes in their places of origin hence it is the lack of income to cater for their needs as adults that drive them to urban areas. As such material deprivation in this context is hardly about a lack of food, clothing and most importantly shelter but rather income to cater for adult needs such as marriage and jobs which gives the individual a sense of independence. In the west however, material deprivation might mean a lack of food, clothing and housing both at the places of origin

and the urban areas as shown in Goetz (1992) where gentrification led to a loss of homes in Los Angeles. The picture being painted here is that in Los Angeles homelessness came about due to the loss of shelter through the decisions of the local government. In the Ghanaian context it is rather a choice on the part of the homeless to forfeit shelter in pursuit of what they perceive as more important: income.

In the foregoing, the concept of structural poverty has been engaged with the data in seeking to examine the underlying reasons why the homeless come to Accra from their various places of origin around the country. So far this has provided only one layer of explanation and needs to be complemented by another to get a deeper understanding. To achieve this, this study re-introduces the already posed question on the role of social exclusion in bringing about structural poverty and ultimately homelessness. To examine this relationship, this study places the ethnic origin of participants in focus.

Out of a total of twenty-four (24) informants it emerged that all originated from seven out of ten regions in Ghana. The regions are as follows, Northern (Mamprusi and Dagomba), Upper East (Frafra), Brong-Ahafo (Bono), Ashanti (Asante), Eastern (Kwahu) and Volta Regions (Ewe), Greater-Accra (Adangbe and) Central (Fante). It is instructive to note that most of these places of origin are rural such as Yamfo (Brong-Ahafo), Mankerigu, Yaaba, Lukula (Northern Region) among others. Even more revealing is the fact that 69% of the sample come from the three regions, Northern, Upper-East and Volta, which are known to be the historical areas of labour migration since the colonial period (Amanor, 2011). Below is a percentage distribution table for the various areas of origins.

Table 3.3: The Percentage Distribution of the Various Places of Origin of Respondents

REGION	AREA OF ORIGIN	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
Northern	Mankerigu, Yaaba, Lukula, Walewale Yendi	10	41.2
Upper East	Bolgatanga	2	8.3
Volta	Ho, Sogakope, Adedome, Krachi, Liati-Wiati	5	20.8
Ashanti	Mampong	1	4.2
Central	Swedru	1	4.2
Eastern	Kwahu	1	4.2
Greater-Accra	Ningo, Ada	2	8.3
Brong-Ahafo	Yamfo	2	8.3

The history of the northern parts of Ghana would serve as an illustration of how exclusion breeds structural poverty. Other examples of studies of the relationships between government and rural areas by Lipton (1982), Bates (1981) and Konings (1985) will be used to support the argument that social exclusion has contributed to structural poverty in rural areas across in other parts of the country.

As has been stated earlier, based on studies by Konings (1985), van der Geest (2011); Amanor (2011) and Ntewusu (2005, 2012) there was a deliberate effort to transform the northern regions as the labour reserve for southern economic activities. Hence a government policy was designed and executed to meet this need. The policy involved direct taxation and forced recruitments of able-bodied men aimed at bringing them south to work to meet both the needs of the colonial government and other urban needs. In addition to this the place was excluded from infrastructure and social amenities as such while education in the south had started in the previous century, the first school in the north opened in the 1930s. The overall effect of this policy is seen today by the extent of deprivation that exists in that part of the country which is reflected by the fact that people from that part of the country are over-represented in the slums and other precarious urban settlements. Similar experiences of previous exclusion and consequent deprivation has been recorded elsewhere in the world among the Africans of South Africa and other peoples of African descent in South America and North America (Olufemi, 1998; Sen, 2000).

This relationship between the colonial government and the people from the northern parts of the country is what this study argues as a contribution to studies on social exclusion. Essential to the concept of social exclusion is the fact that it is relational. In other words, for a process to qualify as social exclusion there must be substantial evidence of a relationship between two entities in which one engages in activities that bar the other from full social participation. The exclusionary effects of this engagement could be immediate, *constitutive relevance* or take some time before becoming manifest,

instrumental consequence (Sen, 2000). With regard to the phenomenon under study it is clearly a case of the latter because of the causal relationship with exclusion.

Out of this relationship the two analytical categories, the excluder and the excluded or an actor and an object, are generated (Sen 2000; Smith, 1999; Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997). In this case the government represents the excluder and the people of the north fit into the category of the excluded.

In all the changes that took place the people were acted upon by the use of force and barred out of participation in decision making that affected their destiny, culture and social organization.

Based on this long period of exclusion a huge development gap has been created between the north and the south which successive post-colonial regimes have not succeeded in bridging despite some policy interventions such as the waiver of boarding school charges and the Savannah Accelerated Development Programme by the Nkrumah and Mills governments respectively. As such people of northern Ghanaian origin still migrate to southern regions in search of sustainable livelihoods which the circumstances of their birth and social groups cannot offer them. What this suggests is that the instrumental consequences of the exclusionary policies of the colonial government are still being felt in the affected areas.

This raises the question of how long this is going to continue to be felt especially when it was observed during at Tema station and Malam Ata market that many of the homeless, both young and relatively older ladies, had children of their own. Hence the evidence of

economic reproduction of this population in Accra and their places of origin is overwhelming.

It must be noted however that the analysis above is limited to northern Ghana. The processes that led to deprivation in other parts of the country, especially rural areas, may not be as grave as the case of northern Ghana but the analytical categories established are applicable in most cases.

In the post-independence era addressing deprivation within the rural areas did not take on the need that it deserved. Drawing on the thesis of urban bias (Lipton, 1982) these categories emerge in very clear terms. This relationship in the work of Lipton was between the urban elite, who also held political power, and the rural population. Due to the ability of the urban elite to organise, centralise and control, they were able to distribute the national resources in their favour at the expense of the rural populations. This occurred in most developing countries in the post-colonial era and in the process further widened the gap that already existed between rural and urban parts of the states. Evidence of these processes in Ghana have been suggested by Konings (1985) in the Brong-Ahafo region and northern parts of Ghana along with Bates (1981). These studies have suggested processes in the relationship between the excluder, the state and urban classes, and the excluded, the rural people who are mainly farmers in cash crop and food products, which bar the excluded category from enjoying profits of their produce. Among the effects of this exploitative relationship is a low return in agricultural activities which has directly led to material deprivation which is the main driver of migration to urban centres. Thus the deprivation fits into Sen's analysis of instrumental consequences.

Out of the population of these migrants are slum dwellers and the homeless. The relationship between structural poverty and social exclusion is thus established.

3.3. Why they stay: The Proximity of Home and Work in the Informal Sector versus Exclusion from Accommodation by Family

As has been suggested in the previous chapter, the homeless populations that dwell in town/city centres, Malam Ata and Tema station, were found to be dependent on others to keep their assets because their sleeping spaces were not safe to keep them while they were at work. It is out of this dependence that they forge strong relationships in the city. This clearly represents one of several things that make their urban conditions somewhat sustainable. This subsection deals with what other issue/s contribute to making urban life more sustainable. The data is examined against two main issues in the literature: the idea of exclusion by the extended family members who have decent accommodation in Accra and the inter-connectedness of home and work in the informal sector. Below are 24 cases on some of the participants. They are grouped under four sub-headings, Group 1: those who have relatives in Accra with whom they have strong relationships with; Group 2: those who have relatives with whom they have weak relationships with; Group 3: those who have relatives but have no relationship with them; Group 4: those who have no relatives.

3.3.1. Group I

Sadia is a 38 year old native of Lukula in the Walewale district; a resident of Malam Ata market and married with three children. Her first trip to Accra was about ten years ago when she got pregnant with her first child and has since made numerous trips either in

response to an imminent need or during an off-farming season. Her husband provided the money for her trip and she came down to Accra to lodge with an uncle of her husband who resides at a suburb called Ofankor. She still goes to this home to visit and when she is able to save some money from a daily income range between 5-10 cedis a day, she sends it there for safekeeping but does not live there. “Living there will not work for me” she says, “I came here to work and there is no work there so I have to live here.” For Sadia, it is clear that the home at Ofankor is a place where she can go to seek shelter without difficulty since she had actually stayed there on her arrival and continues to go there regularly. It cannot therefore be said that she has been excluded from accommodation by unsupportive urban relatives but she has chosen not to stay in a home but in the market because of work.

This is a clear illustration of the dependence of home and work in the informal sector. It makes more sense to stay close to her place of work rather than make daily trips from a home. Social exclusion is only present with the deprivation that sent her to Accra in such a crucial period of her life and the fact that her husband permitted it shows the degree of importance they placed on getting some money. A deprivation brought about by old government policy decisions.

Dela is a 33 year old native of Adedome in the Volta Region who resides in a kiosk near the Leisure Hotel at Nungua. She has been living in her kiosk for about three years with her two children although the kiosk has been in its present location for the past eight years. She got married to her husband, a mason, in their hometown about a decade ago. Two years after the marriage her husband left to Accra in search of greener pastures. She stayed behind since she had just had a baby and her husband promised to visit regularly.

She grew suspicious after six months of her husband's absence and broken promise of regular visits. She was also having great financial difficulties since he was not sending them money so she moved to join him in a single room residence at Nungua leaving behind a dressmaking career and a small farm which were not doing so well. Not long after she settled at Nungua she mounted her kiosk and started working again. She had another child a year into her relocation but their financial troubles only increased with time since her earnings were occasional. Her husband took to drinking and suffered long periods of joblessness but she managed the situation with their two kids until it became unwise to keep spending her resources on rent and transport to work. So three years ago she decided, to the chagrin of her husband, to move to her workplace with her children. The marriage has since fallen on rocks despite attempts by her sister and other relatives who reside in Accra to resolve issues.

Dela's sister lives at Dansoman and although she was willing to take her in when she was having trouble with rent the distance involved was not good for her work and school for her kids. "Living here has helped me save money and use it for better things" she said "I even get work done easier now that I am here although it was not easy initially". In her case there are many interconnected factors from the reasons she left her original home to how she ended up as a kiosk dweller. For the purpose of this subsection however her reasons for moving to her place of work and its aftermath are noteworthy. The fact that she chose to live there over a real home at Dansoman is indicative of the influence that livelihoods have on accommodation choices for the homeless. At the time it seemed a better option and it still is.

Yaa is a 29 year old native of Kwahu who works as a hawker of food items and is also a kiosk dweller near the Teshie- Nungua estates. Her items of trade (such as yam, plantain, avocado pear) vary throughout the year depending on what is available. Her daily income ranges between 5-20 cedis depending on how favourable the market is. She used to work for a lady who bought farm produce from parts of the Eastern Region and sold them to traders in Accra. Her boss died about a year ago and this led her to migrate to Accra. She lives with her sister who is also a trader in food items and they have relatives in various parts of Accra whom they regularly stay in touch with. Sometimes the kiosk serves as a shop for some of their items but it is mostly a non-commercial place sited close to the shop where they usually obtain their items for sale. On weekends she does menial jobs such as washing for the residents of the estates.

The proximity between the shop where she obtains her food items and her kiosk, the fact that some of their customers come to her dwelling place to buy food, the proximity between the shop and the estates where she works for additional income and the fact that her hawking route and customers are all within the area makes the kiosk a very strategic and convenient place for her to live. This case, yet again, underscores the point about how influential ones economic activities are in determining where one lives.

3.3.2. Group 2

Gideon is a native of Krachi and resident of Tema station who sleeps in a bus in which he works as a conductor with a daily wage of 15 cedis. A previous resident of Ho who left to Accra on the assurance of a higher income by the man he currently works for. He lost his father early in life and has been trying to support his mother and younger siblings who

are all in Krachi. On why he sleeps in the bus he says “initially my master said there was no space at his home so I should manage here.” This was supposed to be a temporary arrangement to be managed for the time being. Although his master eventually got a place for him it came at a cost of GHC 5 a week. “That place at Konkonba (an area within the Old Fadama slum) was less comfortable than this bus and I was to share a room with all sorts of people I do not know” he said. He now believes that this arrangement is helpful since it gets the vehicle ready before his master arrives and also he is not being controlled as he would have been if he lived with his master.

In this case, Gideon’s master brought him to Accra with no intention to provide for his accommodation even for the first few days of his stay. Usually migrants with family or distant relations in Accra have their first few days or weeks after arrival taken care of by these relations. Ntewusu (2005) made similar findings in relation to this point in his study of northern migrants. As such Gideon’s master’s action on denying him this courtesy suggests anything but a will to include him in his residential facility. Placing him on the bus, a property he has control over, and his subsequent acquisition of a place for him illustrates a certain interest in getting him a place to lay his head. These two events make it difficult to place Gideon as one who has been excluded from accommodation by an urban relation. What is clear however is the strategic role of his residence in the bus which is parked at the station. This allows him to put it in ready shape for work in the morning mostly by cleaning it. Hence this case illustrates another instance where home and work are related.

Similar to Gideon’s case are Yaw and his brother Kwame who are 35 and 34 years respectively. They are both natives of Yamfo in the Brong Ahafo Region and are also

engaged in the same economic activity which is shoe mending. Additionally they live in the same kiosk near the Ghana Commercial Bank training school at Nungua. Although the kiosks have changed they have always ensured that they stayed in this particular neighbourhood. They have lived in Accra for the a total of fifteen years, two years in Accra Newtown and thirteen years at Nungua. They usually start the day working on the foot wares of the members of the households around the immediate surroundings of their kiosk. This is followed by a routine walk through the neighbourhood which is characterised by a sound produced from regular contact between the boxes they carry and short sticks. These sounds serve to announce their arrival to the residents who call them as and when they have any jobs for them. After they have served their neighbourhood they move out to more distant locations to work. The basic rate for polishing or fixing a minor damage to footwear is 50 pesewas but major damages attract about 2 cedis. They do not have a fixed number of clients a day as such it is difficult to estimate an average daily income. What matters, according to the two of them, is that they manage to survive the favourable and unfavourable days of the market. To supplement their incomes they sometimes work in construction and also go back to Yamfo to farm during the farming seasons. It is important to add that it was their disillusionment with farming which brought them to Accra.

They are cousins as such they have a common uncle who has been resident in Accra for many years. Their relationship with him revolves around important events such as deaths of relatives. Outside such events they do not contact themselves.

In this case we see a determination on the part of the homeless to stay within a particular area despite changes of the residential structure. This determination reveals the degree of

importance they place on living in the neighbourhood. Leaving there is a decision they cannot afford to make because it is going mean a huge loss of income. The connection between home and work is seen clearly in this situation.

Seth is a 32 year old native of Ho who works as a shop attendant at the outskirts of the Tulaku community in Ashaiman. The shop is owned by distant relative of his mother. Seth's mother died twelve years ago and this distant uncle has been responsible for him since. Although he does not allow Seth to live in his house at Sakumono he has given him the shop as his place of residence. This has helped in the prevention of burglary over the years. It also ensures that the shop, which deals in various household items such as soap, toothpaste, sugar, opens early and closes late to serve customers. He earns a salary of 150 cedis and is sometimes fed by his boss. The case of Seth presents another strong relationship between the nature of work and homelessness. It also demonstrates a weak family relationship which is strategic for business.

Maxwell is a 22 year old native of Ada who resides in a kiosk near the Ashaiman branch of HFC bank. His journey to homelessness started seven years ago when he dropped out of basic school. Two main reasons led to his decision to leave school; first, he lacked motivation to carry on due to poor performance, secondly a lack of support from his family also made it extremely difficult for him to continue. After four years of what he considers to be a miserable life characterised mostly idleness at Ada he moved to Ashaiman. This became possible by the invitation of his cousin to help in running an electrical shop. Though he slept in the shop for security reasons he was also allowed to visit his cousin's home at Ashaiman Zenu regularly. His cousin travelled to Europe after a year and the business was taken over by his younger sister. The year under her control

was marked by disagreements which eventually led to Maxwell's arrest and detention for a few days. Upon his release he was thrown out of the kiosk and warned never to return to the home. Shortly after this incident a friend came to his aid by providing him with accommodation in the kiosk, where he currently resides. He later got a job as a bus conductor and he has served in this capacity for about a year with a daily income of 15 cedis. It is important to note that throughout the period of he worked for his cousins he bonded with the youngest brother in that family and has maintained an uneasy but cordial relationship with him although they rarely meet.

Maxwell's case varies to some extent from most of the respondents examined. His previous job clearly adds to the view on the influence that one's job has on the place of residence but after that relationship broke a clear separation from home and work can be seen in his case. It is useful to note that the distance between his kiosk residence and the main lorry station is about 300 meters as such there is proximity. His position is on the issue of work and home however is as follows "I do not live here because of my work, when I find better work somewhere I can still stay here and go to work". What this suggests is that proximity is relevant but the decision to stay at a particular place because of work is dependent on other factors such as the availability of clients, proximity to the goods on sale and tools for work, among others. In this particular case Maxwell resides solely because of the bond between him and his benefactor.

3.3.3. Group 3

Ben, 29, is a native of Ningbo and a kiosk dweller at Ashaiman official town. He works as a porter at the Ashaiman market and its surrounding areas and earns between 5-10 cedis a

day. His work entails the transport of goods in a wooden trolley from various points at the market to various destinations. He came to Ashaiman for the first time two years ago with a childhood friend but could not stay long because a better opportunity had turned up at home. He returned four months ago after laboring for many months in a corn processing enterprise which paid very little. He has come to stay with his friend who has been working as a porter as well. Every morning he rents a trolley from a client who lives within his community. Ben has a few relatives in Ashaiman but prefers to live with his friend because of his proximity to their trolley renting client. Another reason why he prefers this arrangement is that he believes that life is a struggle for everyone in Accra and he feels better living on his own rather than relying on family. In response to why he has not sought shelter with any of these relatives he says “my brother, things are not easy for anyone in Accra so why will anyone willingly accept a burden?” He also adds that his relatives in Accra are aware of the struggles at home as such it is their duty to invite the young men, like himself, to come to the urban centres yet they prefer to offer discouraging reasons. To him this shows that they will not welcome him if he ever shows up at their home.

In this particular case two prominent reasons are discernible for his choice of residence. First, he had support from someone within his social network and secondly the accommodation came with a proximity to the source of his working tool. His position on the role of his urban relatives illustrates a feeling of having been excluded. Although he makes an assumption on how his relatives will respond to his presence at their homes, his feeling is reflective of the state of the extended family support system. The role of this system as the main source of accommodation and the supply of job opportunities

(Ntewusu, 2005) for migrants has seen some decline over the years and Ben's feeling of entitlement could be understood when it is placed within this context.

Osei is a 46 year old native of Mampong in the Ashanti Region and a kiosk dweller in an area called Adogon at Nungua. He first came to Accra after a bad farming season about twenty years ago. He finally became disillusioned with farming about a decade later and moved to Accra permanently to focus on his shoe mending business. Like others in this business, a great deal of his work comes from his neighbourhood even during odd times of the day. It is the urgency with which he responded to such shoe 'emergencies' that earned him the title shoe doctor. He charges 50 pesewas for a basic job such as fixing a torn shoe. Depending on the damage however he could charge as much as 2 cedis. On days when the market is favourable he earns as much as 20 cedis but on bad days he makes as low as 5 cedis. Unlike other cobblers he has a shop which doubles as his residence. He has moved from a caretaker of a kiosk owned by a seamstress to a kiosk of his own. So for the past four years he has quit the mobile aspect of the job and works from his shop/home. This has enabled his wife and three children to visit him and sometimes stay over when they come. He has a number of family members in Accra and even in Nungua but "the city life has ruined these relationships" he said "back at home we had less money but we had time to bond with even our distant relatives but this city life has made it difficult for even blood brothers to relate as they should"

Osei's case demonstrates the extent to which the family system has broken down in urban conditions. Interestingly he is not even referring to the extended family but the nuclear. From his perspective we get an insight into what an increasing urban life can lead to in the near future, a possibility of breakdown of the nuclear family. What is clear here is his

determination to hold on to his residence in this area where he has worked for the past decade. This presents another typical case of the influence of work on the place to make a home.

The case of Jerry, a 22 year old resident of Tema station and a bus conductor adds to this category. He is a native of Swedru in the Central region and a he could not complete basic school. He previously lived with his brother at the Old Fadama slum but a dispute caused to him to leave and find his own place. He has since not had any relationship with his brother and does not seek to have anything to do with him. Since he had already been working as a bus conductor, for which he earns 15 cedis, daily he easily found accommodation with some of his colleagues at Tema station where he has been resident for eight months. He does not reside within the bus he works with but with that of a friend. Hence his case presents an illustration of relationships that are built by the urban poor and how they can influence accommodation. This relationship was developed at the lorry station where Jerry and his friend work as bus conductors. Hence, without dismissing the significance of his relationship with his benefactor, it is correct to say that it is the nature of work is again playing out in the determination of a place of residence.

Koshie is a 24 year old native of Laiti-Wote in the Volta Region and a kiosk resident at Ashaiman Official town. His life's journey started from Akosombo where he spent his early years schooling briefly and spending most of the time in a family fishing business. Four years ago he decided to leave after the business fell apart. He came to Ashaiman to join a childhood friend in a kiosk, owned by a tailor, at Official town. They both worked with a young man who prepared and sold fried rice with chicken for a few months. Koshie worked in a few places before his current job as a bus conductor; he was a

salesman in a bar after he left the fried rice business thereafter he tried being a bus conductor for the first time but left after a few months to work as a factory hand with a paint manufacturing company on the Spintex road. At present he earns about 10 cedis a day in addition to tips from his boss and looks forward to becoming a bus driver some day. He has a few relatives in Ashaiman and other parts of Accra but has not been in touch with any of them and has maintained his residence in the same kiosk.

Koshie's case differs from most of the respondents in this sub-section. His economic activities in the last four years have not influenced his place of residence. The only factor present in determining his residence is his relationship with his friend. It stands to reason that there are factors outside the influence of work which play significant roles in deciding where the homeless seek shelter. In this case it is a relationship. The next chapter of this work examines such relationships more closely.

Wisdom, 27, is a native of Sogakope and a resident of Ashaiman. He lives in a wooden structure which is different in size and design from a kiosk. It is originally meant to be a workshop for carpentry and other wood works such as splitting but it has served as shelter for Wisdom for the past three years. He learnt carpentry alongside his studies at basic school but dropped out of the latter after six years. He came to Accra about four years ago after his carpentry and hometown failed to give him the life he wanted. Upon his arrival he lodged with a friend at Tema and made contact with a few of his relatives within the Greater Accra Region but they were unwilling to help. He eventually got a job as an assistant to a truck driver and this gave him occasional opportunities to work at the Tema Harbour. These were both very risky jobs as such when he got another opportunity to work as a carpenter at Ashaiman he gladly left. Eventually he was allowed to stay at

the workshop to help him cut down on his daily expenses on transport from Tema. The carpentry business suffered for months and eventually fell apart a year ago. Although he still lives in the workshop he is currently a marketer of herbal products for which he could earn as much as 20 cedis a day and as low as 5 cedis and sometimes even lower. On family he shared a poignant observation about his experience, “I do not look for them and they do not look for me either, everybody is on his own here”

The remark above demonstrates the effect that an urbanizing world has on family relations. They know of their existence but are unable to keep in touch, not even in contemporary times when telecommunications have made it easier for family and friends to stay close despite distance. This phenomenon has been seen in the cases of Osei and Ben under this category and has also been an issue of interest in the literature. Regarding his source of shelter, it moves through phases. His first place of lodging was based on a relationship; his subsequent relocation was based on his job; at present the job-related accommodation has become a relationship based residence, just like the first one in Accra. Based on this information, it is proper to appreciate these phases rather than place him in the dominant category of those with job-related accommodation.

3.3.4. Group 4

Suraya is an 18 year old native of Walewale in the Northern region and a resident of Tema station. The purpose of her trip to Accra is to make money to support her younger siblings. She chose Accra mainly because that has been the route to achieve such goals for young women in her hometown. She has been sleeping in the open with some of her relatives at the station for the past four months and works as a porter with an average

daily income of 20 cedis. She has no relations in Accra apart from those at the station. It is important to note that this is her first trip to Accra. Her case adds another dimension to this phenomenon. It illustrates the view that travelling to Accra has become a subculture among a group of people, mostly young women from her place of origin. It has become a kind of rite that must be performed at a point in one's life depending on social status. One of the essential characteristics of this subculture is the nature of work and its influence on homelessness. For porters, the markets and lorry stations serve this dual purpose.

It is within this subculture that the case of Zaida, also 18 years, a native of Walewale and a relative of Suraya, is examined. In contrast to Suraya she seeks to raise money to acquire some skills. She is however yet to decide on whether it must be dressmaking, hair styling or both. To this end she has given up pottering and is currently working in a local restaurant. A decision which has not gone as well as she expected since her flat income is about 10 cedis a day. In her days as a porter however she could earn more depending on how persistent she was and how good the market also was. She is however not willing to return to pottering since she does not spend much on food anymore. It is also important to note that, like Suraya, this is her first trip and has been in Accra for four months.

Within this subculture are the cases of Khadija, 21, and Hikima, 27, both natives of Yendi. Hikima is on her fourth trip to Accra, a mother of two, and a porter. Khadija is on her second trip, she trades in local beverages such as *sobolo* and *brukina* and preparing for marriage. They have both done three months on this trip and will return when they have saved enough with a daily average income of 10 cedis.

This same subculture enables us to examine the cases of the female residents of Malam Ata. It is worthy to note that they are natives of villages within the West Mamprusi district which has Walewale as its capital. Similarly at Tema station, this subculture was found among their compatriots who are of Mamprusi and Dagomba origins. Another common characteristic is that their daily income is not fixed and it ranges between 5-10 cedis. It is also important to note that that this is peculiar to the porters among them

Rukaya is an 18 year old porter from Mankerigu and resident of Malam Ata. She is a breastfeeding mother but unmarried and has combined a life of farming and learning dressmaking at home. She is midway through her apprenticeship but is in Accra for the first time to enable her raise some money. She intends to leave after three months out of which she has done two but her daily income is not fixed and ranges between 5-10 cedis. It could stay on the lower limit for weeks as such she also works for some of the families in the neighbourhood for additional income and in return she gets to keep some of her most valuable assets such as her new clothes.

Amina's case is very similar to that of Rukaya, she is 19 and a native of Yaaba. She also has a child but yet to be married and is in Accra in search of money to support her family. She is in her sixth month on this trip. Her first trip in 2012 lasted for only three weeks due to bereavement. She is a porter and also works for some of the nearby homes regularly. Also from Yaaba is Rahinatu who is 27 years old. She is four months in her fourth trip and a mother of two. Her children are both at Yaaba and she works as a porter and an occasional domestic help for one of the nearby homes. In both cases average daily income is not fixed and could be as low as 5 cedis and as high as 15 cedis.

Ayisha, 22, a native of Lukula, married with a child and a trader in vegetables is on her third trip. Like others in this category she is here to raise money. To this end she supplements her income by working for families in the neighbourhood and even occasionally returns to her portering job. Her average daily income is not fixed and is sometimes as low as 5 cedis and could be as high as 20 cedis depending on how good the market is.

Samira, 26, native of Yaaba, works for a local restaurant, been resident for 6 months also does laundry for nearby residents. She is on her sixth trip to Accra. A mother of three with her older kids in Yaaba and the youngest with her at the market. For her work at the restaurant she earns a fixed income of 10 cedis

Ibrahim, 20, is a Frafra from Bolgatanga and resident of Malam Ata market. He works at a local restaurant located within the market as a *fufu* pounder. He is one of the few homeless people with a fixed daily wage of 15 cedis. Prior to his trip to Accra he had tried a few activities such as farming, trading and six years of basic school. He has been working and living at the market for a year and has no relatives in Accra apart from his 47 year old father Ali. Ali has lived in Accra for about 15 years and worked as a *fufu* pounder for about 10 years. When he ended his last job as a pounder he was hired by his boss as a security guard for the restaurant at Kokomlemle because he proved to be trustworthy throughout his years of service. This new job came with accommodation within the restaurant. While he still lived in the restaurant the location of his security job changed from his residence at Kokomlemle to the home of his boss at Asylum Down about two years later. His boss opened a new branch of her restaurants at the Malam Ata market and converted his old place of residence to a shop after a year. This led to Ali

taking up residence at Malam Ata while keeping his job as security guard and an occasional pounder. When the opportunity came to hire a new pounder he brought his son, Ibrahim from Bolgatanga to take up that role. Occasionally Ibrahim helps his dad with the security job as well.

The place of work in determining Ali's residence is very clear from the narrative above. His case is different from other homeless people whose place of work and sleep are the same. Nevertheless it fits very well within the relationship under exploration because his presence in the restaurant plays another security role for the properties kept there. This security role is also supported by the presence of his son whose case is similar to the typical ones observed in the cases of porters. What this indicates is that there are various ways by which the nature of work can influence the type of accommodation. So far this study has identified two ways. First, it could lead to the use of the same place for both work and residence. Secondly relationships developed from work could lead to forms of accommodation that may not be the same as the place of work.

3.4. Conclusion

From the 24 cases examined above, the underlying pattern is the need to stay close enough to one's source of livelihood. This major reason for this is the nature of work. The homeless are engaged in economic activities which serve clients within specific localities, sometimes at crucial times of the day. It is important to note that these are low skilled jobs which attract low wages as such some of them are seen to be engaged in other jobs within these localities to supplement their incomes. It was noted that some had fixed daily incomes whereas other did not. After their daily expenses which are mainly

on food and water they have very little left. The four cases which did not show this pattern at present, three did have it in their past. In other words, job-related shelters developed into a stronger relationship with the benefactor which resulted in their continual stay even after the job was over. This illustrates that the arrangements within which the homeless obtain their shelter in the urban areas are not static and can move in phases. They either move into stronger relationships of trust or breakdown and lead to hostility as in the case of Maxwell in Group 2. There was however an exception in the case of Koshie whose source of shelter was never related to any of his sources of income. His case suggests that another dimension to the nature of relationships involved in the reasons why homeless people stay homeless. One that is purely relational without any income or blood connection. Although these factors cannot be dismissed it is also important to note that they do not downplay the importance of the nexus between work and home so far as homelessness in Ghana is concerned.

Finally the state of the extended family support system was revealed in the chapter, except for those in Group 1, the remaining groups had weak or no relationships with their urban relatives. Family and the social support it is responsible for is now the kind of relationships developed in the urban area and not among those with whom the homeless are connected by blood.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESPONSES TO HOMELESSNESS

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters the living conditions of the homeless and the underlying reasons for their migration to, and stay in, the city have been examined. One major aspect of the examination of their living conditions in chapter two was on the kinds of assets they have and how they are able to secure them. In the previous chapter it was argued that they stayed mainly because of the proximity between their places of work and home which guarantees easier access to their clients.

In this chapter, the study explores the interactions of the wider public with the homeless and argues that it is out of these interactions that the homeless keep their assets secured. It argues further that these interactions contribute largely to why the homeless are able to stay in Accra due to the fact that they, generally, lessen the burden of homelessness on them although they do little in bringing a solution to the problem.

To this end, the range of interactions observed were categorised based on their sources. These categories are borrowed from Illife (1987) in a similar study of African poverty and how the wider public reacted to it. In Illife's work the categories appeared as institutional care and non-institutional care. This study however chose to look beyond care from the wider public hence the observation explored cases of hostility and some aggression as well. As a result of this shift the interactions with the general public here

are perceived as responses and not care. Hence the terms employed here are institutional and non-institutional responses³.

Furthermore, the motivations behind responses were also explored. The study grouped these under either religious or secular concerns, and in some cases both. The kinds limited to secular concerns include the need to sanitize and control the urban space; the culture of lending a supporting hand to the weak; offering support in return for security of one's items; among others. For religiously motivated responses, they are mainly borne out of beliefs that individuals or groups hold based on their faith. It was observed that the source of motivation is quite influential in determining the nature of response. What the data suggests is that religiously motivated responses are always friendly and tend to show care. However secularly motivated responses are not limited to care and could be hostile. In what follows, three case studies are examined under institutional responses and for non-institutional responses a general account is given.

4.2. Institutional Responses

This section examines care and aggression from institutions under three sub-sections. The first two dwell on care and the final explores the issue of aggression.

4.2.1. The Joy Fm Easter Soup Kitchen

This initiative started about fifteen years ago by the Multimedia Broadcasting Group, one of the key players in Ghana's media industry. The multimedia group currently runs about

³ Institutional responses simply refer to acts performed in the name of established or recognized bodies (such as the state, corporate organizations, religious organizations and non-governmental organizations) whereas non-institutional responses refer to activities by groups and individuals on their own accord without the support of any recognized body.

twenty television stations and four radio stations with numerous affiliates across all the ten regions of the country. Every year, on Easter Sunday, the Joy fm Easter soup kitchen is held as part of the organization's celebration of this Christian event.

It started as a party for the underprivileged populations of Accra. A day when these populations are fed, clothed and entertained with good music. For the past five years it has grown beyond the initial aims of feeding, clothing and entertainment. A few new additions have been made to the event. They are mainly in the area of health. They involve mass registration for the National Health Insurance Scheme, medical screening and treatment for those who test positive for various ailments.

Prior to every Easter Sunday, in the past fifteen years, the company uses its media outlets to inform the public about the event and also seeks support in the form of clothes, food items, money and volunteers. Over the years, the public has responded positively to the calls to donate money, food items, clothes, foot wares, and time. These donations have come from institutions such as corporate bodies, universities, second cycle educational institutions and non-institutions such as families and individuals.

On the day before the event, when most of the donations have come in, the volunteers are assembled at the venue of the event, Efua Sutherland Children's Park, Accra, where they sort out the clothes and foot ware according to sex. Sizes for adults are also separated from that of children. After this stage, the items are packaged into presentable plastic bags and are kept at the park until Sunday when they are distributed.

On the eve of the event, staffs of Multimedia, Information Services Department of Ghana and some volunteers are dispatched to various sites where the targeted populations seek shelter at night. With the aid of vans from Multimedia and the Information Services

Department of Ghana, these teams visit places such as Tema station, Malam Ata Market, Kaneshie market, Tudu, Cocoa Marketing Board, Old Fadama, among others to announce the event and distribute invitation coupons to thousands who seek shelter in these open places either with no roof or insecure roofs.

Finally on Sunday, the underprivileged people of Accra, assemble at the children's park where they are all fed and entertained with music. Some of them are examined by volunteering medical practitioners and other health workers. In cases where they test positive for conditions, they are provided with drugs for treatment. Years of engaging with these people at this event has revealed that they are prone to some common diseases such as respiratory infections and malaria. This is mainly due to their sleeping conditions. This fore knowledge has enabled the health workers to come well prepared with drugs meant for treating these common conditions.

This institutional response, which is motivated both by divine and secular concerns, is clearly well intentioned and over the years a great deal of resources have had to be gathered to make it possible. It presents an interface where the larger Ghanaian society is able to show some care to the underprivileged people of Accra which includes a section of the homeless population.

4.2.2. The Maternal Health Channel

This is a civil society initiative with an aim to improve maternal health in Ghana. It uses various media platforms such as television, radio, print, social media and others to push for debate in public policy on maternal health in Ghana. To this end they have been quite visible on the Ghanaian scene since 2013 with television programmes and huge billboards bearing the words "PREGNANCY IS NOT A DISEASE". In partnership with

a non-profit production and event management house (Creative Storm Network) they produced a series of documentaries, radio programmes which focused on the maternal health needs of porters in Accra. Through partnerships with various stakeholders such as the Ghana Health Service, Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU), Maries Stopes International, USAID, UNFPA, a working group called the City-Wide kayayei Health and Welfare Committee has been formed which has aided some community video screenings in kayayei communities.

Their work covered a number of town/city centres where porters are located in Accra such as Tema station, Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB/Abuja), Tudu, Agbogbloshie, Darkuman and Madina. At these sites the MHC registered hundreds of porters for the National Health Insurance Scheme and educated them through videos and discussion on maternal health. In addition to these a baseline survey conducted showed that porters faced a myriad of problems such as social discrimination and demeaning attitudes towards them, including health professionals; homelessness; lack of education for both Kayayei parents and children; lack of security; low health knowledge; lack of health cover; deplorable living conditions.

Both institutional responses examined in this study have been limited to clustered homelessness with no interest in the category of the dispersed. Secondly they have both been focused on managing the problem as it appears in the urban centres. The registration of the porters to the health insurance scheme however is a very significant intervention although porters are reported to sometimes suffer discrimination at health centres when they visit (MHC Baseline Survey conducted in 2013).

4.2.3. Institutional Aggression

During the period of data collection violent institutional responses from the AMA and other state institutions which are directed at informal sector workers was not observed in the study areas. Later checks with contacts in the areas did not yield any evidence as well. Although the AMA has been aware of the presence of these people and have on occasion threatened to evict those at Tema station (GNA, 2007) these threats have yet to be followed with action. The lack of data for this type of response rests on the fact that the homeless people within this studies within the AMA's jurisdiction live in the open spaces without any physical structures. It is important to note that the AMA has had a long relationship with the informal sector in Accra which has been characterised by some aggression towards the latter (Bob-Milliar and Obeng-Odoom, 2011; Aikins and Ofori-Atta, 2007). It is significant to note that the main targets of this aggression have been physical structures and persons whose trading activities prevent easy movement within the capital. By the nature of their work porters may get caught up in these exercises by the AMA since they contribute to the large human traffic within the capital. As it turned out however, none of the respondents have had any experience to share about the AMA's aggression. This could be because of the type of homelessness studied within the AMA. In their study of kiosk dwellers within the East-Legon area, which falls under the AMA, Aikins and Ofori-Atta (2007) obtained some evidence. Their study presented narratives culled from the homeless which provided the trajectory of their residence in kiosks from various locations before arriving at East-Legon where they are still under threat from the AMA. In one instance, a family moved from Dzorwulu to East-Legon as a result of evictions from the AMA. While kiosk dwellers within the AMA supervised areas have

been under this kind of threat their counterparts in the LEKMA and ASHMA have lived free from such threats from their respective assemblies.

4.3. Non-Institutional Responses

In the previous section, the responses studied are seasonal and limited in terms of how many homeless people are touched. For instance all those interviewed at Malam Ata in the last stage of data collection had no knowledge of the Joy Fm soup kitchen although the place is visited annually to distribute coupons. But with regards to non-institutional responses everyone has experiences to share. Additionally it is part of the daily experiences of the homeless. Under this section the focus is on those who respond; why they respond; and the needs they meet through these responses. The people who supported the homeless were mostly their clients who lived or worked nearby or their neighbours and in some instances people they have been previously acquainted with. As such the relationships observed here are grouped into three: homeless/client, homeless/neighbour and homeless/ acquaintance relationships. Their motivations were mostly secular concerns which range from security of items, benevolence, reciprocity and in some cases a combination of two or more of these. Additionally these relationships often revolve around various aspects of the daily lives of the homeless which are peculiar to each study site. The place to sleep and security of assets however apply to all.

4.3.1. Security of Items and Associated Relationships

Tema station did not show any evidence of the homeless/neighbour relationship. The reason rests on its location in a commercial area surrounded by buildings and structures which serve several purposes except as residential facilities. As such the residents here relied on traders, mostly their clients, to keep watch over their assets during the day. For

Malam Ata market, its location within a commercial and residential area made it possible for both client and neighbour relationships to exist. While most of the market dwellers, 90% of respondents, depended on traders to keep their assets for them during the day when they were out working, a few, 10%, relied on those who lived in the houses located at the outskirts of the market. One example of the latter is the case of a porch dweller who served the surviving relatives of Malam Ata. Her major responsibility was to wash clothes and in return for this she gets to keep her items secured in their home. She also receives other favours such as donation of clothes from the family. For the other respondents securing their assets was done with trusted traders who are sometimes clients and at other times mere acquaintances. The client based relationships here were more prominent with the residents who sold food items and most of these clients were stationed within the market. The residents offered to trade part of their bulk items for daily wages. It is based on these economic relationships that the secondary affair of safeguarding their assets comes in.

At Nungua and Ashaiman, relationships based on asset security, whether with clients, neighbours or acquaintances, existed between kiosk owners and the homeless people who reside in these properties. In such instances the kiosk owners had given out their properties not only to provide a place to sleep for those who lacked but it also served them to prevent break-ins. There is a pervasive belief in both places that having someone occupy the kiosk at night protects items in the shops from being stolen. The interest in security had led to kiosk occupancy by people who were not homeless but members of their household as well. For instance, at Nungua a shop owner instructed her nephew to sleep in the kiosk at night to protect the items. Responding to the basis of this belief,

Yaw, a resident of Nungua claimed that burglars usually surveyed the conditions of the properties they intend to break into before carrying out the act. Realisation of the presence of kiosk occupants often deterred them from the act of breaking in. By residing and offering security the homeless also got the chance to secure the few items they owned. These relationships often came with no financial cost to the homeless and moved fluidly between clients, neighbours and acquaintances.

4.3.2. Places of Sleep and Associated Relationships

The relationships under this section are peculiar to the various locations studied. As noted in the foregoing, some locations have more fluid movements whereas others do not. At Malam Ata for example, all the porches of had been secured on the benevolence of the shop owners. These were acquired at no cost to the homeless but only imposed the task of keeping the place tidy. This practice is often based on an agreement with one member of the group who accommodates natives of her village as and when they arrive. These shop owners are neither neighbours nor clients hence they best fit into the category of homeless/ acquaintance relationship.

At Nungua these relationships moved quite fluidly between neighbours and acquaintances. The case of Dela in Chapter Two illustrates how she depends on an acquaintance for the piece of land on which her kiosk stands and how that same fellow depends on her for making dresses for the females members of his home. The members of the nearby compound house who allow her to share their toilet and bathrooms places her in a neighbour-homeless relationship as well. Her children are also cared for on occasions that she has to be away and sometimes receive old clothes from one neighbour who is very close to her. In this case one person is involved in two dependent relationships which

serve the purposes of accommodation and other daily necessities respectively. In Ashaiman, those who owned kiosks are in a similar arrangement as the case of Dela, the owners of the pieces of land on which they mounted these kiosks were sometimes acquaintances and neighbours as well. At Tema station, the dependent relationships revolved mainly around the security of assets of the homeless rather than their place of residence since the property belongs to the AMA.

One peculiar form of response observed in two of the chosen study areas, Nungua and Ashaiman, is the case of caretakers. In previous studies related to land in Peri-urban Accra. Yeboah (2005) and Gough and Yankson (1997) observed an established practice through which landed property is secured on behalf of owners who are usually not present. In both cases, owners usually resided within the country but lived elsewhere as such it was expedient to delegate others, usually farmers, to take care of the land on their behalf. These arrangements did not only secure the land from encroachers but also brought some material benefit to the land owners because a portion of the farm produce usually went to them as tribute (Yeboah, 2005). The study by Gough and Yankson (1997) differed by the nature of property which were buildings that were yet to be completed and not land. Additionally, the caretaker did not pay the owner any form of tribute. The terms were that the caretaker lived in the house rent free and in return provided some security for the house and materials meant for construction that were available on the compound.

A phenomenon similar to these caretaker arrangements was encountered at Nungua and Ashaiman. In these cases however, as in the latter, the caretakers were tasked with responsibilities over homes and not lands. Secondly, the home owners lived outside the country and not within. Thirdly, unlike the land arrangements which required tributes

from the caretakers, they received payments for taking care of the houses in addition to the benefit of residing in them with their families.

Some evidence of this phenomenon was gathered at Nungua. Within the Teshie-Nungua estates, a caretaker is in charge of a nearly completed five bedroom house with a three-room detached building. Apart from his own family made up of his wife, two kids and his sister, two other families are accommodated within the structure. One is made up of a single mother with three children and the other consists of two brothers. The caretaker resides within the main building while his guests occupy the detached buildings on the compound. These families would have been homeless without the invitation of the caretaker and their continued residence is uncertain after the building is completed.

As a person who has endured the difficulties of not having a secure roof over his head in his early years in Accra, the caretaker has elected to accommodate these families out of his understanding of their plight. In other words, he empathises with them. However this is the primary reason. The supporting reasons are that he has a mutual relative with the brothers and also hails from the same hometown. For the single mother, he got to know her while he worked as a factory hand at years ago.

According to him, the owner of his house is aware of the presence of these people in the building. He felt the need to inform him because the owner of the house himself rose from a humble background before travelling to Europe as such he expected that he would understand.

4.3.3. Non-Institutional Aggression

The main forms of non-institutional aggression are mostly theft and sexual abuse. The latter is limited to women especially those who belong to the clustered group. Harrowing

tales of sexual abuses exist in the memories of these ladies although it seemed impossible to locate any respondent who could share an experience she has actually witnessed. One of such narratives from Tema station was repeated by an associate who works with a civil society organization and is presented as follows; armed men are reported to have showed up and forcibly dragged their choices of women away from the sleeping area. Whatever happened next to the victims could not be substantiated. Similar harrowing experiences are shared by Boakye-Boaten (2008) in a study of street life in Accra.

Regarding cases of theft it is very common for both groups. It emerged that many kiosk dwellers had suffered theft than the town/city centre homeless. Usually they are in smaller groups, and sometimes alone, in their kiosks which makes it less risky for thieves to attack unlike the areas where they are hugely populated.

Other hostile responses which may not be physically aggressive were also encountered. Notable among these are the expulsion of homeless people from kiosks over disagreements with their benefactors. At Nungua one of the occupants of the kiosk in which Yaw and his brothers resided had previously fallen out with his benefactor for unclear reasons which led him to join his current group, also at Ashaiman the case of Maxwell in the previous previous chapter presents an illustration of such responses(see page 65 above). At Malam Ata, the operators of one of the public toilets and bathrooms at the market have stopped the homeless women there from using the facility because they have, on countless occasions, left the place very untidy. The managers of the other facility which they currently patronise have also complained about similar violations of their rules although they have not considered turning them away.

4.4. Impacts of Responses: Care, Aggression and other Hostilities

The impacts of both types of responses are varied. For institutional and non-institutional aggression the homeless simply move to a more suitable location or take precautions as evident in the cases mentioned in the foregoing. In one case the homeless moved from Dzorwulu to East-Legon and in the other cases a kiosk occupant moved to join a group in another kiosk. Boakye-Boaten (2008) suggests that group sleeping in street life in Accra is a form of protection. In view of this suggestion, clustered homelessness could be read as reaction to previous abuses to earlier settlers.

Regarding non-institutional care this study discusses two main types of impacts, health and social wellbeing. Regarding health the registration of porters for the health insurance scheme is one major success in the range of responses. The fact that they will not have to pay for medical care anymore, at least before the expiry date of the insurance, takes away a major obstacle in their way to accessing healthcare for themselves and their children. This particular impact can improve the living conditions of its beneficiaries greatly although it is limited to porters. In addition to this the distribution of drugs on the Easter Sunday improves the generally difficult situation that the homeless have to deal with. At least it takes care of their sick even if it is for a few days and saves them some money. Additionally the MHC's collaboration with the Ghana Health Service can result in an attitudinal change on the part of health workers and people within the hospital area who have been reported to show hostility towards the porters when they visit health institutions.

The other aspect of responses relates to their social well-being and also contributes to the analysis presented in the previous chapter specifically under the sub-section: why they stay. The everyday responses, which all homeless people identify with, are the lifeblood of their existence. Without the kiosks and uncompleted buildings in which the respondents and their counterparts dwell in at Nungua and Ashaiman it would be extremely difficult for them to live in the urban areas and more importantly earn any money. Without the various ways by which they keep their possessions secured it would also be extremely difficult for them to exist and achieve their purpose of coming to the urban areas. Hence the dependent relationships analysed in the foregoing is crucial in sustaining them and impacts their social wellbeing significantly.

Additionally the donation of used clothes contributes in relieving the homeless from the general distress that comes with their situation. This cuts across the divisions employed here in analyzing responses since it is common to the Easter soup kitchen and the homeless/neighbour network. Its effect can be specifically measured by the fact that the homeless do not have to spend their income on clothing which leaves them with slightly more money if they had to buy clothes.

4.5. Conclusion

An assessment of the above responses and their impacts lead us to the understanding that the larger Ghanaian society has, and continues, to make provision for the homeless. These include money, food, clothes, spaces to stay and time spent during annual events like the soup kitchen and daily events like watching over properties. It demonstrates that the homeless people of Accra have the ability to build lasting relationships with the wider

public based on trust which aids them in securing places to sleep and their assets. These relationships with neighbours, acquaintances and clients are determined by the nature of the locations where they settle. Another notable aspect is the fluidity that exists in these relationships with their benefactors. The overall effect of these interactions with the wider public is how it reliefs them of some of the difficulties that come with living far from their real homes in places where they cannot afford homes of their own. With these difficulties taken care of, they are able to pursue their aims for coming to the urban centre.

Interactions with the wider public are however not all peaceful and warm. It has been showed how they have had to suffer some abuses at the hands of some state organs and individuals. Other hostilities have also led to the terminations of relationships which they were previously dependent on. However positive and negative these interactions and the motives behind them are the phenomenon of homelessness is not desirable and these responses only succeed in managing the problem.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined various dimensions of the phenomenon of homelessness in two municipalities, ASHMA and LEKMA, as well as the AMA. The AMA has been the traditional site for research into the phenomenon as such the inclusion of the municipalities was an attempt at a paradigm shift. This shift revealed a significant difference between homelessness within the AMA and the other municipalities which will be addressed shortly. Regarding the dimensions of the phenomenon, this study sought to examine the role of social exclusion and structural poverty in bringing about homelessness in Ghana. It also sought to examine how the homeless people lived. To this end special interest was taken in the kinds of assets they possessed and how their living conditions contributed in determining the characteristics of these assets. Finally the study examined the provisions made for the homeless by the wider public which included institutions and non-institutions.

The difference observed between the LEKMA and ASHMA, on the one hand, and the AMA on the other hand enabled the development of two categories of the phenomenon: dispersed homelessness and clustered/concentrated homelessness. These categorizations refer to the extent to which the homeless populations are identifiable within a municipality. For instance within the AMA they are found to be densely packed within town/city centres such as lorry stations and markets hence the name clustered/concentrated. Within LEKMA and ASHMA they are located in kiosks that are found within different locations of the municipality hence the name dispersed. This

difference in residential arrangements set both groups apart in diverse ways. This study found that the nature of accommodation determines the kind of assets that are kept. As such the kiosk dwellers had more items than the clustered group due to the fact that they lived in enclosed spaces which were occupied during the day and at night. The presence of people in these kiosks provided some form of security which those in the clustered group lacked. The examination of assets is new in the body of works which examine how homelessness people live within Ghana. It also proved vital in establishing a relationship between poverty and the kind of assets associated with it and, except for one encounter at ASHMA, this proved to be correlational.

This spotlight placed on assets led this study to also explore the nature of relationships built by homeless people. It was established that strong relationships of mutual trust and dependence existed between the homeless and their benefactors across the two categories. Within the dispersed group their benefactors were mostly the kiosk owners and neighbours while the clustered groups were involved with traders within the market or station. In a study of the phenomenon in South Africa, Olufemi and Reeves (2004) established that the homeless women of Johannesburg could not build any meaningful and lasting relationships and this finding is in disagreement with what this study observed. Not only do the homeless groups studied build relationships that secure their assets but they also create social networks with obligations of reciprocity (Herrerros, 2004). Hence the relationships between those with homes and the homeless is not only based on charity, but also on finding a useful economic role for the homeless in building neighbourhoods of trust to counter the urban difficulties such as the rise of crime and social insecurity, in building a moral economy based on friendship and mutual support.

This results from the alienation of urbanization, rising crime and violence within neighbourhoods and the failure of the state to provide reliable security services (police) to deal with this problem. Thus, community members need to tap resources within their communities to build trust and this includes among the homeless. What this adds to the studies of homelessness worldwide is that the homeless in Ghana are not outside of the community as it is in most studies conducted elsewhere (Goetz, 1992; Hayashi, 2013, Olufemi, 1998, 2000; Olufemi and Reeves, 2004; Caplon, Bahr and Sternberg, 1968)

In addition to the dimension on the provision made for the homeless by the wider public two cases of institutional responses were addressed. The two institutions are the Maternal Health Channel and the Multimedia Group Limited. Both were involved in occasional social events aimed at addressing some needs of the homeless populations especially in the area of health. Both groups embarked on mass registrations for health insurance at no cost to the homeless and other underprivileged groups within the AMA. It is important to note that the Multimedia events also come with food and clothes. The impacts of these events are not as significant as the everyday encounters of the homeless in their neighbourhoods but they are worth mentioning. The clothes provided enable them to save parts of their income that would have been spent to buy such and so do the health insurance cards. Based on studies elsewhere (Olufemi, 1998, 2000; Olufemi and Reeves, 2004; Goetz, 1992; McVerry, 2001; Hayashi, 2013; Smith, 1999) institutional responses to homelessness is yet to take off in Ghana since these studies present state and non-state organizations that are actively involved in managing the phenomenon of homelessness. In Ghana these two and other lesser known and occasional events are what we have for institutional responses.

Finally, there is a consensus on the factors responsible for poverty among migrants in the urban areas of Ghana. The history of policies that served to impoverish certain regions and rural areas has been used extensively to explain this phenomenon. What this study contributes to this discourse is the application of social exclusion. This application helped to situate findings by earlier studies (Amanor, 2011; Konings, 1985; Bates, 1981; Lipton, 1982; van der Geest, 2011; Ntewusu, 2005 and 2012) within the analytical categories of the 'excluder' and the 'excluded'. The concept of social exclusion also enhances understanding due to its explanatory power in determining the nature of exclusions and their associated consequences. This study has clearly demonstrated that homelessness is the outcome of historical exclusionary policies. Decisions made in the first half of the previous century are still influential as such the type of consequence here is what Sen (2000) referred to as instrumental consequences. This leads us to what kind of exclusion presented the outcome at hand. Based on the evidence from the northern parts of Ghana it is quite straightforward that it was an active exclusion because it was deliberately directed at the people. Regarding the numerous other sources of the homeless people studied it cannot be put in the straightforward manner as has been done for the north because they are many and their particular experiences must be diverse. Since the study could not explore the particular experiences of each place of origin it relied on the analysis by Bates (1981) and Lipton (1982) to present a general view which suggests an active form of exclusion.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Part 1: THE NATURE OF NON-SLUM HOMELESSNESS

- What does your observation of the homeless tell you about the following questions:
 - Are there more males than females?
 - Or there are more females than males?
 - Are there children, and if there are, are they more than the adults?
 - Are there old people, and if there are, are they more than the above groups?
- Please mention some of the places where they usually sleep?
- Do they have permission to sleep in these places or they do not need permission to sleep there?
- Do they stay in these places for long or short periods?
- Do you happen to know why they spend long or short periods at their sleeping places?
- What kinds of sleeping materials do they use?
- Where is the sleeping material mentioned above kept during the day?
- How do they cope with bad weather?
- Any activities before, during and after sleeping, like cooking supper or breakfast?
- Where do they get water?
- Do they own any property, like clothes, mobile phones and other non-consumables?

- If they do, how are they kept?
- Do they have any families within Accra or Tema?
- Do they have any friends or social networks?
- Are there other issues about them that have not been captured above that you wish to add?

Part 2: INDIVIDUAL REASONS FOR THIS KIND OF URBAN SETTLEMENT

- Is it an inability to afford proper housing or other factors that make them homeless?
- If there are other factors, what are they specifically?
- Are they urban migrants?
- How long have you observed homelessness in Ashaiman?
- Are they engaged in any economic activities?
- Any idea of how much they make in a day, week or month?
- Are they supported or threatened by any state agency or non-governmental organization?
- If they are, which one exactly and what is the nature of the support or threat?
- Do you know if they were counted in the last census?

Part 3: STATE AND NON-STATE ACTORS

- Are there any places you know where I can get figures of the number of homeless people in Ashaiman, or Accra or both?
- How do these agencies define homelessness?

- How much work has been done in the past; how much work is currently going on and how much do they intend to do?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SEMI FORMAL INTERVIEWS.

DEMOGRAPHICS (respondent specific)

- Sex of respondent:
- Age :
- Marital status:
- Level of Education and reasons why it was discontinued:
- Place of origin:
 1. What is your occupation?
 2. Do you live here permanently or you have a place elsewhere in Accra?
 3. Why do you live here?
 4. How did you come to live here?
 5. For how long have you lived here?
 6. How long do you expect to live here?
 7. Do you keep any properties here? If yes what exactly do you keep?
 8. Where do you place your properties during the day when you are working and at night when you are sleeping?
 9. Are there any relatives in Accra?
 10. If yes, have you tried at any point to seek accommodation in their homes and failed?

GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE AREA

- How many types of settlers are there (apart from those who sleep on pavements and the porches)?
 - I. Are there any peculiarities with each group, and if so, why?
 - II. Are the sleeping places fixed or they change?
 - III. How do residents cope with bad weather?
 - IV. How long do residents stay at the market? ;is it for short periods or longer ones? For those who stay long, what are their reasons and for those who stay briefly, what are their reasons?
- What is the male/female proportion of residents?
- What are the main ethnic groups resident here and why?

- What is main occupation of residents?
- What other occupations are present?
- What are the main properties kept by residents?
- How are they kept during the day and night?
- How often do residents receive help from people and institutions?
- How often are residents harassed by people and institutions?