

**ADDRESSING CHILD STREETISM IN THE LA-NKWANTANANG
MADINA MUNICIPALITY: THE ROLE OF STAKE HOLDERS**

BY

AMEKUEDI, Gifty Lebenam

Thesis

Submitted to the KDI School of Public Policy, Korea

In partial fulfilment of the requirements

For the degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

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Committee in Charge

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ABSTRACT

In a fast growing world social problems are unavoidable as population and human activities increase. Child Streetism, one such problem is examined by this paper to investigate its manifestations in the La-Nkwantanang Municipality. The study falls on the systems theory to examine key systems in society that exist to ensure the effective running of the society and survival of all individuals. A snowballing sampling method is adopted for the study due to the sensitivity of the study. The study adopted the mixed method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative measures to interpret and discuss findings. Economic hardship was evaluated to have led most children to the street to work to support themselves and their families. There was also the realisation of a growing norm whereby children are expected to contribute to the economic sustenance of their families, thus, resulting in more and more parents sending their children to work in the streets seeing nothing wrong with it. Significantly, most children resort to streetism because of the economic activity they engage in. There is enough evident to conclude that the problem of child streetism in Madina and for that matter Ghana at large has seen very little intervention especially on the part of the state. It is recommended that the state of Ghana designs and adopt a national policy to be implemented at the District levels to deal with the problem of child streetism as no such state policy exists. Also, NGOs such as SAID and CAS should strengthen their capacities to effectively address child streetism. Finally, Child Streetism Departments should be set up at the local assemblies to sensitise and educate families and children on the mitigation of child streetism.

DECLARATION

I, Gifty Lebenam Amekuedi, hereby declare that this research is my own work and all secondary data employed in composing the thesis are acknowledged accordingly. No part has therefore been presented in any form to any institution for the award of any other degree.

Signed,

Gifty Lebenam Amekuedi.

25th May, 2016.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AMA	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
CAS	Catholic Action for Street Children
CSF	Consortium for Street Children
DOVSU	Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
EOLSS	Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems,
ESCWA	Economic and Social Commission for West Asia
GLSS	Ghana Living Standards Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Services
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
JHS	Junior High School
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
NGOs	Non-Governmental Agencies
NPC	National Population Census
NVTI	National Vocational Training Institute

SAID	Street Girls Aid
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The problem of streetism is a complex phenomenon and has intensified over the years to become a global issue (UNICEF, 1987). Though the phenomenon demonstrates higher prevalence in more developing countries (which are mostly characterised by rapid and unguided urbanisation processes) than in developed countries, streetism is not altogether absent in the latter. There is much evidence across the globe showing the many malfunctions existing in societies, and the issue of streetism is one persistent menace that continues to threaten the development of some vulnerable groups in today's fast growing world.

According to CSF (2003), streetism refers to people, especially children for whom the street, more than home, has become their real home. With regards to children, the term is broadly used to refer to children who are forced to spend most of their time outside homes, engaged in menial income generating activities to survive, and often have to sleep on the street. Globally, streetism has taken a turn for the worse as numbers increase and living conditions of street children deteriorate amidst rising economic hardship and social insecurity. With several stakeholders discussing and assessing the situation, there is often discrepancies regarding the numbers involved as NGOs, governments and other groups come up with varying estimates of street children. That notwithstanding, there is reason to believe that the number of street children keeps increasing globally, and runs to about tens of thousands (Ennew, 2003). Other global estimates of street children quote 100 million (UNICEF 2006; Save the Children UK, 2008).

The characteristics, survival strategies and mannerisms of street children may also differ from one context to another, particularly with regards to developed versus developing and

underdeveloped regions. For instance there is reason to believe that most street children in the United States of America and the developed world are largely from delinquent and violent families in the poor urban slums, with the children themselves less delinquent, thus more likely to be ‘thieves than thugs’(Aptekar, 1989b). Another difference some authors note is that “there are far more females among street children in the developed world than there are in the developing world. Besides, many homeless children in the developed world are from middle-class families, unlike the case in the developing world” (Adeyemi 2012). These and many other context specific factors make it necessary to pursue the study of street children in their specific contexts before drawing conclusions and comparisons from and to other cases.

1.1 Problem Statement

In Ghana, streetism is a rising social concern as more and more minors and youth take to the streets on a daily struggle to survive. This phenomenon gravely offsets ‘The Children’s Act, 1998 Act 560’ especially, and other conventions which explicitly outline the rights of the Ghanaian child and the legal frameworks and policies within which protection, survival and development of minors are to be pursued. In this Act, guidelines are provided for issues such as parental duty and responsibility, welfare policy interventions, duties of social workers and the rights of the child as well as legal frameworks to deal with violations. Despite these conventions, for one reason or the other, most vulnerable children in Ghana remain unreached and unprotected in the midst of failed legal, policy, and institutional frameworks that hamper the achievement of absolute protection and representation of the vulnerable Ghanaian child and children in general.

Ghana is a developing country with its fair share of rapidly growing and urbanising localities. However this growth is sometimes set in poorly planned and mismanaged urban centers, poor and inadequate housing, public infrastructure and other measures that are to ensure proper transition process of growing urban centers. The result is that Ghana’s cities and towns, like

other urbanising centers in other developing countries struggle to keep the problem of child streetism under control; with the estimates of street children on the rise and very little being done to contain the situation.

According to the CSF (2003) a count of street children in Ghana's capital revealed 21,140 street children, 6000 street babies and 7,170 street mothers under age 20 (as cited in Alenoma, 2012). This pre-supposes that some of these 'street mothers' (7,170) were possibly on the streets as children, turned adults and then mothers.

The 'Census on Street Children in the Greater Accra Region', according to 'The Finder', (a Ghanaian newspaper) revealed that there were 61,492 street children in the Greater Accra Region as at 2011 of which 1,757 were counted in the Madina Ga East Municipality, from which the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality was later carved. According to the Family and Child Welfare Policy Report (2015) of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, over 61,000 children were identified as living or working on the streets in Greater Accra Region in 2011, of whom 59% were girls.

In 2012, an additional 24,000 street children were again identified in the Greater Accra Region. Furthermore, the 'The Finder' further reveals that 90,000 children were estimated by child protection experts to be on the streets of Accra as at 2014.

The La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality in Accra, which is the locality under study in this research is one such fast growing area. Doubling as a bustling economic (trade and business) hub as well as residential area to a large and still growing population, the municipality is characterised to some extent by poor housing, drainage and little planned settlement arrangements as is often the case in crowded and ill managed urban areas. As such, it is no surprise that the incidence of streetism is one major menace that one cannot help but notice again and again in these areas. In fact, the incidence of streetism seems to be on the increase

in the municipality as more people move to cities without the means to acquire proper housing. This, coupled with the need to engage in minor economic activities as means of survival contributes largely to increasing street life in Accra. Consequently, some families, and in some cases children of migrated families or children without families in the city or elsewhere resort to living on the streets or in unauthorised places close to their stations of economic activities like water ways, along major roads and other makeshift structures.

It is against this background whereby increasing streetism continually aggravates the underdevelopment and exploitation of vulnerable children and the need to make this issue a national priority area of concern that this study seeks to examine the case of child streetism in the said municipality.

1.2 Study Objectives

The study aims at studying the unique case of child streetism in the Madina La-Nkwantanang Municipality, focusing on the distinct characteristics and causes of the problem in the area, as well as assessing the involvement of State and other stakeholders by means of policy interventions adopted to address the problem.

1. To examine the causes and effects of child streetism in the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality
2. To diagnose the current status of state and civil society systems for reducing child streetism
3. To suggest policy recommendations for addressing child streetism

1.3 Research Questions

The study aims at finding answers to and assessing the issues surrounding these questions.

1. What are the causes and effects of child streetism in the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality?

2. What state and civil society systems are in place to address child streetism?
3. What policy alternatives can address the problem of child streetism?

1.4 Significance of Study

Despite several strategies such as MDG goal two (2) being implemented to promote basic education and improve child enrolment in schools, increasing child streetism tends to defeat the purpose of this goal. Most street children are either not enrolled in school or more likely to drop out of school. This definitely obstructs the aim of the free and compulsory basic education policy that Ghana adopted with the goal of ensuring universal basic education for all children.

The tendency of child streetism to offset this development makes it urgent for more efforts to be pooled into addressing its worsening case in the country. In tackling the problem, it is vital for thorough understanding of the problem and the subjects being affected.

Thus this study contributes to existing literature on street children in Ghana. By examining the role of selected stakeholders in addressing child streetism, more light is shed on the institutional frameworks and approaches that exist to address the issue.

The study also adds significant information to existing literature by studying the unique case of the chosen municipality which as a result of increasing economic activities now serves as a hub for more street children than may have been the case in the past.

1.5 Research Methodology

A case study approach was adopted for the study. Following the fact that child streetism may manifest differing traits and mannerisms among different categories of children and contexts,

the focus on the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality is to allow an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon in order to assess its unique nature and causes in the area as well as the dynamics that may not be highlighted by studies in other settings.

The study employed a mixed method, thus both qualitative and quantitative research analysis methods were used. The quantitative approach provided analysis and measure for data collected on the demographic characteristics of street children, statistics on street children and explored the causes of child streetism in the study area. In addition, qualitative analysis of the causes, effects of streetism as well as policy interventions was made to provide an in-depth analysis and understanding of the case of streetism in the district and policy interventions existing to address the problem.

1.5.1 Data Collection and Source

1.5.1.1 Primary Data

Data was be collected from street children using questionnaires consisting of close and open ended questions to provide data on causes, characteristics and experiences of street children. This also bordered on effects of being on the street and possible assistance from the state and or civil organisations. For convenience, data was only collected from 5 street mothers (representing families) who had their children also engage in street work.

In addition, data was collected on national welfare policies existing to address child streetism as well as effects of such policies. In this regards, the interview approach was used to collect such data from key players at the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MGCSP) as well as a couple of Non-Governmental Organisations mandated by the state to assist street children. These departments are largely involved in the formulation and implementation of policies addressing child protection, of which child streetism is related to. Data was collected both at the regional level and at the La-

Nkwantanang Madina Municipal Assembly level. Selected officials were also interviewed at the DSW office at the La-Nkwantanang Madina municipality.

1.5.1.2 Secondary Data

Existing data on child streetism in Ghana, particular in the municipality under study or areas close to it were studied and analysed. These threw more light on areas of child streetism like statistics on street children, causes, effects and other characteristics of the subjects of study. Consequently, data collected from the Ghana Statistics Service on the population and characteristics of the study area was examined. In addition, data on the statistics and traits of street children in Accra was analysed using a census report on street children done in 2011 by the Department of Social Welfare, Ghana, in collaboration with the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and some non-profit organisations. Other existing data providing policy frameworks such as Draft Policies for Street Children, 1998, the Children Act 560 and the Family and Child Welfare Policy, 2015 of Ghana were also used to discuss issues relevant to the study.

1.5.2 Sampling Techniques

1.5.2.1 Methods

The snowballing sampling technique was adopted to identify street children, that is; children under the age of 18 living and or working on the streets of the La-Nkwantanang Madina municipality. This became necessary as many children are normally seen in the study area, which happens to be a very bustling economic hub and for several other socio-economic activities. Thus, to prevent the assumption that all children found in the street of the study area were street children, few street children were first identified and later used as leads to reach other street children.

1.5.2.2 Sample size

The study sampled the views of 80 street children from areas of the municipality with high concentration of street children as respondents of the study, which in this case is Madina Central Market and its environs.

Interviews were also conducted for 2 key stakeholders each from the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection and the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) of the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality and the DSW at the regional level. In addition, interviews were equally conducted for officials from Catholic Action for Street Children and Street Girls Aid, both of them NGOs that play significant roles in assisting street children in Accra, including those in Madina Municipal area. Five mothers of street children were also interviewed.

1.5.3 Analysis of Data

Data collected was analysed using both qualitative and quantitative approaches as required. Consequently, data from the survey on street children was analysed using the SPSS. This provided analysis in forms of tables and graphs using variables like demographic data of respondents, economic activities of respondents, data on educational enrolment and other statistical data collected.

In addition to this, qualitative analysis was employed. Interviews and discussions held with respective stakeholders were recorded, transcribed and organised into categories to highlight the information collected for the differing themes of focus in the study.

1.5.4 Study Area

The aim of this study was to study the issue of child streetism in Ghana, using the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality in Accra as a case study. The La-Nkwantanang Municipality is situated in the greater Accra region of Ghana, being one of sixteen Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies in the region. Carved from the Ga East

Municipality in the year 2012 the municipality is located at the northern part of the Greater Accra region. The total land area of the municipality is 70.887 square kilometers. It is bordered on the West by the Ga East Municipal, on the East by the Adentan Municipal, the South by Accra Metropolitan Area and the North by the Akwapim South District. The La Nkwantanang Madina Municipality is generally urban with 84 percent of the population resident in urban areas. Madina and the Madina market, which serves as the center hub for trade is a densely populated and lively with all sorts of activities. Major economic activities in the area consist of agricultural, commerce, services and manufacturing. (Ghana Statistical Services (GSS), 2014)

According to the last population census in 2010, the total population of the Municipality stood at 111,926 comprising 48.5 percent males as against 51.5 females (GSS, 2012). With a household population of 108,051, children made up the largest proportion of the household structure representing a 35.3 percent. (GSS, 2014)

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights literature and knowledge on the issue of child streetism as put across by other authors and studies.

Given the complexity and diversity of the dynamics involved in child streetism, it is unadvisable to make specific generalisations as definitions and scope of the term itself, causes and consequences of the problem may differ from one location and in one context even within the same location to the other. Ennew (1996) and Aptekar (1995) warn against making assumptions about street children of one country based on the experiences of those in another, signifying that the triggering causes and maintenance for children living on the street in the developed and developing worlds are very different, as are the social systems, potentials, resources and therefore, proper interventions.

Available literature examined mostly refers to issues pertaining the phenomenon such as causes, effects, survival techniques, origins, definitions of street children and child streetism. There is limited literature on state and other stakeholder interventions to address the problem and the effectiveness of such measures especially in the literature covering study areas in Ghana and other developing countries. This is the gap that this study seeks to fill in addition to studying the peculiar case of the chosen area.

2.1 Streetism and Child Streetism

‘Street living children and youth’ is a phenomenon found across globe, not only in developing countries (Dabir and Athale 2011). This is a sign that social and economic development do not necessarily come together, thus the problem is not limited to only poor or developing countries. There is however, often the difficulty of defining what actually constitutes street children. Different factors like cultural, geographical, economical, age, gender and the revolutionary nature of street children make it difficult to come up with a common definition.

Thus, most definitions do fall on these characteristics, namely: the presence and activity of the child on the street and contact with family. According to the Consortium for Street Children, CSF (2003), streetism is a broad term used to refer to children who are forced to spend most of their time outside homes, engaged in menial income generating activities to survive, and often have to sleep on the street. It further suggests that streetism in general refers to people, especially children for whom the street, more than home, has become their real home. These include children who might not necessarily be homeless or without families and relatives but who live in situations where there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults.

The United Nations also identifies street children based on the absence of adult supervision. It defines street children as “children for whom the street (in the real sense of the word, i.e. wastelands, unoccupied dwellings etc.) more than their family has become their real home, a situation in which there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adult” International Catholic Children’s Bureau, (1985) as cited by Dabir and Athale (2011). The United Nations International Children Fund (UNICEF) distinguishes street children into 3 main groups.

- I. “Children on the streets: ‘home based’ children who spend much of the day on the streets but have some family support and usually return home at night
- II. Children of the street: ‘Street based’ children who spend most of the days and nights on the streets and are functionally without family support.
- III. Abandoned children: these are also children of the street but have been differentiated such that they have cut all ties with their biological family and are completely on their own.”

Also, the United Nations Agency for International Development categories street children as follows:

- I. “A ‘child of the streets’ children who have no home but the streets and no family support. They move from place to place and live in shelters and abandoned buildings.
- II. A child on the street: children who visit their families regularly and may even return every night to sleep at home but spend most days and some nights on the streets because of poverty, over crowdedness or sexual or physical abuse at home.
- III. Part of a street family: children who live on the sidewalks or city squares with the rest of their family. They may be displaced due to poverty, wars and natural disasters. The families often live a nomadic life, carrying their belonging with them. Children in this case often work on the streets with other members of their families.
- IV. In institutionalized care” children in this group come from a situation of homelessness and are at risk of returning to a life on the streets”.

For the purpose of this study, the term street children will be used to refer to children under the age of 18 who live or work on the streets and in this case in the chosen area of study.

Children arrive on the streets between the ages of seven and fourteen, with few leaving home during adolescence (Daniels & Crawford-Browne 1997). Evidence further shows an increasing collection of street adults who grew on the streets (Daniels & Crawford-Browne 1997).

“The move from home to the city is a gradual process, beginning with truancy from school, wandering in the area of community of origin, to the first foray of the city. This may lead to day strolling in the city or may lead to the child leaving home to either sleep on the streets in his or her neighbourhood or in the city centre.” (Jackson, 1993).

(Apt 2003) writes that in Ghana, many street youth between the ages of twelve and twenty years are without homes to return to at night. Most of these youth have travelled from the countryside mainly to fend for themselves in the cities and urban centres as a result of poverty. Akuffo (2001) defined a street child as “any child who lives, eats, sleeps and does almost everything on the street, “He uses the street as his home and other street families as his relatives”. In Ghana Street children are often found in busy commercial parts of cities and towns, loitering on the streets, lorry parks, market places and street corners begging for alms or in a wage earning activity. Some do not have homes nor wish to return home and therefore spend the nights in stalls, street corners or make do structures. The Human Rights Watch (2006) stated that adults in recent times have also been on the street and children have been produced and brought up on the street by individuals on the street.

Another struggle lies in coming by the exact and coherent statistics representing street children (Cosgrove 1990). Resulting from the fact that different organisations use differing definitions and criteria for the head count street children; the numbers are often different and are not necessarily coherent year by year as the sources differ.

According to the United Nations International Children's Education Fund (UNICEF), 2006, the global estimates of street children (though hard to accurately quantify) stands at about 100 million.

Focusing on Ghana, The Catholic Action for Street Children (2002) estimates of the number of street children in Accra in 2002 was 19,196 compared to 33,000 as estimated by the Ministry of Manpower and Employment within the same period (Hatloy and Huser 2005).

Moreover, UNICEF Report (2004) estimated that 30,000 children lived on the streets of Ghana's cities and 20,000 of them lived on the streets in Accra. According to CSF, Ghana as cited in Alenoma (2012), a count of street children in Ghana's capital revealed 21,140 street children, 6000, street babies and 7,170 street mothers under age 20; meaning that these 'street mothers' (7,170) were possibly on the streets as children, turned adults and then mothers. Reports from the 'Census on Street Children in the Greater Accra Region', cited by 'The Finder', (a Ghanaian newspaper) revealed that there were 61,492 street children in the Greater Accra Region as at 2011 of which 1,757 were counted in the Madina Ga East Municipality, from which the La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality was later carved. In 2012, an additional 24,000 street children were also identified in the Greater Accra Region. Furthermore, the 'The Finder' further reveals that 90, 000 children are estimated by child protection experts to be on the streets of Accra as at 2014.

Though difficult to determine the exact number of street children, there are indications that the numbers could be increasing as indicated by Anarfi and Appiah (2009) and Frempong-Ainguah et al. (2009).

2.2 Causes of Child Streetism

For the purpose of discussion in this paper, the causes of streetism shall be categorised into two main areas. Causes of streetism may vary in context but the areas that appear common in

most cases can be noted as socio-cultural and economic factors that contribute to the phenomenon.

2.2.1 Socio-cultural Factors

Concluding from existing literature, several social-cultural factors such as large family size, societal norms and believes, delinquency of children, domestic violence, child neglect, broken homes, attraction to city life, urbanization, migration among others play significant roles to contribute to the phenomenon of child streetism.

2.2.1.1 Political Factors

A social reason related to politics that is believed to contribute to streetism in Egypt is exclusion from policies, programmes and projects. ESCWA (2009) According to the report, policies by the government are often limited to a legal approaches instead of addressing the core causes of the problems faced by children and that which sees children as having citizenship rights. Barrette reviewed by Mncayi (1996:5) further identifies the school crisis since 1976, coupled with poor educational facilities, wars and conflicts, and limited funding for social welfare as contributing to child streetism. The issue of school failure and in addition the breakdown in alternative care placement leading to streetism is also confirmed by Cockburn (1990).

2.2.1.2 Generational street children

Generational streetism happens whereby children are born on the streets by street parents, some of them children themselves (Cockburn, 1990). Similar to this, Boakye-Boaten, (2008) established that street children give birth to other street children. He calls this group the '2nd Generation Street Children', meaning there are children who become street children by reason of the fact that their parents live on the street of Accra. Another study of street women in Accra also discusses women with children on the streets (Ba-ama, Kumador, Vandyck & Dzandu 2013). The number of children living with their mothers on the street differed

between one and three. 85% had only one child living with them on the street, 12% had two children and 3% had up to three children. Most children living with street mothers were four years and below, a stage considered as too early to be separated from their mothers, or too risky to be delivered to the care of others.

2.2.1.3 Family Malfunctions

Various forms of unfriendly and uncondusive conditions at home push children into the streets. According to ESCWA, (2010), domestic violence, violence at school or work, in the absence of protection from their families or the state, can drive children to the street. Reports from an in-depth study in Indonesia exhibits plainly that although financial hardship is an important contributing factor, family settings and dynamics leading to neglect, desertion, abuse and violence, also force children to leave home (Spring, 2003). In the words of a street boy in Egypt, he says, “the recurrence of violence and the constant anticipation of more abuse and violence made the environment at home more dangerous and oppressive than the street” (Mehanna, Al-Shermani, 2005)

Barrette’s study within the African setting also identifies lack of father figure, unaccepting step parents, and parentless children as more prone to street life. (New parents after divorce refuse to take the child, abandoned children, and children born out of wedlock who were looked after by relatives until adolescence). Others include children dealing with alcoholic parents, overly strict parents, abused children, prostituting parents, hungry children, broken families due to influx control, over crowdedness living space (Barrette reviewed by Mncayi (1996:5) The 1990 Nairobi seminar (involving providers to street children in African region) also establishes some conditions that lead children to the streets as overcrowding at home, large families, single parent families, lack of security and parental control, alcoholic parents and divorce, etc. (Barrette reviewed by Mncayi 1996) according to (Alenoma, 2012). Divorce and separation of parents, aged parents who are unable to fend for their families are

similar family issues pushing children to the streets to fend for themselves. Adeyemi & Oluwaseun (2012) also cite large family size leading to streetism whereby poor families are unable to meet the needs of their rather too large families. This pushes neglected children to the streets to fend for themselves. In line with this, Ward et al (2007) points out that the degree of attention given a child can also inform decision to move to the street or not.

In a national survey (South Africa), Richter, (1989) noted that fourteen per cent of the street children surveyed had step parents in their household of origin, eighty-three per cent had grown up largely with a parent, fifty per cent had families where there was a difficulty with alcohol, thirty-two per cent had experienced physical abuse and forty-one per cent had left home with a friend. It is significant that most of the precipitants to the child leaving home - usually between the ages of seven and thirteen - would be described as traumatic crises in the lives of children living in the community.

2.2.1.4 Migration and Related issues

For various reasons children may be found moving mostly from rural areas or small towns to bigger cities and towns. Moloto (1996) recognises some pull factors attracting children to the city. These constitutes attraction to city life, entertainment, acceptance by peers and peer pressure. The 1990 Nairobi seminar (involving providers to street children in African region) identifies factors like drought and displacement as contributing to child streetism. (Barrette reviewed by Mncayi 1996). Furthermore, Owusua, (2010) discusses streetism among migrant children from rural Ghana. Some pull factors were recognised as general regional underdevelopment, agricultural economies, inadequate white collar jobs, and low numbers of cottage industries (maybe as a result of the nonexistence of electricity or governmental facilitation of rural economic projects).

Thus, the apparent attractiveness of living in cities, especially Accra, readiness of social amenities such entertainment centres, restaurants, cinema and video houses, the presence of

business avenues such as big markets and places of commerce, the relatively good infrastructure and even the existence of slums seem to draw more city life hopefuls causing the rise of migrant street children. (Adeyemi & Oluwaseum 2012) also name modernization as a causal factor of child streetism, together with urbanisation which pull children to cities in search of better opportunities. Some indicators of good living bait people, including children, to urban areas (Adeyemi & Oluwaseum, 2012; Abotchie, 2012). This is also explained in the context of child streetism by (Lugalla & Kibassa, 2003) that, children who ended up on the streets left home seeking after greener pastures in cities. Knowing no one in the city, they end up on the streets. Another study by (CAS, 2003) in Accra and Kumasi however identifies that the children in most cases, had friends already living on the streets and so joined them. The causes of streetism among migrant children is again categorised into push and pull factors (Owusua 2010). Factors like high population of the area, relatively high economic opportunities, seem to draw more city life hopefuls to these areas.

2.2.1.5 Social Norms/Working Children

There is growing consensus in some societies that children should be trained to take up responsibility, thus the increasing phenomenon of children being expected to engage in income generating activities. This is evident in some studies like that of (Adeyemi & Oluwaseum, 2012), which attributes social norms to causing streetism, that is custom practices that encourage children to take up economic activities (such as hawking) to assist sustain their families. In addition, the feature of culture that obliges husbands to be the solitary bread winners of their families also a contributes to child streetism because that in cases where the husband fails to provide for the family, they become incapacitated, gradually leading children to the street.

According to (Alenoma, 2012), about 30% of guardians (out of a total of about 62.5% contacted) believe that whatever activity their children were engaged in on the streets was a

trade which they needed to acquire to live off in the event that they do not perform well in school or in the absence of formal education. About 33.3 % of biological parents (out of 37.5) also gave similar reasons.

The irony of this is that since children involved in street life miss much of school or perform poorly due to divided attention and fatigue from street activities, they hardly achieve much in school anyway, thus confirming the beliefs of their guardians and parents of the need to find a ready trade in the event of poor educational achievement thus the higher tendency of parents guardians guiding wards to learn trades on the streets instead of acquiring formal education. Other parents also expressed concern about the inability of formal education to provide their wards with a practical means of sustenance especially should they fail to perform well in school to acquire higher education, thus the choice of street trading. This study generally concluded that poverty is not the strongest underlying factor to child streetism but low level of education among parents and guardians who believe children need to acquire trading skills as a means of livelihood instead of the impractical formal education.

Similarly, (ESCWA, 2009) establishes that in Egypt, a contributing factor is the fact that, progressively, children are working at an early age. The study showed the number of working children between the ages of 6 and 14 as 2,768,000; representing 20.5 per cent of Egyptian children.

Another culture norm that aggravates the problem of streetism, specifically is the issue of early and arranged marriages. According to Hatloy, Huser (2005), one such norm is the evidence of early marriages expected of girls particularly in the Northern regions of Ghana which drives children to the streets.

2.2.1.6 Deprivation of Educational Rights

The 1990 Nairobi seminar (involving providers to street children in African region) states lack of schooling as one factor that sends children to the streets. (Barrette reviewed by Mncayi 1996:5). Similarly, ESCWA (2009) identify the deprivation of children's right to education as a reason for increased occurrence of child streetism in Egypt. Per the Egyptian 2006 census, the percentage of children between 6 and 18 years who never registered or have dropped out of basic education was 14.7 per cent, totalling to about three million children.

2.2.1.7 Children's own Choice

Barrette reviewed by Mncayi (1996) identifies that delinquent behaviour in children send them to the streets. Alenoma (2012) further discusses that the need to avoid being idle at home and in few cases the desire of girl children to start acquiring needed wares to be used in marital homes are some factors of choice that send young females from the Tamale, in Ghana into street live in the city. In this same research, 8% of the respondents said they were on the streets because they were not interested in school.

2.2.2 Economic Related Factors

2.2.2.1 Poverty

Poverty is 'not defined by the extent to which one has money or lacks it, but also by the inability of the ability of the person that needs support to get it from a person who is capable of offering him or her support and have obligation to do so', cited in (Alenoma, 2012). Consequently many street children are from homes that are unable to secure for them economic needs, making children resort to the street (Alenoma, 2012). Family poverty shows up glaringly in the works of Alenoma (2012), Apt and Grieco (1997), Cambell and Ntsabane (1995), Korboe (1997), and Hatloy & Husser (2005) as a basis of child streetism. Alenoma (2012) identifies that most parents of street children due to poverty encouraged their wards to work on the streets to assist the family financially. Such children involved in activities like

hawking, dishwashing at local eateries, truck pushing, shoe shinning and running errands for a fee (Hatloy & Huser, 2005) and (Apt & Grieco, 1997).

Thus it is clearly shown that the economic (financial) condition of a child could serve as a pushing factor sending him or her into the streets to access other means of economic survival. Some children may also resort to begging to make ends meet. (Hatloy & Huser, 2005). Despite the meagre earnings promised by these jobs, they still draw children to the streets. (Alenoma, 2012). According to reports from a forum on 'promoting and protecting the rights of the street child', Bangkok (2003), children were forced to work to support their parents who were unable to financially provide for their education (books, construction fee, uniform, tutoring, etc.). Additionally, some work with street children in Cape Town identifies poverty as contributing to the problem (Cockburn, 1990). Other writers such Aptekar, 1995; Fortune, (1993); Bourdillion, (1995) and Cockburn, (1990) also raise poverty as causing child streetism.

Similarly, the Homestead Annual Report, (Cape Town, 1999), identifies that a large percentage of respondents in a street child study came from areas termed low socio-economic areas where most families lived below subsistence level. Furthermore, a study of street children in Accra and Bamako, show 68% citing family poverty as reason for being on the streets (Hatloy, Huser 2005). Still other views disclose the key causes of child streetism to be utter poverty, (Mengesha, 2011).

2.2.2.2 Unemployment/Search for Jobs

A research on street women in Accra shows that 89% of the women were on the streets solely to work for money (Ba-ama, Kumador, Vandyck and Dzandu 2013). This revelation follows similar findings that it could be entirely economic motives that drew people from countryside to urban centres (Asare, 1995). As most of these women had children with them, these children become street children. Another study in Cape Town also identifies unemployment

as contributing to the child streetism (Cockburn, 1990). Additionally some pull factors such as the availability of money attracting children to the city results in children relocating to streets in major cities and towns. (Moloto, 1996) Again other studies largely classify engagement in economic activities for subsistence as a factor pushing children into the street (Awatey, 2014)

2.3 Social Effects of child streetism

2.3.1 Poor Health

One known effect of streetism on children is their vulnerability to poor health especially with regards to HIV and AIDS. According to Anarfi (1997), research indicates that street children are at higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases than anyone else. This conclusion was drawn from the following observations: “(1) most street children are sexually active, (2) street children have little knowledge on sexually transmitted diseases, (3) street children mostly engage in unprotected sexual activities and (4) street girls use sexual activities as medium of exchange for protection from physically attacks from older and ‘stronger bullies’”. The last point is confirmed in a research when they stated that the only source of protection for street girls in Zimbabwe is male friends. It was mostly the case that male friends demanded for sex from the girls as compensation. (Rurevo, Bourdillon 2003) Another study in the Kumasi city in Ghana reveals that about 90 percent of the street children lack detail knowledge on STDs and had less power to negotiate safe sex. (Awatey, 2014). Similarly, reports from the 2003 forum for East and South Asia on promoting and protecting the rights of the street child, held in Bangkok, Thailand, supports that street children are at higher risk of contracting HIV/AIDS because of involvement in prostitution and drug use by injection based on country experiences.

2.3.2 Victimization/Exploitation/Discrimination

Research in Kumasi indicated that, 34% of respondents who were street children said they have been raped before. The street girls explained that they are raped when they are attacked in the night by criminals and the only way out for them to be spared for other harms was to allow rape. Others sleep on the street with their male peers who end up raping them instead of the original intention of providing them security (Awatey, 2014). Reports from the 2014 Bangkok Conference on 'promoting and protecting the rights of the street child' shows that children on the street are vulnerable to harm like commercial sex exploitation. The report further states that in extreme cases street children are kidnapped or removed by exploiters or even sold into the sex industry by parents who live on the street.

According to the 2003 Forum for East and South Asia on 'promoting and protecting the rights of the street child', held in Bangkok, Thailand, street children are often discriminated against by society, criminalized by their communities and seen as lesser human beings. Street children are also easily criminalized by the suspecting public. (Moloto, 1996). Generally, children are exposed to a wide range of risky conditions on the streets thus, their security and lives are threatened.

2.3.3 Little or No Education

Studies have shown that most street children have interrupted education, little or no education and in the cases where they are enrolled in school have poor outputs and eventually drop out. One such observation came across in a research in Tamale, the Northern regional capital of Ghana, that though the majority of street children engaged (61.25%) were attending school at the basic level, schooling activities were sometimes disrupted by street life and fatigue. Also a good number of them (38.75%) indicated they were not attending school at all. According to the findings of another study, 52 percent of the street children attended primary school

while 38 percent have never enrolled in school and only 8 percent attended junior high school. However, the majority (90%) were not attending school at the time of interview (ibid).

Similarly, a census conducted on street children in Accra in 2011 reveals that 41.6% of the street children sampled had never been to school. The remaining 58.4% disclosed that they were school dropouts. In addition, 24.6% were literates but with difficulty, only 17.6% were literates whereas 57.8% were illiterates. (DSW, 2011)

2.3.4 Street Children and Child Labour

Hindman (2009) establishes the prevalence of child labour among street children across the globe using examples from several countries like Mexico, Jamaica, and the United Kingdom. The author identifies street trading as one major activity children engage in on the street as well as commercial sex, which is categorised under the worst forms of child labour according to ILO standards. Reports from I-India, an NGO that works with street children in Indian states that most street children in the country work. Children as young as six years old collect recyclable materials from garbage, carrying heavy loads of these. Other common activities mentioned are collecting firewood, tending to animals, street vending, begging, prostitution and domestic labour. Some of these jobs according to the report are hazardous.

In Ghana, some common activities identified among street children include hawking in traffic, head pottering, working for local eateries, shoe shining, truck pushing, begging, etc. (Hatloy & Huser, 2005), (Apt & Grieco, 1997). Alenoma, (2012) establishes that despite the fact that the earnings from these activities are very paltry, children are still drawn to the streets by them.

2.3.5 Social Vices and Destructive Behaviours

Children on the street sometimes end up in self-destructive and dangerous circumstances like drug addiction, street gang life, crime, among others. The 2003 Forum for East and South

Asia on 'Promoting and Protecting the Rights of the Street Child', held in Bangkok, Thailand, talks about the active and fierce involvement of street boys in gang life where they are involved in activities like gang fights, extortion of money, drug selling, security and parking services (gangs protecting territories), among others.

Similarly, Arthur (2012) which studies streetism among Ghanaian youth establishes that for the fact that most street children lack advanced education and skills to secure decent jobs, they often fall into drugs, gun violence, gang activity, alcohol abuse and a host of other crimes.

2.4 Interventions in addressing Child streetism: Stakeholders and Past Attempts

2.4.1 Introduction

According to Fraser et al., (2009), an intervention can be defined as purposeful actions taken to influence a given situation. In social work especially, interventions are steps taken by qualified practitioners to modify an aspect of an individual, group or communities behaviour, as part of an overall strategy to help them solve or reduce a problem or function better in some area of their lives (FASCW, 2001). Thus interventions are purposively implemented change strategies engaging professionals in addressing situations considered negative.

Interventions may be simple or complex and may comprise of single or cluster of activities (Midgley 2006). One intervention may differ from the other based on factors such as scope, purpose, magnitude, motivation and so on.

According to Fraser et al. (2009), interventions can be broadly categorized as structural and place based. Structural interventions are those that tend to address social structures; such as laws, social controls, opportunities and access, social roles, or socioeconomic status. On the other hand, a place based intervention emphasizes where, who, and how the intervention is taken. This intervention focuses on individuals sharing common space, goals and values

(ibid). Generally interventions that are used to address the issue of child streetism are considered place based.

2.4.2 Interventions to Address Child Streetism

Regarding interventions available for children in general and street children, there are two broad dimensions, namely; need/charity based and right based interventions (Amtzis, 2003).

The basic assumptions and differences of the two approaches are presented as follows.

“In a traditional need based approach, providing services for children was largely based on the following major assumptions:

- Children should be supported because they deserve help (SCUK, 2000).
- Providing services for children is a voluntary activity (Amtzis, 2003).
- No one has definite obligations for them (Amtzis, 2003; SCUK, 2000)
- The focus should be on providing welfare services (Amtzis, 2003)
- Each piece of work has its own goal but there is no unifying overall purpose (SC Sweden, 2002; SCUK, 2000).
- Children can participate in order to improve service delivery process (SCUK, 2000).
- The service provisions will look at specific and immediate situation that necessitate intervention (SC Sweden: 2002)”.

“In contrast, the right based approach has the following underlining assumptions:

- Children are entitled to get support (ibid).
- Supporting the children is mandatory (Amtzis, 2003)
- There are binding legal and moral obligations to provide services for children (ibid).
- Priority in providing service should be given for marginalized groups (Lansdown, 2005)
- The promotion and protection of rights of children are based on international standards (SC Sweden: 2002)

- Children are active participants in decisions that affect their lives just because, it is their right (SC Sweden: 2002; Amtzis, 2003)
- Both outcomes and processes are monitored and evaluated (Lansdown, 2005)
- There is an overarching goal to which all work contributes and strive to achieve (SC Sweden: 2002:22).
- Interventions should focus on analysing the root causes (Amtzis, 2003; SCUK, 2000).

In the case of Ghana, many NGOs, and the government have come up with several intervention actions to address the issue of child streetism in an attempt to reduce the menace. Some NGOs like Plan International Ghana, Child Rights International, Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS) and several other local and international NGOs have stepped in to contribute to eradicate child streetism mainly through providing educational and vocational training and housing facilities for these children.

However, at the state level, the DSW of Ghana is mandated to implement child protection policies under community programmes. These policies are to ensure:

1. The promotion and protection of the rights of children
2. Justice and administration of child related issues

The dilemma that now exists is the extent to which these policies are being implemented and their practically in addressing the problem of increasing minors in major streets of the nation. It is prudent to begin to rigorously evaluate the efforts of these organisations in addressing the issue as child streetism still appears to be on the increase, thus the need to revisit approaches and to make improvements in intervention strategies to produce more efficient methods. It is the aim of this study to closely examine the methods of interventions being adopted by the DSW of Ghana in addressing child streetism and to establish grounds on the

extent to which these interventions solve or reduce the problem they are directed at addressing.

2.4.3 Interventions by the state of Ghana to address child streetism

2.4.3.1 *The Children's Act 560 of Ghana*

The children Act 560, ascended into parliament on 30th December 1988 seeks to represent and protect the interest of the Ghanaian child in terms of basic rights, maintenance and adoption, regulate child labour and apprenticeship, and for other matters concerning the welfare of the child. The act serves as the major law and policy guiding child protection in the country, having taken into consideration some conventions from international and other national guidelines.

Aside other conventions adopted in the Act to protect and ensure the survival and development of the child, the section 18 of the Children Acts, spells out specific criteria used to determine when a child is in need of care and protection by the state. The District Assembly is responsible for protecting the welfare and rights of the children within the district, whereas the Departments of Social Welfare and the Community Development Centers are to investigate cases of rights violations.

Under this Act, section 18 defines these criteria for state intervention in terms state protection and care in the event that the child is found:

Section 18 (f)'' Is wandering and has no home or settled place of abode or visible means of subsistence;

(g) is begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale or otherwise, or is found in any street, premises or place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms;

(h) Accompanies any person when that person is begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale or otherwise”(Republic of Ghana, The Children’s Act 560, 1988:10)

In response to these circumstances, section 19 of the Act defines actions to be taken in cases of a child needing such protection and care. Actions involve investigation, and when it is determined that the child’s current situation poses harm to him or her, further action is taken.

In this case:

“Act 20 (1) A Family Tribunal may issue order to the Department on an application by a probation officer or social welfare officer under section 19(4).

(2) The care order shall remove the child from a situation where he is suffering or likely to suffer significant harm and shall transfer the parental rights to the Department.

(3) The probation officer or social welfare officer shall take custody of the child and shall determine the most suitable place for the child which may be –

(a) An approved residential home

(b) With an approved fit person; or

(c) At the home of a parent, guardian or relative.

(4) The maximum duration of a care order shall be three years or until the child attains eighteen years whichever is earliest and the Family Tribunal may make an interim order or may vary the order.

(5) The Family Tribunal may make a further order that the parent, guardian or other person responsible for the child shall pay for the cost of maintaining the child.” (Republic of Ghana, The Children’s Act 560, 1988:11)

With the implementation of this Act in the right and adequate way means that children found in the street are to be guided back to their parents or relatives, and measures put in place that these parents live up to their responsibility to the children. On the other hand, in the absence of parents or relatives, or in the case that the above are unable to cater for the children, they are to be rightfully placed in state care.

2.4.3.2 The Family and Child Welfare Policy under the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MGCSP)

The policy was introduced by the MGCSP with support from UNICEF in February, 2015. There was increasing concern arising from issues like child trafficking, children living and or working on the streets, absence of birth registration for some children, corporal punishment, domestic violence, sexual abuse and exploitation found prevalent in Ghana with more children being victimised. Other forms of abuse include child marriage, female genital mutilation and the Trokosi system of shrine enslavement which prevail partly in some regions. These necessitated the introduction of the new policy to address the problems that were on the rise despite the presence of the Children's Act and other former policies aimed at protecting the Ghanaian child.

The policy was also a response to challenges identified in the existing policies which tended to facilitate little coordination and was characterised mostly with reactive measures with very few preventive measures. The new policy was also to complement the gap in the old system which also lacked reliable information systems and had poor coordination among key actors.

The policy aimed at achieving the following objectives:

1. "To design child and family welfare programmes and activities to more effectively prevent and protect children from all forms of violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation
2. To ensure effective coordination of the child and family welfare service at all levels

3. To empower children and families to better understand abusive situations and make choices to prevent and respond to situations of risk
4. To build the capacity of institutions and service providers to ensure quality of services for children and families in urban and rural areas
5. To reform existing laws and policies to conform to the new vision for Child and Family Welfare
6. To ensure provision of adequate resources for the functioning of the Child and Family Welfare service at all levels”. (MGCSP, 2015)

Thus 11 strategies were adopted towards achieving these

“Strategy 1: Strengthening community structures

Strategy 2: Early intervention through social protection

Strategy 3: Improved child and family welfare services

Strategy 4: Alternative care – when the child’s family is not an option

Strategy 5: Regular coordination and improved information and data management

Strategy 6: Empower children and young people

Strategy 7: Empower families through social dialogue and change

Strategy 8: Social welfare resources and capacity building

Strategy 9: Building alliances with Civil Society Organizations

Strategy 10: Legal and policy reform

Strategy 11: Analysis of and advocacy for adequate financial, technical and human resources”

(MGCSP, 2015:3)

These strategies aim to address 3 key areas:

1. “Child protection issues arising from family related problems like domestic violence, and children living or working on the street.
2. Cases of child maltreatment in terms of violence of all kinds, abuse, exploitation and neglect in all settings
3. Other protection issues concerning children especially older children not perpetuated by a third party but the child’s own risk taking behaviour like substance abuse, unwanted pregnancy or being in conflict with the law” (MGCSP, 2015:3)

2.5 Limitations in Addressing Child Streetism

Despite efforts being made by both NGOs and government institutions to address the rise of the child streetism phenomenon, the problem seems to be nowhere close to being solved or eradicated. According to Mengesha (2011), some challenges that were identified with efforts being put forward to address child streetism.

- “There is a lack of broader and acceptable approaches to guide the interventions
- There is a lack of cooperative and supportive mechanisms for the interventions
- The outcomes of the interventions are incompatible
- Duplication efforts and wastage of resource is common in the interventions
- Majority of the interventions lacks accountability and transparency
- Some malfunctioning interventions causes harm to the children“

Other issues gathered from other works reveal that often times, policy solutions tend to address the immediate effects of the problem without necessarily addressing the root causes of streetism. According to Awatey, (2014) on street children in Kumasi, Ghana, only 2% of the street children spoken to have received assistance from any humanitarian agency in the

past. Many street children do not receive assistance from government institutions as well as a result of the difficulty in targeting strategies.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORIES AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter was dedicated to discussing existing literature and studies on street children, their characteristics, behaviour patterns and other related issues.

This chapter discusses the ‘Systems Theory’ which is adopted to understand the interrelations between chosen subsystems at play in the social system (society) and their influence on phenomenon of child streetism. The chapter further provides a conceptual framework to analyse the phenomenon. The analysis borders on the subsystems that interrelate to keep the Madina society functioning properly as a whole and the consequences of the failure of any to play its role.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Society as a social system is held together by subsystems with varying actors contributing to a continuous interaction among all stakeholders to maintain a healthy and problem free environment. In the La- Nkwantanang Madina Municipal area, like all societies, such subsystems equally interact to keep the society going. In this case subsystems like the governance system, family system and civil society are earmarked as playing vital roles in an interconnected and complex arrangement to ensure proper functioning of the municipality. In order to assess the relationship between child streetism and the functions or malfunctions of said social systems, the System Theory is adopted to discuss the factors that work towards mitigating or causing an upsurge of child streetism.

3.1.1 The Systems Theory

According to Laszlo and Krippner (1998), ‘Systems’ in general refer to the “complex interaction of components together with the relationships among them that permit the identification of a boundary-maintaining entity or process”. Flood and Jackson (1991) cited

in Meredith (2005) also describe the 'System' as an "interrelated network of parts exhibiting synergistic properties where the whole is greater than the sum of its parts".

Systems provide an effective framework for the execution of tasks such that they are made up of smaller individual parts interrelating with each other to bring about a desired outcome. The 'Systems' Theory remains significant as it allows for the explanation of complex connections existing between phenomena. As suggested by O'Leary (2007), emphasis is placed on the interconnections between the sub systems, owing to the fact that the effectiveness of the whole system depends largely on a healthy interrelationship between sub-systems. Due to the complexity of the phenomena in social sciences, arising from multiple interactions of elements within the particular phenomena, it is more difficult to apply the theory to the social sciences. However, the systems theory still remains relevant in its application to other fields aside the biology field from which it originated. In most cases the theory is adapted and applied to other fields of study including the social sciences. The theory thus provides a systematic means to analyse the origin, development and operation of a given phenomenon.

Another fact to note is that the immediate environment within which a system finds itself largely influences the outcome of the interactions between subsystems. As designated by Meredith (2005), the environment as an external force influences how sub-systems behave within the larger system. However, some margins separate these sub-systems from the environment and as such, the level of interaction between the external forces determine whether a system is closed or open. Leiper (2003) cited in Meredith (2005) reveals that a system is closed when the interaction between sub-systems are not influenced by external forces. On the other hand, a system is open when there is interaction of sub-systems with external forces.

3.1.2 Conceptualising Child Streetism in the Madina Municipality

As a system, the survival of the Madina municipality depends significantly on the interactions between sub-systems that are to work inter-dependently to ensure the continuity and proper functioning of the society. Sub systems in this social system therefore comprise of the family system, governance system and the civil society.

The family is the basic social institution of society. The family therefore always remains a visible part of the social organisation (Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems, EOLSS). It serves as the first point of contact for a child. The family as a sub-system of society provides a platform where children are produced, raised and socialised into the larger society. The family is responsible for protecting a child, providing guidance, as well as providing basic needs like education, shelter, food and clothing for that child. Thus families ensure the uttermost survival and development of the child. According to the Ghana Children's Act 560, parents are to ensure the welfare of the child. Children have the right to life, dignity, respect, leisure, liberty, health, education and shelter from their parents. Additionally, children are to be protected from "neglect, discrimination, violence, abuse" and risky exposure. Parents are thereby to provide "good guidance, care and maintenance" for children. (Children's Act 560, 1988). If a family is well able to provide the needs for a child as well as provide guidelines such that the child does not stray from expected norms of society, that child is more likely to integrate into society. On the other hand families that fail to protect and provide the needs of their children may have these children resorting to other means for survival which may lead to negative outcomes in society such as child streetism.

Furthermore, every society is governed by laws and regulations that seek to maintain order and development. Good governance ensures that responsibilities and duties of governments towards citizens and vice versa are clearly defined and adhered to. As such the governance sub-system provides laws and legislations, policies and institutional frameworks to manage

and protect children in the municipality. These laws and policies seek to protect and ensure the rights of the child. With regards to children in Ghana, such laws and policies like the Children's Act 560, 1988, the UN's Conventions on the Rights of the Child, the recent Child and Family Welfare Policy are the major laws guiding issues related to children. These are to clearly define the boundaries, terms and conditions under which the child should be protected and catered for to ensure positive development and survival. Similarly there are laws to guide urban settlements such that individuals are not allowed to reside on unauthorised locations like water ways, railways, lorry stations and other unapproved places. The governance system also provides the institutional frameworks within which these policies will be implemented and monitored to achieve desired results.

These laws when enforced ensure that children are not left to cater for their own needs as parents and the state are responsible for protecting and providing the needs of children. In cases where parents or families fail to protect children, the state is to intervene either by mandating parents to live up to their responsibilities or by providing care and protection for the child. Laws guiding settlement arrangements will also ensure that settlement conditions that make it easy or unavoidable for children to engage in street life will be done away with.

Finally, the civil society serves as a link between the citizens (families) and government to address the interests of each part. "Civil society is a sphere of social interaction between the household (family) and the state which is manifested in the norms of community cooperative, structures of voluntary association and networks of public communication ... norms are values of trust, reciprocity, tolerance and inclusion, which are critical to cooperation and community problem solving, structure of association refers to the full range of informal and formal organization through which citizens pursue common interests" (Veneklasen, 1994), cited in (Ghaus-Pasha, 2014:5). The existence of civil society groups like the church, non-governmental organisations, and other advocacy groups is to serve as a sub- system that

complements the work of the state in the various sectors. Such groups mediate between the state and the people in areas of governance, infrastructure, justice administration, provision of services, thus reaching the unreached population as the state cannot singlehanded attend to all concerns at one time. Thus civil society groups contribute to the proper functioning of the whole social system through their works in humanitarian aid, social activism, advocacy, justice administration among other necessary areas of concern. In the event that the state and family fails totally or partly to protect and provide for children, civil society groups can play major roles in breaching this gap by providing their own interventions or putting pressure on the state or families to live up to expectations. This role can also contribute significantly to doing away with the ills of child streetism when civil society groups are able to intervene to protect children.

Consequently, the effective function of Madina municipality as a system depends largely on the efficient interaction of the above sub systems in their respective roles and functions; the family to protect its members especially children, as well as providing basic needs, emotional support, and ensuring overall survival and development; policies, institutional frameworks and laws to regulate the activities of the human society, provide protection and assistance to vulnerable groups and define the roles and responsibilities of the state towards populate and vice versa; civil society groups to provide social support systems where the state or family fails or lacks capacity.

Being an open system, the Madina municipality is influenced by its environment. External factors like the economy and political issues greatly influence the function of the system as its sub-systems interact with these external factors. In this case, a very significant external factor which is the economy is identified as having influence on the actions of the mentioned sub-systems. The economic status of the municipality largely influences issues like poverty, distribution of resources, employment which in turn influence the functions of the sub-system

at work here. Other factors like political decisions and actions can also influence the functions of various sub-systems. The function or malfunction of any of these sub-systems can be made better or worse by the influence of the above mentioned and other external factors.

3.2 Conceptual/Analytical Framework

In order to have a clear picture of the mentioned sub-systems at play in this social system, a concept is developed to portray the interactions and actions between the parts that contribute to preventing or aggravating child streetism. The concept further illustrates how that each of these sub-systems can be influenced by external factors in the environment.

3.2.1 Interaction of Sub-systems to Mitigate or Aggravate Child Streetism in Madina

The sub-systems; family, governance and civil society interact to ensure proper function and wellbeing of all elements in the Madina municipal area. The three also play distinctive roles to ensure the system is kept in its expected condition.

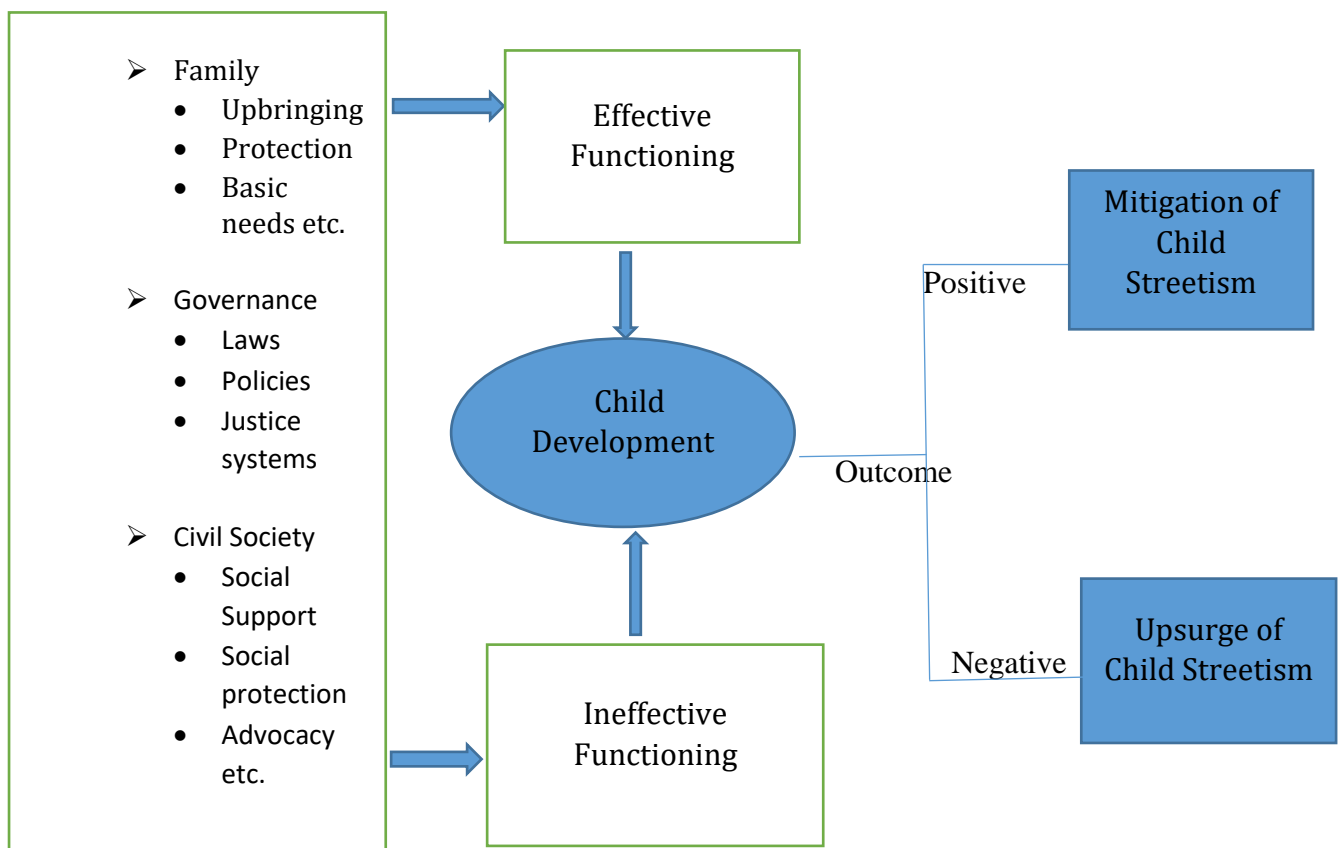
3.2.1.1 The Family

When families take care of children and protect them from all possible risks, children have a better opportunity to develop as expected. In playing its role the family relies on and interacts to some extent with both the state (through governance systems) and civil society to ensure that all the needs of the child are met. It is less likely for a child whose needs, both emotional and physical are being met by the family to resort to street life for survival or for any other reasons than a child whose needs are not being met. On the other hand, external factors like poverty, financial constraint, unemployment, inadequate welfare services, and irresponsibility of parents which is not properly regulated by the law can cause the family not to function properly in this role. Failure of the family to sustain children normally leads to children seeking alternative means of sustenance and the street is one major place where they end up.

3.2.1.2. Governance

The governance system must be able to call to order all issues regarding child care and protection. When families are unable to care for children, the state must have measures in place to make sure that a child does not suffer. Laws, policies and institutional frameworks should provide a guide to justice administration for children, their education and their upkeep. When this is done children will not be left by themselves to resort to street life as the laws will intervene so child streetism can be mitigated. However, governance can be interrupted by external issues like political decisions, lack of resources and non-implementation of laws and policies. This will render the governance system unable to protect and prevent children from resorting to street life.

Figure 3.1 Conceptual/Analytical Framework



Source: Author's construct, 2016

3.2.1.3. Civil Societies

Finally civil societies exist in the social structure to play supportive roles to the state and households. In the even that families and, or the state are unable to provide protection and secure the welfare of children, civil societies can fill in the gap. Civil societies play roles in advocacy for child rights and protection, provide physical and emotional assistance where it is needed and these can keep children from having to resort to street life. With the right financial environment, civic freedom, state support and regulations by laws, civil society groups will do better at providing relief to children who cannot be cared for by families or the state. However, these external issues can influence the function of civil society groups negatively such that they may not have enough resources, civic freedom, or support from the state to function. In some cases when left unregulated by state laws civil society organisations can stray from their expected roles and this will render their role in preventing child streetism ineffective or inadequate.

In conclusion when the three sub-systems function properly in their respective roles while interacting among themselves, there is better opportunity to prevent child streetism. On the other hand a breakdown in the function of one or all sub-systems creates conditions that lead children to the street. These functions or malfunctions of the sub-systems can be made better or worse by unfavourable external factors that they respond to, it being an open system.

CHAPTER FOUR

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF CHILD STREETISM IN LA-NKWANTANANG MADINA MUNICIPALITY

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the theories and conceptual framework underpinning the dynamics involved in child streetism in the Madina Municipality. The Systems Theory was used to understand the roles played by identified sub-systems of the larger social system (society) in order to maintain a wholesome society at all given times. This chapter discusses the causes and effects of child streetism in the study area and analyses these factors in relation to the leaks in the social system that cause the problem to prevail. The chapter also provides an analysis of some traits and mannerisms of street children in the area.

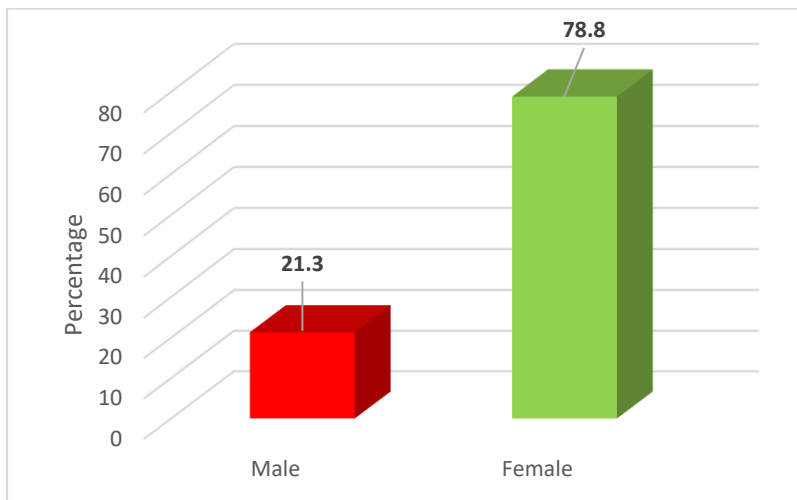
4.2 Streetism and Child Streetism in Madina

In order to better understand child streetism in Madina, some traits and mannerisms of street children were studied. Results give an insight into characteristics like the age and sex distribution, educational background, origin, and the activities that children engage in on the streets.

The streetism phenomenon is very evident in Madina due to the very busy nature of its central business area. People engage in street life like such as begging, loitering, petty trade with some actually living on the street. Children are no exception from street life in Madina, thus for several reasons children have taken to the streets with the market areas, lorry stations, major streets in and around the central business areas being the spotlights where they are mostly found. In Madina most children were found on the street because they worked there to earn a living for their own upkeep or to provide financial assistance to their families.

It became evident that more girls were found on the streets of Madina than boys.

Figure. 4.1 Sex Distribution of Respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

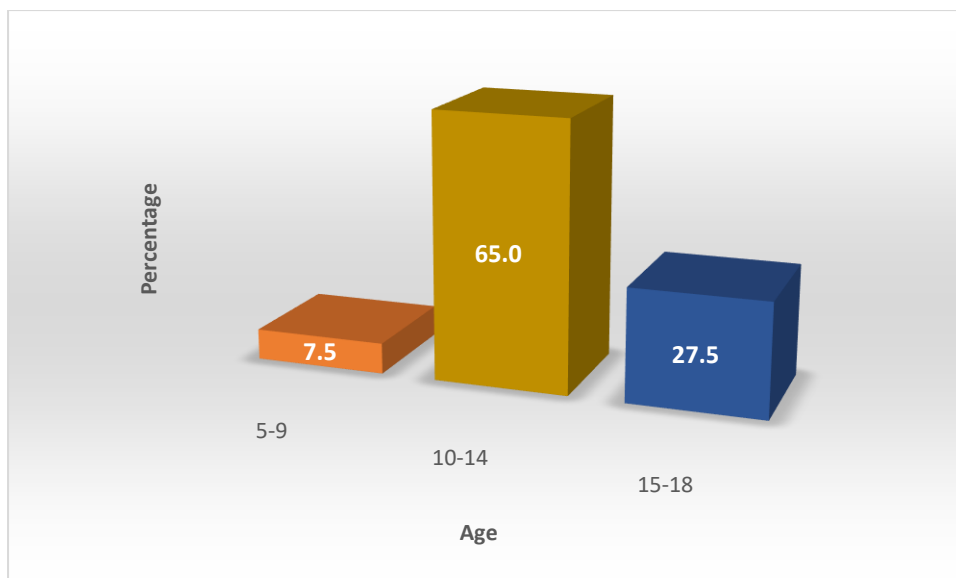
Accordingly, out of 80 respondents who engaged in the survey, 64 of them representing 78.8percent were females while 16 of them representing 21.3percent were males. The distribution of the sex of respondents falls in pattern with the census on street children in Accra in 2011 which reveals that there were more females (57%) than males (43%) on the streets. Similarly, Hatloy & Huser (2005) in their study in Accra further revealed that 75 percent of street children comprised of girls while 25percent were males.

It is understood that, the incidence of economic engagement among children in urban areas is more likely among girls between ages 7-14 as compared to boys of the same age group (Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS), 2005 as cited in AMA, 2014). In addition to this, hawking and head pottering as economic activities are largely practised by females than males. AMA (2014) discloses in its research on street children in Accra that head pottering was an activity engaged in by girls. These factors play a significant role in the pattern of having more girls involved in street work than boys, especially in areas where the main activities are hawking and head pottering. Furthermore, the study again asserts that another factor that contributes to having more females than males on the street is the fact that more

girls drop out of school than boys with almost twice as many females (2.7 million) than males (1.4 million) who never attend school (GLSS, 2005 as cited in AMA 2014). A study by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) confirms further that girls work more than boys due to their domestic duties, thus more girls are involved in child labour than boys (Allais, 2009).

As suggested by existing literature, children arrived in the street from ages seven to fourteen (Daniels & Crawford-Browne 1997). The same is evident in child streetism in Madina. The age distribution of respondents in Figure 4.2 shows that children within ages of 10-14 representing 65 percent form majority of respondents. This is followed by children within ages 15-18 representing 27.5 percent. The smallest group therefore consists of the very young children within the ages of 5-9 and these account for 7.5 percent of the total number of respondents. Apt & Grieco (1995) reveal similar age distributions in their study on street girls in Accra with majority of children (45.53%) between the ages of 15-17, while many others (30.36 %) also fell within the age range of 12-14.

Figure 4.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

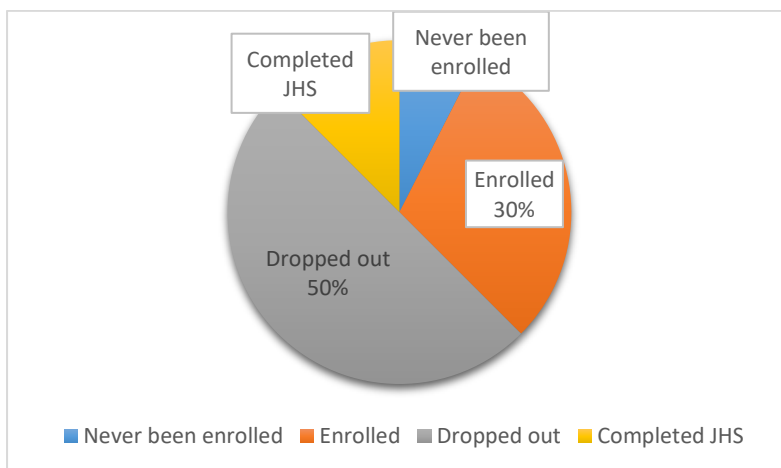


Source: Fieldwork, 2016

This finding is also in tandem with the statistics from the census on street children in Accra in 2011 which states that most children who find themselves on streets fall within the ages of 11 and 15. A major factor that explains the prevalence of young working children on street is the fact that children in such age groups are found to be economically active. As posited by the GLSS (2005), children as young as 7 are economically active. The report estimated that about 54.1percent of nearly 18 million persons 7 years and older are economically active. Reports also indicated that nearly 13% of children aged 7-14 are economically active (GLSS, 2005).

The study further studied the educational background of respondents. Consequently, Figure 4.3 shows the representation of respondents with regards to their educational status. The result shows that 50 percent of the children had dropped out of school to work on the streets for diverse reasons. A number representing 30 percent also happened to be enrolled in the school at the time of survey.

Figure 4.3 Educational Background



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

However, 13 percent of the respondents indicated that they had completed Junior High School (JHS) and were unable to continue to the next level. According to AMA (2014), 58 percent of street children in Accra had never been enrolled in school and 30 percent were

enrolled in school at the time of the survey on street children in 2011. The differences noticed in the two surveys show a decreased rate in non-enrolment, with less children in the category of never been enrolled in this survey.

While Jackson (1993) determines that children gradually move from home to the street until they permanently live on the streets, street children in Madina come to work during the day and go back to sleep home with parents or on their own at night. Some of these children were migrants from other regions to Accra living on their own or with relatives or non-relative guardians.

Figure 4.4 Place of Origin

Source:

Fieldwork,

2016

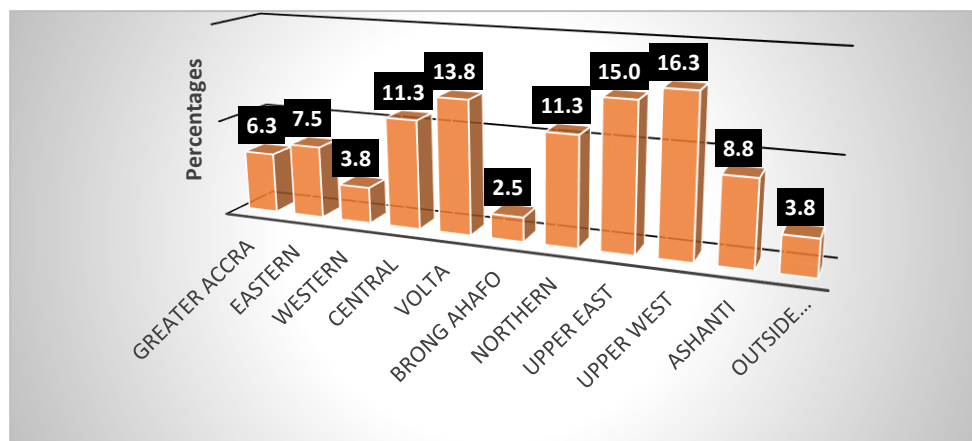


Figure.4.4 above indicates that respondents come from all the ten regions of Ghana, with a few from outside the country. This is to say that child streetism is not limited to some particular regions though some regions tended to be largely represented as compared to others. This study shows that the three northern regions of Ghana altogether account for 42.6 percent of the total number of respondent, with the Upper West region showing the largest at largest (16.3%) number. In a related study conducted by Apt & Grieco, (1995), respondents from the 3 northern regions made up 66.97 percent of all respondents. Accordingly, Korboe (1996) undertook a study on street children in Kumasi (the second largest city in Ghana) and

the results affirmed that most children (46%) on the streets were migrants from the three Northern regions.

A number of factors are identified as contributing to the increased numbers of street children from some regions as compared to others. One of such is the incidence of poverty in the various regions. It is clear that the incidence of poverty and poverty gaps are not evenly distributed among all 10 regions. As such, some regions, especially the 3 northern regions have higher poverty incidence as compared to other regions.

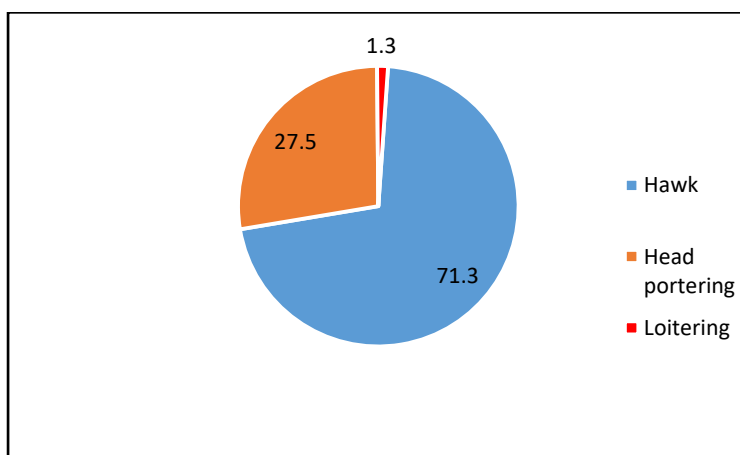
That is to say these regions have more significant proportions of the population living under the poverty line. That said, studies have shown that more than 4 in every 10 persons (44.4%) are poor in the Upper East region while in the Northern and Upper West regions, 1 in every 2 persons (50.4%) and 7 out of every 10 (70.7%) are poor respectively. These poverty incidences are very significant when compared to that of the Greater Accra region which stands at 5.5 percent (GLSS 6, 2014). The Volta region was also reported to have worsening inequality in its rural areas as levels of inequality increased from 35.4 percent to 41.2 percent between 2005 to 2013 in the region, with poverty incidence at 33.8 percent as at 2013 (GLSS6, 2014). These, coupled with other conditions that perpetuate economic hardship and unemployment in some regions push more people including children from these areas to migrate to the cities in search of better opportunities. With the majority not having proper skills and the means to secure proper jobs and accommodation, most end up on the streets of Accra including Madina.

Another important factor that pulls more children (mostly girls) from the 3 northern regions to the streets in Accra as compared to other regions is the lack of importance placed on girl child education in these areas. Little value is placed on female child education as compared to male child education. One reason that makes this possible is the issue of early marriage

arrangements to which girls fall victim by virtue of cultural practices. Girls, as they are married at tender ages are more likely not to be sent to school or drop out of school and run from home to the city in an attempt to avoid being married early. Girls also leave home to work in the cities in order to prepare themselves materially for marriage. Awumbila and Ardayfio-Schandorf, (2008) in a study on female head porters from the 3 northern regions in urban centers like Accra confirms that young girls do not only migrate from their hometowns to escape poverty but also to work to prepare for marriage.

Children on the street were involved in one activity or the other as was revealed by the survey. The results are represented in the figure below.

Figure 4.5 Activities on the Street



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

As indicated by Figure.4.5, majority of the respondents (71.3%) were engaged in hawking as a form of economic activity. Items that the respondents hawked ranged from sachet water to soft drinks, snacks of various kinds and other petty goods. This was followed by a 27.5 percent who were head potters and 1.3 percent found to be loitering at the time of survey. This shows consistency with findings from a survey on street girls in Kumasi which indicated

that hawking was taken up by 28.5 percent of respondents with 28 percent involved in head pottering. (Korboe, 1996).

The study further examined the gender dynamics of activities street children engage in. In a cross tabulation of the gender and activities undertaken, the study revealed in Table 4.1 that both males (16) and females (41) were engaged in hawking. Interestingly, as 22 female respondents engaged in head pottering, none of the males engaged in this activity. This could be explained by the existing gender roles which assert that head pottering is for women and girls.

An attempt was made to determine whether the sex of respondents correlated with their activity on the street. Table 4.1 below explains the results of the test.

Table 4.1 Sex of Respondent and Activity on the Street

	What do you do on the streets?			Total
	Hawk	Head pottering	Loitering	
Sex of Male Respondent	16	0	0	16
Female	41	22	1	64
Total	57	22	1	80

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

4.3 Causes of Child Streetism in La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipality

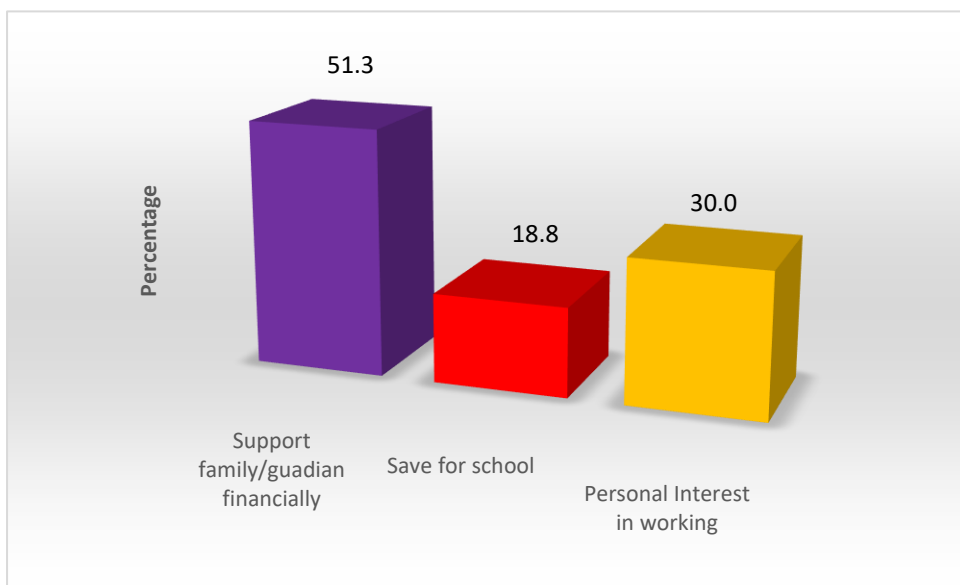
Streetism is a major challenge of urban population in most developing countries. As a result, child streetism has also been identified as an aspect of streetism characterized with several challenges. The current study identified three major factors accounting for child streetism in the La-Nkwantanang municipality.

According to Figure 4.6, 51 percent of respondents stated that they engage in streetism to offer financial support to their families or guardians while 18.8 percent of the children

indicated that they were working on the street to save money for school. Lastly, 30 percent revealed that they were on the street because they wanted to work. Some of these children who by themselves chose street work, especially girls from the three Northern regions often got attracted to coming to work in Accra because they see people from their towns who have gone to work in the city come and go. In an interview with some female porters, a thirteen year old girl explains:

“I have been hearing people saying Accra! Accra! So I also came to see Accra for myself” (Female Street Child, Madina, 2016).

Figure 4.6 Reasons for streetism



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Apt & Grieco, (1997) makes similar findings in their research on street children in Accra in which 78.5 percent of respondents revealed that they engaged in streetism to work for money. Also 4.46 percent maintained that they wanted to gain experience outside home thus the decision to migrate to the city to work on the streets. It is a problem when minors (children below 18 years) chose to work on the street instead of remaining in school or acquiring vocational training.

For children who had to work to assist their families financially, some factors account for this. One such development is the growing norm of children being expected to work to support themselves and the family where necessary. In a discussion with children on the street, a child posited,

“My school uniform is torn so my aunty asked me to sell and save money to sew a new one for school next term. I also want to save some money so that I can go to school next term” (Female Street Child, Madina 2016).

This was admitted by a 14 year old girl who said she was currently out of school to work to buy new school uniforms and other materials she needed for school.

As discussed in the literature by Adeyemi & Oluwaseun (2012), the roles of some social norms, which encourage children to take up economic activities in the event that the family suffers financial constraints, contribute significantly to child streetism. A study conducted by Alenoma (2012), further pointed out that about 30 percent of guardians believe that whatever activity their children engaged in on the streets was a trade which they needed to acquire to live off in the event that they do not perform well in school or in the absence of formal education. Besides, 33.3 percent of biological parents equally gave similar reasons for allowing their children to engage in economic activities. This also reflects the situation in other countries such as Egypt where progressively, children work on the street at an early age. Consequently, the study showed that the number of working children between the ages of 6 and 14 represented 20.5 percent of Egyptian children.

Further linked to this is the issue of economic hardship that some families face, which serves as another contributing factor pushing children into street work. Once there is the need to find a means of sustenance, it becomes a norm for parents or guardians to engage children in some income generating activities. One such common activity is hawking on streets, market areas

and lorry station, thus the emergence of working street children. Furthermore, some children had to work on the streets because they were specifically brought to the city to assist maintain a guardian's business. In this regard, individuals normally solicit the labour of children whose parents want to send them to work or who by themselves want to work in the city. Thus, they come to live with non-relative or relative guardians who in other words become their employers and so they are engaged in an economic activity to support the individual in return for which their own needs are met. Some of these children do this because their parents are no longer able to cater for their basic needs especially education, or because they do not have immediate family to support them financially. These factors are affirmed by studies such as; Alenoma (2012), Apt and Grieco (1997), Cambell and Ntsabane (1995), Korboe (1997), and Hatloy and Husser (2005) which cite family poverty as a basis for child streetism.

Table 4.2 Sex and Reason for Streetism

Sex of respondent * Why is respondent working/living on the streets Cross tabulation

		Why is respondent working/living on the streets			Total
		To support family/guardian financially	Save for school	Personal Interest in working	
Sex of respondent	Male	13 (16.25)	3 (3.75)	0	16 (20)
	Female	28 (35)	12 (15)	24 (30)	64 (80)
Total		41 (51.25)	15 (18.75)	24 (30)	80 (100)

Source: Fieldwork 2016

The study further sought to understand the relationship between one's sex and the causes of streetism. The table 4.2 shows that male street children (16.25%) moved onto the streets because they needed to raise money to support their family/guardian while few of them

(3.75%) did so because they needed to save money for education. On the other hand majority of female street children (35%) similarly were on the streets to support family/guardian. Quite a significant number of females' street children (30%) stated that personal interest in working for cash motivated them to move onto the streets.

Table 4.3 Ages and Reason for Streetism

Age of respondent * Why is respondent working/living on the streets- Cross tabulation

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

		Why is respondent working/living on the streets			Total
		To support family/guardian financially	Save for school	Personal Interest in working	
	5-9	4 (5)	0	2 (2.5)	6 (7.5)
Age of respondent	10-14	32(40)	9 (11.25)	11 (13.75)	52 (65)
	15-18	5(6.25)	6 (7.5)	11 (13.75)	22 (27.5)
Total		41 (51.25)	15 (18.75)	24 (30)	80 (100)

Further, the study also sought to understand the relationship between age of respondents and the causes of streetism. The study established that most respondents in the age bracket of 10-14 (40%) were on the street to make money to support family/guardian with 11.25 percent and 13.75 percent of respondents on the streets to save money for school and for personal interest respectively. It is also interesting to note that 13.75 percent of respondents in the age bracket of 15-18 are on the streets to make money for themselves in other areas aside education. This however is surprising as one will expect such age groups to be interested in saving money for education.

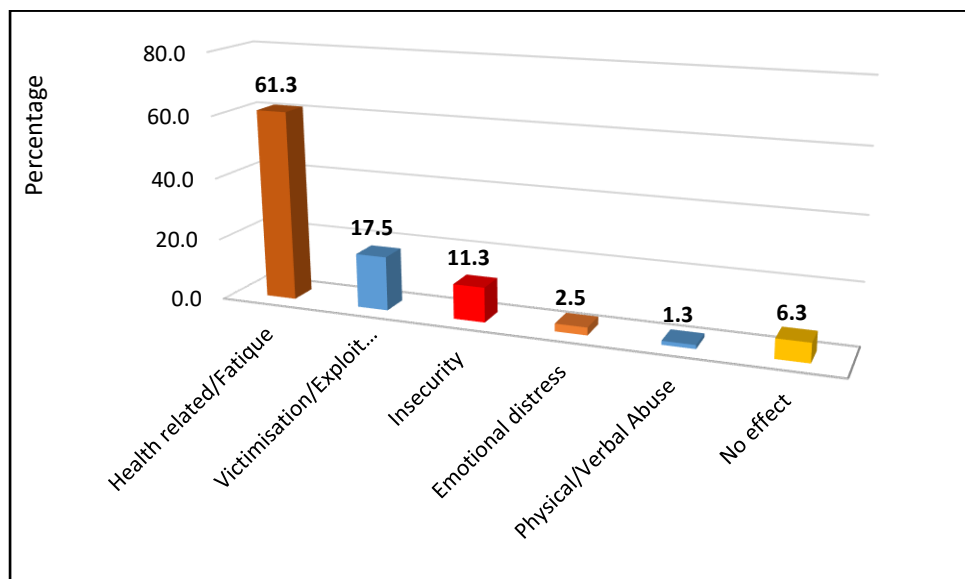
4.4 Effects of Child Streetism on children

The poor conditions of work, characterized with poor environmental conditions have resulted to children being negatively affected by streetism. The study found out that child streetism has had several daunting effects on the general wellbeing, health and education of children.

4.4.1 General Effects of Child Streetism

Consequently, the study examined the effect of streetism on the general wellbeing of children as indicated in Figure 4.11. Accordingly, most respondents representing 61.3 percent revealed that they face fatigue and other health related challenges as a result of working on the street. Besides, 17.5 percent indicated that victimization and exploitation were other forms of challenges affecting them on the streets. In addition, 11.3 percent of respondents complained of insecurity as a threat to their wellbeing while, 2.5 percent and 1.3 percent of respondents highlighted emotional distress and physical abuse as effects of streetism respectively. However, 6.3 percent of the respondents stated streetism had no negative effect on them.

Figure 4.7 General Effects of Streetism on Respondents



Source Fieldwork, 2016

In a discussion with some of the respondents on the effects of streetism on their health, they noted that risk of accidents, body aches, headaches and cholera among others were some of the health conditions they were exposed to while working on the streets. Some also expressed that they often went home exhausted after a day's work on the street. In a discussion with a respondent, a twelve year old child notes;

"I have been hit by a vehicle before so when I am hawking I feel pains in my thighs"

(Female Street Child, Madina 2016).

When probed further, it was realised that this twelve year old was hawking on an empty stomach at the time of the interview. This is similar to findings from a survey on street children in Kumasi that noted that some children complained of fatigue, headaches and body pains as a result of the various activities they engage in on the streets (Korboe, 1996). With regards to victimization and exploitations, this category of respondents were children who occasionally; suffered bullying from older children or adults; were sometimes underpaid for services rendered to clients and were taken advantage of in one way or the other as street children. The challenge of insecurity stems from loss of properties (cash and materials) due to unsecured and vulnerable shelter arrangements, threats of sexual abuse by males on females who sleep in unsecured places. Some girls opined that they were often been disturbed and wooed by males in and around the places where they usually engaged in their street work. In an interview with a 14 year old female hawker, she reveals:

"There is a certain man at the station who is always calling him to come to him, so I told my grandmother and she said if he gives me money, I should report to her so that she reports to the police. I ignore him all the time but he will not leave me alone"

(Female hawker, Madina 2016).

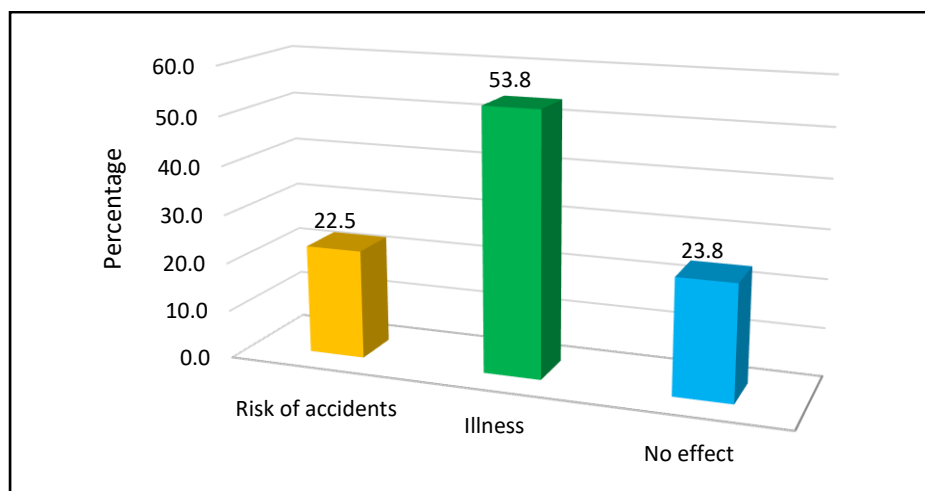
In addition, there was also the issue of some children being nearly hit by moving vehicles and other motorists.

Children who complained of emotional distress and physical abuse were those school dropouts who felt left out when they see their colleagues in school while they had to work on the streets, or children who wished that instead of working or living on the streets living they would rather live with their own parents and not work on the street. Some also expressed that they felt bad when their colleagues saw them working on the streets and yet still others expressed concern about the delay in their education due to the fact that they had to quit school and work on the street. Some children also complained of being verbally abused during their interactions with the public, especially their clients, other street workers and people in and around the lorry stations and markets which they worked.

4.4.2 Child streetism and Healthcare

The study further examined the kinds of health related effects streetism was having on children. As shown by figure 4.7, respondents expressed some concerns with regards to their health. According to 22.5 percent of respondents, they were at risk of being involved in motor accidents as a result of the nature of the work they did on the street.

Figure 4.8 Effect of Child Streetism on Respondent's Health.



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

Also, 53.8 percent complained of ill health while 23.8 percent stated that they do not experience any health problems due to streetism. This risk of motor accidents arises from the ever present impact of moving vehicles, motorcycles and other kinds of vehicular activities that could render child street hawkers victims of accidents. Should this happen, victims may be left maimed or injured for a period of time and this will negatively impact their health temporality or permanently.

The illnesses associated with the respondents included backaches or other forms of body aches resulting from carrying loads to hawk or engaging in head pottering, headaches from being in the scorching sun for too long, or cholera or malaria from unfavourable living and environmental conditions among others.

The study further identified that there was an uneven negative effect of streetism on male and female children. According to Table 4.5, more females face risk of accident (13.75%) and illness (47.5%) as a health challenge than the male counterparts who recorded 8.75% and 6.25% respectively. Some studies on migrants female porters migrating from the three Northern regions disclose that these girls often are exposed to daily risks including health risks and even more so in comparison to male migrants (NPC, 2010).

Table 4.4 Sex and Effect on Health

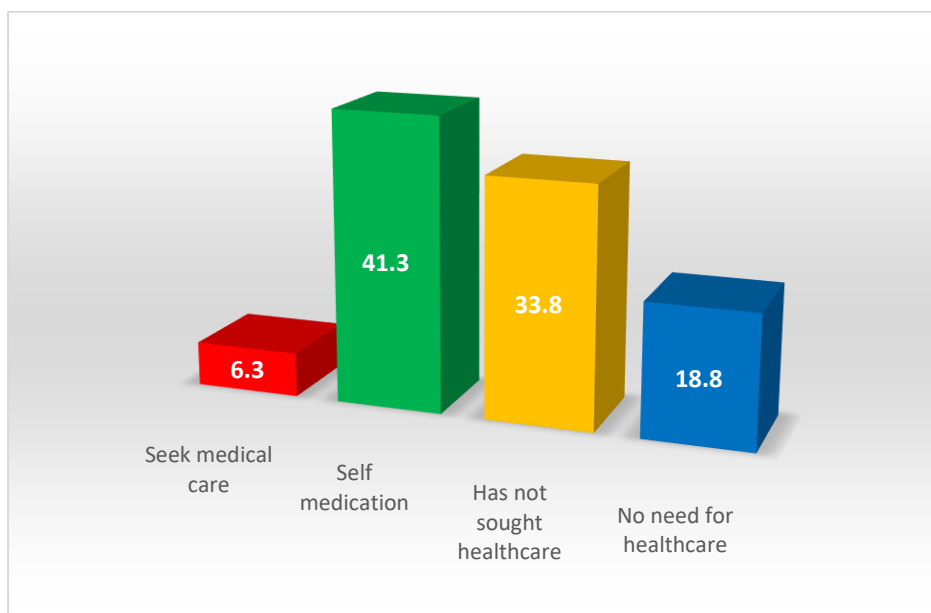
	What health challenges does respondent face			Total
	Risk of accidents	Illness	No effect	
Sex of respondent				
Male	7 (8.75%)	5 (6.25%)	5 (6.25%)	17 (21.25%)
Female	11 (13.75%)	38(47.5%)	14 (17.5%)	63 (78.75%)
Total	18 (22.5%)	43(53.75%)	19 (23.75%)	80 (100%)

Source: Fieldwork, 2016

4.4.3 Effect on Health care Seeking Practices

Another issue examined has to do with how respondents sought to address their health problems. As shown in Figure 4.8, only a number representing 6.3 percent of respondents indicated that they seek medical care in a hospital or clinic in the event of taking ill. A significant section of 41.3 percent also revealed that they either bought drugs by themselves at local pharmacies or receive drugs from their guardians when they took ill.

Figure 4.9 Health Care Seeking Behaviour of Respondents



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

This indicates that this category of respondents sought to self-medication. This was mainly due to the fact that respondents were not registered under the national health insurance scheme to be able to access free health care or they lacked the resources to pay for medical care.

However, 33.8 percent and 18.8 percent revealed that they do not seek for healthcare when they are ill and also did not have a need for medical attention respectively. These groups are largely respondents who believed that they did not have any significant health problem, with

a few venting that though they took ill sometimes, access to health care was not provided by their parents or guardians. Hatloy & Huser (2005) identified that street children were daily exposed to health hazards and lacked access to proper health care and this is significantly the case of the subjects of this study.

4.4.4 Effect of Child Streetism on Education

The study further examined the effect of streetism on education. As indicated by Figure 4.9 below, 32.5 percent of respondents conveyed that working on the street affected their education. These were mostly children who were currently enrolled in school at the time of the survey and usually engaged in street work after school or sometimes during school hours. Some of these children complained of their inability to complete their home works for the next school day due to fatigue and limited studying time after working on the street. Other children reported that once a while they had to miss class to work on the street and this made it difficult for them to follow every subject being taught at all times. After probing one child, he testifies that:

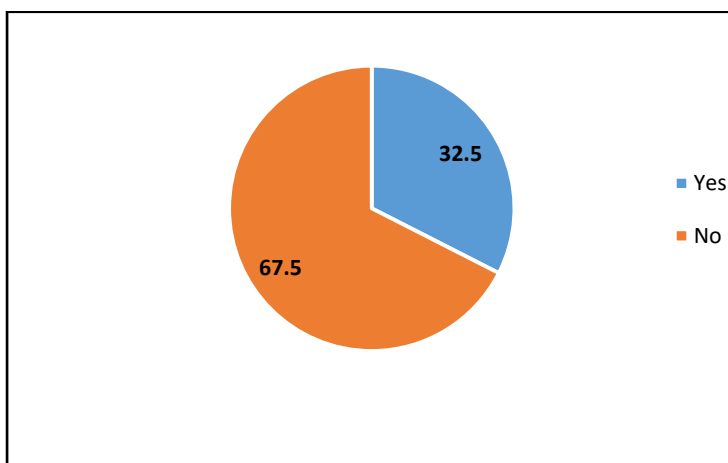
“Sometimes I sell till it is 7 or 8 pm in the evenings and I just go home to sleep. If I didn’t do my homework before coming to sell I take it to school the next day and do it”

(Male Street Child, Madina, 2016)

The remaining 67.5 percent was mostly made up of children who were not enrolled in school at the time of the survey. Some of the reasons accounting for non-enrolment included: children not having interest in schooling, children being dropouts or never being enrolled and though some were willing to enrol; their guardians were incapable of assisting them through school. This confirms works that show that for one reason or the other, children on the streets are often denied of their rights to education. It should be noted that sometimes, non-enrolment of street children in school may be their own choice, though this is not largely the issue in this survey. According to 2011 Census on Street Children in Accra reports, many

children dropped out of school following that their parents were unable to provide for their needs in school (AMA, 2014). This further confirms a study reported in the Nairobi seminar (involving service providers to street children in African region) which stated lack of schooling as one factor that sends children to the streets (Barrette reviewed by Mncayi 1996:5).

Figure 4.10 Effect of Streetism on Education



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

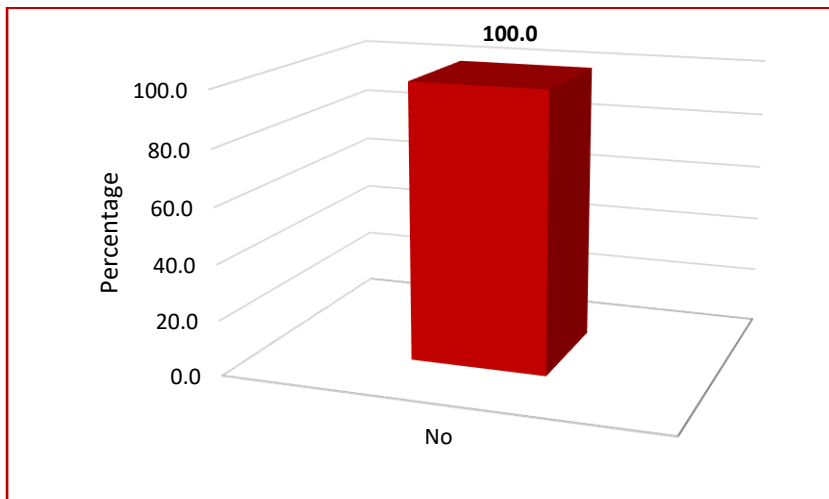
The report further reveals that some of the children on their own accord decide not to go to school anymore due to unpleasant situations like bullying, punishments at school, academic failure, poor teaching and so forth. Similarly, ESCWA (2009) states the deprivation of children's right to education as a reason for increased occurrence of child streetism children in Egypt, where about 14.7 percent of children between 6 and 18 years had never been registered or dropped out of basic education.

4.5 Interventions to Child Streetism

4.5.1 Past Assistance Received by Respondent as a Street Child

The study further examined the kind of assistance respondents received in the past or currently receiving from humanitarian organisations and state agencies. However, it was disappointing to note that none of the respondents attested to having received any form of assistance from the state, any civil society group or an individual by virtue of the fact that they were street children.

Figure 4.11 Receipt of assistance from any stakeholder



Source: Fieldwork 2016

This is an extreme case though quite similar to findings by (Awatey 2014), where only 2% of respondents in a survey on street children in Kumasi, Ghana held that they had received aid from any humanitarian organisation.

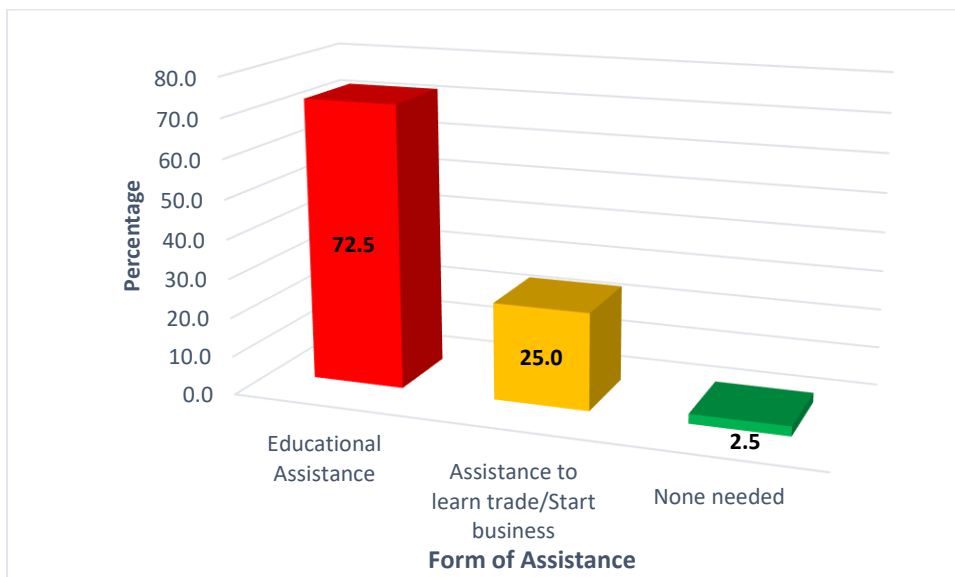
This manifestation brings into question the extent to which the state and civil society organisation have reached out to street children over the past years. According to the Family and Child Welfare Policy, child protection issues arising from family related problems like children living or working on the street are to be dealt with by the state. However, at the time of this survey no child attested to having had any contact with the state in regards to that.

Some civil society organisations that have also taken up the role of assisting street children have equally not been able to reach these children. This signifies a gap that needs to be filled so that all children on the street receive the necessary attention from the state, families and civil society organisations.

4.5.2 Desired Assistance

Furthermore, in an attempt to examine the desired assistance needed by respondents, the study in Figure 4.12 outlines the following as suggested by street children. About 72.5 percent of respondents expressed their need for educational assistance, mainly in forms of scholarships and financial assistance that caters for their educational expenses. This, according to most of them will make it no longer necessary for them to work on the street to support themselves or their families financially. On the contrary, few respondents revealed that on finding financial assistance of any kind to support their education, they would still want to work on the streets as they had other siblings at home who needed support as well.

Figure 4.12 Desired Assistance



Source: Fieldwork, 2016

In addition, 25 percent postulated that they needed assistance to learn a trade of their interest, or to start a business of their own in order to build a future career. Few of these children were

not sure if given the opportunity they would immediately give up working on the street to learn a trade as they felt they would want to keep working for a little more time before they quit.

Finally another 2.5 percent did not think that they needed assistance of any kind as street children. Some children in this category happened to be working on this street not because they needed the source of income but because they just wanted to, thus they did not see the need for assistance as they believed their parents could still cater for their needs. Still others thought they were doing well working on the street thus, did not necessarily require assistance of any kind.

The fact that majority of children working on the street desired to have educational assistance expresses the failure of the education and social protection policies to cushion vulnerable children who have greater risk of not being able to afford an education due family poverty or neglect. The system has also failed to ensure that children from poor homes who do not wish to acquire formal education have access to alternatives like vocational training through state intervention.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF STAKEHOLDERS IN ADDRESSING CHILD STREETISM IN LA-NKWANTANANG MADINAL MUNICIPALITY

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the factors resulting to child streetism in the La-Nkwantanang Municipal area and also assessed the effects of streetism on the general wellbeing, health and education of the children. Likewise, possible forms of assistance received from various agencies were discussed. This chapter examines the role of stakeholders in the prevention, mitigation and management of child streetism in the study area. These stakeholders include the family, state agencies and non-governmental agencies. The distinct roles played by each and their respective impact on child streetism are discussed in subsequent sections.

5.1 Diagnosing and Assessing the Role of the Family as a Sub-system in Addressing Child streetism

As discussed in the conceptual framework, the family of a child is legally bound to ensure the welfare of that child. The rights of children secure their life, dignity, respect, leisure, health, education, liberty and shelter. Parents are also obligated by the law to protect their children from neglect, discrimination, violence or abuse of any kind (Children's Act 560, 1988). Thus, the family is the first institution in society that is expected to see to the welfare of the child.

Examining the case of child streetism in La- Nkwantanang Madina Municipality, it is evident the family sub-system has failed to prevent child streetism to a large extent. Children found on the street had to work either to support themselves or their families. These are the very roles of the family and not of the child. According to the law guiding the management and protection of children, children are to be kept in school with all basic needs provided. In the case of the street children in Madina, they had to contribute financially to the provision of their basic needs by engaging in street work or totally provide those needs for themselves despite the negative implications on their holistic wellbeing.

Furthermore, information from some street families interviewed revealed that, parents and guardians had no choice but to engage their wards in economic activities due to financial constraints. In addition, most of the children who were not living with biological parents did not have any significant support from their parents financially and in some cases no other forms of support at all were given. They were being catered for by guardians or took care of their own needs. Some of these children, especially in the cases of the girls from the three Northern regions further indicated they rather sent monies home to their parents from time to time.

Due to external factors such as poverty, unemployment and others leading to financial difficulty, the family support system for providing the needs of children has broken down. This has led children into streetism. There is also a break in the absolute control that families should exercise on children such that some children can decide by themselves to work on the street rather than be in school.

5.2 Diagnosing and Assessing the Role of the State of Ghana in Addressing Child Streetism

5.2.1 Expected Role

The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social (MGCSP) in Ghana are the two key state agencies responsible for protecting children and seeking the welfare and maintenance of children.

The Department of Children of the MGCSP

The MGCSP's 'Family and Child Welfare Policy' seeks to protect and ensure the rights, survival and wellbeing of Ghanaian children through various measures. Street children are

briefly mentioned in this policy. Thus, the state is to provide protection for children when issues like:

1. Child protection issues arising from family related problems like domestic violence, and children living or working on the street.
2. Cases of child maltreatment in terms of violence of all kinds, abuse, exploitation and neglect in all settings
3. Other protection issues concerning children especially older children not perpetuated by a third party but the child's own risk taking behaviour like substance abuse, unwanted pregnancy or being in conflict with the law" (MGCSP, 2015:3)

Thus, per the directions of these policy areas, street children are to be protected by the state by virtue of their being on the street and or involved in situations that pose threats to their wellbeing.

The Department of Social Welfare, Ghana

In addition, the DSW is expected to implement the Children's Act and other laws guiding child protection in the country. The Act seeks to represent and protect the interest of the Ghanaian child in terms of basic rights, maintenance and adoption, regulate child labour and apprenticeship, and other matters concerning the welfare of the child.

According to Section 16 of the Act, Districts and Community Units are to protect child welfare and promote the rights of the child within its area of jurisdiction. These units were also to investigate cases of child rights violations.

In addition, section 18 clarifies situations in which children are in need of care and protection. A child is to be reported as needing care and protection from the state in the event that he:

Section 18 “(f) Is wandering and has no home or settled place of abode or visible means of subsistence;

(g) is begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale or otherwise, or is found in any street, premises or place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms;

(h) Accompanies any person when that person is begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any pretence of singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale or otherwise”(Republic of Ghana, The Children’s Act 560, 1988:10)

These instances do not categorically refer to street children of all kinds, for instance working street children as observed by this survey. The policy provisions are quite ambiguous and do not necessarily capture street children, though some street children may be found in some of the circumstances being pointed out.

Section 19 further defines actions to be taken in aid of children found to be in need of care and protection. Children were to be given temporal homes which were part of the department’s institutionalised centers. They were later to be settled into permanent living arrangements such as a state homes, the home of a parent, guardian or relative or other residential homes following the determination of the Family Tribunal of what was best for the child considering the situation he or she was found in.

5.2.2 Actual State Roles

In an interview with an official from the Department of Children of the MGCSP, it was made clear that the department currently plays a coordinating role for all state agencies having hand in child protection related work. With a responsibility to report back to the United Nations the execution of the Conventions of the Rights of the Child and other child protection activities, the department gathers information on the activities of various departments connected to

child welfare and protection. Departments like the Ghana Health and Education Services, the Child Labour Unit of the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development, the Department of Social Welfare, the Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVSU) of the Ghana Police, among others, all work to protect and promote the welfare of children. Thus the Department of Children monitors the works of each of these and reports to the leading organisation overseeing the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child. All these departments at the Madina Municipal level thus report their work on child protection and welfare to their regional offices, who in turn report to the Department of children under the MGCSP to be reported to the UN. The department holds stakeholders meetings to discuss the progress of work by the various departments. These departments also invite the 'Department of Children' to witness and take part in their programs and activities seeking to ensure the welfare of children. Thus 'Department of Children' monitors their works through to ensure that they deliver as expected. The various departments equally present periodic reports to the Department of Children to be evaluated and reported to other overseeing agencies, (the Government and the United Nations)

The department is similarly responsible for coordinating the implementation of the newly introduced Family and Child Welfare policy, which has had its operational plan made and roles given to each child protection agency to play.

Despite all these roles played by the Department of Children, it is not or has not been involved in overseeing any policy implementation that directly addresses the peculiar problem of street children in Madina and Ghana as a whole for that matter. That said, some of the above roles may contribute to addressing child neglect and abuse and other forms of child rights violations which may directly or indirectly lead to child streetism, but there is much left to assume as there is no intervention directly addressing child streetism in Madina.

Information gathered through an interview with some officials of the department reveals that there were no known future projections by the department to adopt a policy to strictly address child streetism.

In an attempt to identify the loopholes in the system that has made it unable to address child streetism, external factors like unfavourable political decisions, and lack of resources (both physical and human) were some issues connected to the inability of the department to address child streetism. Information gathered from officials of the department made it clear that they had a very limited budget which was nowhere close to facilitating the work of the department let alone addressing child streetism. One official noted,

“You can see that our lights are out and we sit here without power, if we can’t get money to pay for electricity how much for more a budget to work with” (Official of the Department of Children, Accra, 2016.)

This was in an attempt to explain that the department suffered from stark lack of resources, thus their inability to carry out their work as expected. There was also the problem of inadequate human resource as well as capacity building. The department could not always hire required staff nor train existing ones to meet the changing expectations of their work due to political reasons which made it impossible to hire and lack of adequate budget for training. An official explains,

“We have work to do, but we cannot hire people to cover increasing concerns because hiring has been ceased for some years now” (Official of Department of Children, MGCSP, Accra 2016.)

Furthermore, the La-Nkwantanang Municipal office of the Department of social welfare is equally responsible for the protection and promotion of the rights of children that fall under

its jurisdiction among other social protection roles. Currently, the department actively plays roles in areas of

1. Justice Administration
2. Community Care
3. Child Right Protection and Promotion.

Under the Child Rights Protection and Promotion, the department arbitrates issues bordering on the maintenance and wellbeing of the child. This becomes necessary when one parent, in most cases fathers refuse to provide the basic needs of a child. The case is brought to the office where the parents are met and the rights of the child and the responsibilities of each parents are made clear. Thus, the offenders are told their responsibilities to the child and advised by the department to oblige by them. When it happens that this action fails to compel the offenders to provide for the child, the case is referred to the court of law where a legal action is taken in the best interest of the child.

At the time of this research, there was no active intervention specifically tailored to deal with child streetism. According to information gathered from the department, the closest cases to child streetism they deal with are when missing children are brought to the office. When that happens, the department is unable to directly help the child because they do not have facilities in that regards. The reported missing children are therefore sent to children homes in an attempt to cater for their needs.

Similarly, the DSW complains of blatant lack of financial resources in doing their work. One official opines,

“Even when street children are brought to us we can’t help them, because there is no system for them. We sometimes send missing children to Osu Children’s Home and they also complain there is no space” (Official, DSW, Madina 2016).

Information gathered from interviews reveal that the DSW is hampered with financial hardship, with their budgets not always been financed by the district, making them having to work with very meagre resources. One official explained how difficult it was just to conduct monitoring activities on day care centers, NGOs and other concerns due to the lack of departmental vehicles and other logistics.

“We don’t have vehicles, so we walk to do monitoring, we can’t always take taxis because they are costly. So we just do what we can and the work is slow and very tiring. Every year we are asked to present a budget but we do not always get funding for all our activities” (official from DSW, Madina, 2016)

It is evident from the current roles being played by these two state departments that, there is no standing state policy or intervention that directly addresses the ‘street children’ problem in Madina. The fact that there is no policy being implemented to address child streetism shows that the governance system has failed to address the problem.

5.3 Diagnosing and Assessing the Role of NGOs in Addressing Child Streetism

Non-Governmental Organisations are authorised by some state laws to provide assistance in various forms and also engage in advocacy for important issues of concern to the civil society. This role both complements and checks the efforts of the state to promote development and good governance. Many local and international civil society organisations in Ghana exist to provide humanitarian assistance in addition to advocacy services. The role of two such organisations that provide assistance in different forms to street children in Accra will be discussed and assessed.

Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS)

C.A.S was founded in April 1993 in response to concerns raised after a research by the Department of Social Welfare- Ministry, the Department of Social Work at Legon and Father John of Hope for Life, (funded by Save the Children Fund) was carried out on street children in Accra.

C.A.S has since been actively involved in research on street children and also providing various forms of assistance to them.

The Role of CAS in Addressing Child Streetism

C.A.S defines street children using three categories.

1. Migrant Children on the streets
2. Children born on the streets (2nd generational street children)
3. Urban poor street children

In order to be considered a benefactor of the intervention programmes of CAS, the child should have no form of support from anyone and must be living on their own on the street.

Types of Intervention

1. Research On Street Children

One of the most significant roles played by CAS is its periodic research on street children in an attempt to know more about the subjects of their charge. The organisation itself was birthed by some pioneers of the first research on street children in Accra published under the name 'Street Children in Accra' in 1991 by N. Apt, E.Q Blavo and S.K. Opoku. Their research on street children usually aim to find out about the background of the children, why there are on the street, what they do on the street, how they can be helped and all other dynamics of child streetism.

Some other works on street children by CAS include:

Table 5.1 Some Research Works on Street Children by CAS

	Year	Research Topic	By
1	1996	Survey on the Situation of Street Children and STD/AIDS in Ghana.	Dr. Arnerfi – CAS
2	1996	Embedded Evaluation Programme for Street Children.	CAS, SAID (Street Girls Aid)
3	1996	Some Mothers and Babies of Konkomba market Shanty	CAS
4	1996	Headcount of Street Children	CAS/SAID
4	1999	Exodus	CAS/UNICEF
5	2003	The Ghanaian Street child	CAS
6	2011	Census on Street Children in Accra	CAS/Department of Social Welfare

2. Training and Financial Assistance

CAS operates a center for street children in Accra, Ghana. Street children are normally reached through the outreach programmes of CAS as they go to the flashpoints of the children including Madina Municipal areas among other districts in Accra. They engage them in various activities. The children are encouraged to walk into the center and makes use of the facilities such as library, health facilities, classroom lessons and training centers.

Step by Step Intervention

When a child walks into CAS to seek assistance, that child should have been cut from all support from anyone and must be willing and serious about learning a skill or studying. A background check is done on the child called the Social Survey. Reports from the Social Survey determine whether a child should be assisted or not as this involves steps to verify the said story, family background and circumstances leading to the child leaving home to live on the street and whether or not those with family and relatives were wanted back home. When

it's agreed that assistance should be given, arrangements are made for the child to learn a skill of his or her choice. Provisions are made for children to learn skills in sewing, mobile phone repairs, metal works, hairdressing, catering, and auto mechanic among others either within or without the premises of CAS while the child is continually supported financially until completion of training. There is also rehabilitation for children dealing with drug addictions and counselling services provided to children who need them.

All children undergoing training have to go through all the stages leading to writing National Vocational Training Institute (NVTI) Grade Two Trade Test. If assessment proves successful, children who complete training will have an external examiner from NVTI to test and issue certificate to them in the particular trades or skills.

Children placed on the Short Term Sponsorship Programme, in which they are recruited to learn skills and trades either in-house or with non-CAS workshops are provided with an 18months funding to learn the trade and also provide for their basic needs.

Effectiveness of Interventions

Over the years CAS has had many children pass through their training programmes and educational programmes. Though the very initial aim of CAS had been to formally educate the children, this has become increasingly difficult over the years as it became more and more difficult to control children or get them to adapt to classroom discipline following the lives they have led on the streets. However, the center holds successful vocational training programmes and some formal education interventions for its benefactors. According to CAS 2015 reports, attendance in 20015 was as follows:

8,112 children visited the Refuge, 4,183 boys and 3,929 girls. 2015 saw 40 children wanting to be part of classroom learning. About 400 children were reported to have visited CAS clinic facility in the year with various forms of illness, and some pregnancy and antenatal cases.

Demonstration of the various skills was made to children for a couple of weeks to enable them identify with the various skills in order to choose one to pursue.

Skill training	Boys	Girls
Sewing	35	63
Woodcarving	70	3
Handicraft	58	31
Hairdressing	0	17

As at the end of year 2015, the training department had 38 children under apprenticeship in the various skills, with a 70% being trained in-house and remaining 30% to outsourced training workshops.

Some children were housed at the Hopeland Center, which is another training premise of CAS. This center houses children in need of reform, children following the basic literacy programme and children preparing to be on the sponsorship program to learn a trade (this is a program where the child is sent to a workshop other than the training centers CAS itself owns) to learn a skill or trade while the child is being supported financially and monitored by CAS officials.

According to the 2015 report of CAS, 64 children transitioned to Hopeland and 4 children were reunited with their families.

Thus the two priority aims of CAS, which are to get to know street children and to assist individual children to find something substantial doing for sustenance is by far being achieved.

For children who complete their training or educational programs and leave the care of CAS, follow ups are occasionally done on them to determine how sustainable the impact of intervention is. Its gathered from CAS that at the time the NGO turned 10 years, it conducted a major follow up research on its benefactors and realised that half of them were settled and doing well. That is to say they were married and catering for their families, or they had gone

back to their places of origin, they were not in trouble with the law, or they were making businesses out of the trades learnt.

The work of CAS contributes significantly to reducing the incidence of child streetism in Accra as whole, including some suburbs of the Madina municipal area. Children who are assisted to learn employable skills, upon completion are helped to find suitable accommodation to prevent them from living in the streets. Children are advised to settle down and integrate into society, that is go back to their hometowns to practise their trades or set up their own businesses or find employment with the skill so that they do not need to indulge in street life to survive.

Though a positive effect of their intervention is evident, the work of CAS does not necessarily benefit all street children. For instance, the children identified by this survey were working street children, and from most of their experiences CAS deals with children who have no support from anyone. Thus, there is a gap whereby children who only work on the street may not necessarily benefit from the interventions of CAS though some may need it.

Other challenges hampering the work of CAS in addressing child streetism are external factors like lack of resources, and practical assistance from the state. In an interview with officials of CAS it was put forward that CAS has had to reduce their staff over the past years due to limited resources. There is also the problem of inadequate funding to expand interventions to reach more children. There is the challenge of little assistance from the state whereby the state fails to actively get involved in addressing the problem on the ground. An official opines,

“The state can do more; we are only an NGO and can’t do things at large. It will be better if the state takes an active role in addressing child streetism so that NGOs can assist with research” (CAS Official, Accra, 2016).

Street Girls Aid (SAID), Accra

SAID was founded in 1994 with the aim of assisting pregnant street girls and young street mothers by providing them with protection and a better life. To start with, temporal shelter was provided for young street mothers and pregnant street girls where maternal care and other needs important to their conditions were met.

The Role of SAID in Addressing Child Streetism

SAID defines street children in the following categories

1. Children working on the street (children on the street)
2. Children living on the street (children of the street)

On the large, SAID deals directly with girls living on the street, however in some extreme cases where a girl working on the street is identified to be in danger due to one reason or the other, or is in dire need of some assistance, SAID offers such assistance.

According to information gathered from SAID officials, about 70% of street children they come across are migrant children, that is, street girls coming from other regions to live in the capital city, and 30% urban poor.

Types of Interventions

1. Outreach Programs

Fieldworkers from SAID go out to the flashpoints of street children in Accra to interact with them and learn about them. Once familiarity is built, children open up about their situations and problems so that SAID can offer assistance.

In addition SAID does street education during on its outreach programs. Sensitisation is done on topics like communicable diseases, e.g. cholera, teenage pregnancy and other topics that are of necessity to the children.

SAID also sensitises the district assemblies about the plight of the street child and calls for their involvement in reaching out to them.

SAID has a number of operational locations in Accra where street girls are reached, including Madina (which is part of the study area of this paper).

Day Care Centers

A major problem SAID identified was the realisation that many street mothers, including child mothers have to carry their babies at their backs while engaged in one economic activity or the other. Normally the alternative for carrying one's child while working was to leave him in the care of another child. Thus, one normally finds children as young as 8, or 9 years old being asked to watch over several babies as their mothers worked on the street. This reiterated the need for SAID to facilitate Day Care Centers to be accessible by street mothers. The centers were set close to the streets and the markets where the mothers work. Thus, street mothers can leave their babies in the centers for free and go about their daily activities. This prevents them from having to haul their babies in the sun and other harsh conditions as they strive on the street to make ends meet.

At the time of this study, SAID had up to three of such centers at major flash points of street living activities.

Mobile Library

SAID also operated a mobile library whereby a van carries books to some flashpoints of street children to encourage and help children to read. This was to improve their literacy skills and provide an avenue for street children to access a library which otherwise was mostly unavailable to them.

Ante-natal Assistance

In its quests to assist pregnant girls who in most cases have been abandoned by the males that impregnated them, SAID operated a 24-hour refuge for pregnant girls. SAID provides ante-natal care and facilitates safe delivery for them, having employed a medical team for this purpose. This facility has been available since 20 years ago. Thus, SAID provides shelter and medical care for heavily pregnant street girls. The girls are permanently put up in the center when they become heavily pregnant or nearing delivery. Prior to that, they still work on the street to save money and come for medical care in the refuge. The girls are housed and assisted further in the center till after 3 months of delivery, after which they are no longer on this assistantship.

Training and Capacity Building for Street Girls

During outreach campaigns, girls who show interest in learning a skill are referred to the center by SAID field workers. Pregnant girls are sometimes referred to SAID by its sister organisation, CAS, or some girls refer themselves, having seen other girls who benefited from SAID training programmes. A background check is done to investigate the background and story of the child. When enough is learnt about the child and it is determined there is no need for family reunion, the child is admitted and introduced to a vocational skill training program of her choice. There are facilities for the girls to learn skills in sewing, hairdressing and cookery among others.

Training takes between three months to a year depending on the skill involved. The girls learning various skills stay in the facility of SAID five days in the week, that is, from Monday to Friday and go back to their street work during the weekends. In-house examinations are periodically arranged for those being trained to ascertain whether or not they are ready to be passed out to work on their own.

The above roles played by SAID addresses the problem of street children by providing the children with temporal shelter while they learn useful skills that will render them employable in the near future. Children who pass out of training are able to practice their learnt skills to make a living or seek employment in such fields. Also by providing safety and health needs to pregnant girls, SAID alleviates the grave health risks that girls on the street face daily. This further enhances the health and wellbeing of both the unborn baby and mother. By providing day care centers to street mothers in and around their workplaces, SAID further helps to prevent more children from being hauled into street life by unavoidable circumstances. The children are much safer at the day care centers and are less exposed to the risks they face as children of street mothers. The children will also benefit from early childhood development programs that will enhance their education.

According to information gathered from interviews at SAID, one major factor limiting SAID in its role in addressing child streetism was noted as limited resources. Due to dwindling funds, SAID was limited in the number of street children they reach and the expansion of their interventions. Another challenge identified was unpredictable movement of street children due to the unstable nature of their lifestyle, thus SAID is not always able to follow up on potential benefactors during their field outreach programmes.

With the challenges being faced by the two NGOs, they are unable to completely address child streetism due to the limits posed by these challenges. These limits render their systems incapable of reaching all their expected targets in addressing child streetism.

In conclusion, the roles being played by these three subsystems, family, governance and civil society only addresses child streetism in Madina to some extent. The system is affected by external factors like poverty, unemployment, inadequate resources, non-implementation of policies and non-existent of policy such that the problem of child streetism receives little

attention. Furthermore, apart from the specific roles of NGOs discussed in the paper to address child streetism in Madina there is very little being done in terms of state policy intervention.

CHAPTER SIX

KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results of both qualitative and quantitative data collected, analysed and discussed the issues and implications arising from the results. This chapter provides a summary of major findings, conclusion and recommendations.

6.1 Key Findings

1. Financial constraint (poverty) remains the major constraining factor that affects the role of families in effectively bringing up their children in Madina thus leading to some children having to work on the street to support themselves and their families. In addition a significant proportion of children did not have financial support from their parents for one reason or the other. Consequently, most of these children therefore had to work to save money for their educational expenses, or for their upkeep.
2. Despite the existence of state institutions such as the Ministry of Gender, children and social protection and the Department of Social Welfare as a policy implementation body, the study found out that there is no single law/policy strictly addressing the problem of child streetism in Ghana. This implies a loophole in the whole system as the state is unable to play its role in protecting street children, thus negatively affecting the mitigation of child streetism.
3. Nationally, there are numerous NGO's across engaged either solely or partly in addressing child streetism. This study examines the work of two such NGOs, CAS and SAID, that work in assisting street children partly in Madina and other parts of Accra. That notwithstanding SAID was found out to be more visible in Madina than CAS.
4. The study established 3 key causes for child streetism in the Madina Municipality. They included working on the street to provide financial support to family/guardian, to save for

education and children's individual desire to earn cash. The study established that, engaging in street work to provide financial support to family/guardian (51.3%) was the main cause of child streetism in Madina. Also, children who migrated to work in the city were influenced by factors such as the desire to experience city life and escape economic hardship.

5. Furthermore, the study established that the effects of child streetism in Madina were multi-faceted. Most respondents (61.3%) stated health problems as the main effect. Health issues among respondents included risk to accidents, body aches, headaches and cholera. In addition, lack of access to proper health care was also presented as a recurring challenge for street children. It was further established that female street children were at greater risk of health challenges than males. Other effects suffered by street children included victimisation (17.5) and insecurity (11.3%). Some respondents (6.3%) however stated they did not have any form of effect.

6.2 Conclusion

Child streetism is a major social problem in most cities in Ghana especially Accra and Kumasi which are the two largest cities. This has received attention from various stakeholders including the state and the civil society. The La-Nkwantanang Madina Municipal area after the Accra Metropolitan area remains one of the most economically active suburbs of Accra. As such the incidence of child streetism in the area has significantly increased over the years.

Examining the case of child streetism in the area, it is evident that children are pushed to the street against their will or sometimes by their own choice. Some children have to engage in economic activities on the street in order to support themselves or their families financially. Conditions on the street like victimisation, poor health, poor sanitation, lack of proper accommodation, risk of accidents continue to make the living conditions of street children in the La-Nkwantanang Municipal area difficult. Some of these children have no adults to watch

out for them and this may lead to further exploitation and unfortunate incidences that will endanger their wellbeing.

It was significantly noted that street children did not usually receive any form of assistance from the state or civil society organisation, meaning the street child is left to his plight. In relation, it was established that the state of Ghana has not adopted any policy to specifically address child streetism and to protect and ensure the welfare of street children. Street children therefore remain unheard, unprotected and uncared for by the state and to some extent by their families and civil society. If the current findings from this study are not given immediate attention by all stakeholders (Family, Government and Civil Societies), there is the likelihood of further upsurge in child streetism as proposed by the conceptual framework guiding the study.

6.3 Recommendations

1. There is the need for Ghana as a state to formulate and adopt a policy that specifically addresses the issue of child streetism. This need comes from the realisation that lumping child streetism as a problem together with other child protection issues does not allow much room for the issue to be adequately dealt with. There should therefore be a policy specifically designed to address child streetism.

Furthermore, a laid down policy and institutional framework within which the policy will be designed, implemented, monitored and evaluated should be of high priority. In addition, roles and responsibilities for leading departments to facilitate the implementation of the policy should be assigned and clearly stated.

Finally state agencies to be responsible for implementing these policy interventions must be well equipped in capacity and resources to carry out this role as current

departments supposed to lead child protection are significantly crippled by lack of or limited resources thus are unable to function properly.

2. NGOs should lobby for more assistance to strengthen and support their role in addressing child streetism. Particularly for SAID, they must increase their financial support base to enable them reach out to more street children while at the same time strengthening ties with the local assembly in addressing child streetism in Madina. These civil society groups should further put more pressure on the state to become more involved in addressing child streetism.
3. NGOs must prioritise sensitisation on issues that affect children on the street. As a short term measure to addressing the challenges faced by street children, NGOs should intensify outreach programmes to educate street children on the dangers of issues like self-medication and concerns in security, victimisation, abuse, among others; as well as mitigation measures to help street children better manage their challenges and street life in general.
4. Finally, the state must institute a national program to continually educate and sensitise societies (families) on the ills of engaging children in streetism rather than giving them quality education, being it formal or vocational. To consolidate the role of families, departments to address child streetism should be instituted at the local level to provide guidance to parents and guardians and the society at large.

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APPENDIX
Questionnaire for Street Children Survey

Date of interview...../...../2016

Location.....

SECTION I – Respondent’s Social and Demographic Background

1. Sex 1. Male [] 2. Female []
2. Age 1. 5-9 [] 2. 10-14 [] 3. 15-18 []
3. What is your educational status? 1. Never been enrolled in school []
2. Enrolled [] 3. Dropped out []
4. What is your religious affiliation? 1. Christian [] 2. Moslem []
3. Traditional [] 4. Other (please specify)
5. What is your ethnic background? 1. Akan [] 2. Ga-Adangbe [] 3. Ewe []
4. Mole Dagbani [] 5. Guan [] 6. Other (please specify).....
6. Where were you born? Town..... Region.....
7. Where did you live before moving into this community? Town.....
Region.....
8. How long have you being on the street? 1. 1-3yrs [] 2. 4-6yrs [] 3. 7yrs and above []

SECTION II- Family Background

9. Where are your parents living currently?
10. Do you live with your parents? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
11. If No, where do you live?
12. If you do not live with them are you in contact with them? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
13. If yes, through which medium? 1. Phone [] 2. Visit [] 3. Other
14. What is the occupation of your mother?
15. What is the occupation of your father?
16. How many siblings do you have? 1. Zero [] 2. One [] 3. Two [] 4. Three []
5. Others.....

17. Where are your siblings?
18. What do your siblings do?
19. Are your parents aware you work/live on the streets? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
20. Do your parents take care of your needs while you work/live on the streets?
21. If yes, what form of care?
- 1.....2.....3.....
22. If no, do you have any relative or other individuals giving you any form of daily assistance?
23. If yes, what form of assistance does the person/persons give?
- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

SECTION III – Traits and Causes of Child Streetism

24. What is the reason why you are on the streets?
-
25. Is it your decision to work/live on the streets? 1. Yes [] 2. No []
- If yes why did you make such a decision?
-
26. If no whose decision was it?
-
27. What do you do on the streets? 1. Hawk [] 2. Head pottering [] 3. Shoe shining [] 4. Others []
- Name others.....
28. Where do you spend the nights after each day on the street?

.....
.....

SECTION IV – Social Effects of streetism

Positive Effects

29. What benefits do you get from living or working on the street?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

Effect on Education

30. Are you enrolled in school? 1. Yes [] 2. No [] if yes, please skip to question (33)

31. If no, why are you not enrolled in school?

32. Do you want to enrol in school? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

33. If no, why do you not want to be enrolled in school?

.....

34. Does streetism affect your education? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

35. How does streetism affect your education?

.....
.....

Effect on Health

36. How does working/living on the street affect your health?

37. Do you suffer any health condition?

38. Are you able to access health services when you become ill? 1.Yes [] 2.No []

39. How do you access health care?

General Effects

40. What are some of the difficulties you face living/working on the streets? (Security, victimisation/exploitation, general upkeep, etc.)

.....

SECTION V – Intervention and Assistance

41. Have you ever received any assistance as a street child? 1. Yes [] 2. No []

42. If yes please provide the following details. If no please skip to question 43.

Institution	Name	Form of assistance	How often (or how many times) is/was assistance given	Effect/benefit of assistance
State				
NGO				
Church				
Individual				
Other (please specify)				

43. If you are to be receive any assistance, what form of assistance do you think is most appropriate?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

44. What do you think can be done to reduce child streetism?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

Interview Guide for Family of Street children

Date of interview...../...../2016

Location.....

1. Whose decision was it for your child to live/work on the street?
2. If it was your decision, why did you make such a decision
.....
.....
3. If it was the child’s own decision or external decision why did you allow it?
4. How does streetism affect your child?
.....
5. What can you do as a parent to keep your child from the street?
.....

Interview Guide for State Agencies (DSW & MGCSP)

Date of interview...../...../2016

Location.....

SECTION I - Existence of National Policies/Law

1. What are the laws and policies guiding issues relating to children in Ghana?
2. What are the laws and policies guiding child streetism in Ghana?

SECTION II – Traits, Causes and Effects of Child Streetism

3. How does the department define a street child?
4. What is the child streetism situation in the La-Nkwantanang Municipality?
5. What factors have you identified as causing child streetism in the La-Nkwantanang municipality?

6. What are the social effects of streetism on the children in the municipality?

SECTION IV-Policy Interventions and Frameworks Addressing Child Streetism

7. What national policy(ies) directly addresses child streetism?
8. How long has the policy been implemented?
9. How does the policy address child streetism?
10. In the absence of specific policies addressing child streetism, how does your department work to protect the rights of children and deal with other child maintenance related issues?
11. How does this role contribute to preventing child streetism?
12. Are there future projections to adopt policies solely to address child streetism?
13. How do you assess the performance of your role in child protection?
14. What are the challenges you face in playing your role?
15. What recommendations will you give for addressing child streetism?

Interview Guide for NGOs

SECTION I– Traits and Causes of Child Streetism

1. How does your organisation define street children?
2. What reasons account for the children you work with coming to the street.
3. What activities do street children engage in and why?
4. How has streetism affected the children you work with?

SECTION II-Policy Interventions and Frameworks Addressing Child Streetism

5. What policies have you adopted to guide your work in street child protection and maintenance?
6. What interventions do you have for street children?

7. How does the intervention work?
 1. What criteria must one meet to benefit?
 2. What are the activities of the intervention?
 3. How long does intervention last?
 4. What are the expected outcomes for your interventions?
 5. What are the actual outcomes achieved?
8. How does your intervention address the problem of child streetism
9. How does the intervention affect the life of the street child?
10. How do you measure the effectiveness of your interventions?
11. What challenges do you face in your work with street children
12. What do you think can be done to address the problem of child streetism