Research Square

Preprints are preliminary reports that have not undergone peer review.
They should not be considered conclusive, used to inform clinical practice,
or referenced by the media as validated information.

Sanctuary on the Curb: Tactical Placemaking, Spatial Poaching, and the Right to the Sidewalk in Kumasi, Ghana

John Boulard Forkuor

jbforkuor@knust.edu.gh

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

Research Article

Keywords: Right to the City, Spatial Poaching, Placemaking, Tactical Urbanism, Infrastructures of Care

Posted Date: May 21st, 2026

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-9632596/v1

License: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. Read Full License

Additional Declarations: No competing interests reported.

Abstract

Studies across the developing world highlight that para-transit operators creatively appropriate urban spaces, including sidewalks and intersections, to sustain livelihoods and respond to commuter demand (Goodfellow, 2015). However, these studies primarily analyze system-level governance rather than the tactical placemaking and infrastructures of care that emerge from para-transit drivers' use of urban sidewalks. Drawing on Henry Lefebvre's right to the city and De Certeau's practice of everyday life, this paper examines commercial minivan drivers' poaching and appropriation of Ghana's urban sidewalks as an extension of the transportation infrastructure. The findings reveal that structural and developmental inadequacies create conditions that make it relevant for drivers to poach and appropriate sidewalks as transportation infrastructure. In doing so, drivers negotiate their legitimacy with the state through self-regulatory practices. The findings also reveal the sidewalk as functioning as an infrastructure of care where social support and knowledge sharing occur; as a sanctuary where domestic and spiritual responsibilities and rituals take place; and as a reflection of tactical urbanism, serving as an extended workshop for drivers. The paper extends the literature by highlighting sidewalks as contested multifunctional spaces, connecting drivers' lived experiences to discussions on urban livability and urban actors' rights to the city.

INTRODUCTION

Sidewalks and pavements, as key features of urban space, provide several benefits for city dwellers, including serving as spaces for social activities, economic engagement, political activity, and cultural expression. Their function then goes beyond their use as pedestrian walkways (Han et al., 2019). Whereas previously, sidewalks were understood as spaces for economic engagement, that understanding has evolved to include their use as spaces for social activities as well. These two activities are not mutually exclusive but are mostly integrated (Han et al., 2019). Hence, the urban sidewalk is conceptualised as a space possessing temporal characteristics and uses (Degen, 2018), with different activities taking place in the morning, afternoon, and evening, by either the same users or different users. This temporality of sidewalk use has been explored in literature by different authors (Nemeškal et al., 2020; Wunderlich, 2013). For other authors, the varying uses of sidewalks for different urban actors reflect the diversity of use of urban sidewalks (Talen & Jeong, 2019). The street space then becomes an important part of the community where conversations take place, networks are established, economic production goes on, and existing relations are reinforced (Talen & Jeong, 2019). Urban sidewalks that promote these functions and use are often termed as sociable sidewalks, since they allow for the production and reproduction of the 'social' daily. The social quality that sidewalks afford has also been conceptualised in human rights terms since it promotes the rights of vulnerable urban actors to engage in the socio-economic activities of their cities (Han et al., 2019). In addition to its contribution to social life and its promotion of basic rights, the literature also contains evidence that sociable sidewalks promote a sense of safety among urban residents (Ehrenhalt, 2017). Within a sub-Saharan African context, for instance, street vendors occupying public sidewalks create some safe spaces along which otherwise vulnerable community members may feel comfortable walking with their kids as they navigate the city (Forkuor, Akuoko, and Yeboah, 2017).

The preceding literature discusses the sidewalk as an important urban space for urban actors, including informal economic actors. While a lot of the literature on sidewalk use has focused on street vendors and their use of the sidewalk (Forkuor et al. 2017), few studies have explored sidewalk use by informal transport actors. Again, only a few studies have explored the urban sidewalk in sub-Saharan Africa as an important component of the transportation infrastructure and therefore as key to urban mobility. In Ghana for instance, while several studies examine commercial mini-van (trotro) operations, regulation, and safety (Amoako, 2019; Poku-Boansi, 2020; Dumedah et al., 2023), few researchers (e.g., Yeboah, 2021) have explored how trotro drivers poach and appropriate urban sidewalks as an extension of the transportation infrastructure, and how they turn these spaces into meaningful places through everyday practices. This oversight represents a gap in the Ghanaian literature on urbanisation, mobility, and the right to the city. Drawing on critical urban theory, Henry Lefebvre's right to the city, and De Certeau's practice of everyday life, this paper examines how trotro drivers poach and appropriate sidewalks in Ghana, not only as a functional extension of their stations but also as an infrastructure of care and a sanctuary where domestic and spiritual life and social support intersect with urban mobility. The study aims to: (1) analyze the informal processes of poaching and appropriation of sidewalks by trotro drivers in Ghana; and (2) analyze the place-making activities of trotro drivers on urban sidewalks. The paper extends the literature by highlighting sidewalks as contested multifunctional spaces, connecting drivers' lived experiences to discussions on urban liveability and urban actors' rights to the city. The paper further situates Ghana's trotro system within global dialogues on street-level urbanism and informality in developing cities.

THEORETICAL FRAMING: Critical Urban Theory, the right to the City, and everyday tactics

Critical urban theory examines the structural and power inequalities that shape urban development and often the realities of vulnerable urban actors. The theory, emerging from Marxist political economic thought and Henry Lefebvre's right to the city, argues that the urban space and cities are sites of contestation that shape urban lived realities (Brenner et al., 2012). The theory explains how the need for capital accumulation and profit, often disguised and framed in a positive language (modernity, order, development), often conflicts with the needs of everyday vulnerable actors to make a living within urban spaces (often framed in negative language (disorder, illegality, chaos) (Brenner et al., 2012; Kim, 2012). In response, urban actors engage in everyday practices that allow them to make meaningful use of such public spaces, to have a right to the city. Thus, urban public space becomes an active site of contestation between state policies, intervention, and regulation, and everyday practices and livelihood strategies of urban dwellers. (Chandel et al., 2025).

Several concepts are foundational to the critical urban theory. One key concept is the 'right to the city', conceptualized variously to mean the public's right to access, use, and shape the city (Brenner et al., 2012; Chandel et al., 2025; Marcuse, 2012). Related to the right to the city is the concept of spatial justice, which emphasizes how city planning decisions contribute to excluding and marginalizing vulnerable populations while consolidating the power and authority of capitalists. Henri Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" frames urban space as a socially produced entity shaped by the practices, claims, and agency of its inhabitants (Lefebvre, 1991; Lefebvre, 2014). Public spaces are therefore not passive backdrops for urban life but active sites where

inhabitants contest, transform, and assert their presence (Christian, 2012). The right to the city highlights the intersection of infrastructure and human action, showing that urban space is continuously reproduced through the lived experiences of informal workers. A useful extension of this framing is the recognition that everyday spatial practices are not isolated acts but cumulative interventions that inscribe inhabitant agency onto the urban landscape. In the context of this study, the right to the city provides a conceptual lens that allows for an analysis of the sidewalk as a site of livelihood, survival, and social unity rather than merely an aesthetic component of the urban landscape. Harvey (2008), like Lefebvre, frames the right to the city as a justice/injustice concern. Harvey (2008) would argue, for instance, that the conceptualization of informal work and livelihoods on public space as 'illegal', 'disorder' and the justification of eviction as a strategy to bring back 'order' and 'safety', are all strategies of 'dispossession' used by the governing elite to displace vulnerable populations from key urban sites for profit and capital accumulation reasons. Harvey's thesis provides a lens through which we observe trotro drivers not as deviant urban actors but rather as actors whose use of the sidewalk infrastructure responds to the needs of urban residents for mobility within urban spaces, upholding the right of vulnerable urban dwellers to access the city.

Michel de Certeau's reflections on the practice of everyday life deepen this understanding by showing how these acts of claiming space occur. De Certeau demonstrates that ordinary urban inhabitants employ "tactics" (improvised, adaptive, and often subtle maneuvers) to navigate and rework spaces that institutions design for other purposes (Elder, 1993; Ahearne, 2010). de Certeau emphasises how urban actors, as active, independent, and innovative participants of urban life, shape and modify spaces in ways that sometimes differ from the original intent of urban planners and developers. De Certeau would argue then that urban actors like street vendors, women in urban agriculture, and transportation actors are not only shaped by the rules and regulations of urban life, but rather they, through their individual interactions, negotiations, and modifications, determine and mould these regulations of urban life. These actions do not merely occur within space; they produce space in ways that align with Lefebvre's argument that urban life is shaped by the daily practices of its inhabitants. For this study, we wonder how trotro driver, using spatial poaching and the general tactics of appropriation, choose urban spaces where their use relevance far outweighs their perceived nuisance to urban development.

METHODS

Area. The broader research project, from which this manuscript emerges, was conducted in Kumasi, focusing on the changing use of an urban park. The sidewalk bordering this park and the commercial minivan drivers making use of this sidewalk became the area and population of interest for this research. At the broader literary level, Kumasi as a city is adequate for this study. Generally, as a result of a lack of foreign direct investment, Kumasi relies heavily on the informal sector. Compared to the city of Accra, Kumasi, the second largest city in Ghana, has a stronger informal economic market as well as transportation infrastructure. This, together with the researcher's familiarity with and proximity to the city, informed the choice of the city.

The Study Site. The research site is the sidewalk bordering Kumasi's Jubilee Park. On a regular weekday, trotro drivers park on this sidewalk. Their presence is an extension of their main station in Roman Hill (one of the informal economic hubs in Kumasi), approximately 400metres away from the sidewalk where they park. Their presence on the sidewalk is a result of a combination of factors, including the lack of space in the main station to accommodate all the commercial vehicles. The main station is a major transport hub, serving to link commuters and traders to and from Kumasi's commercial enclave (Adum-Kejetia-Roman Hill). Consequently, the space available, compared with the needs (pedestrians and minivans), is insufficient. Consequently, the sidewalks around this park have become a key space of transportation infrastructure. Their presence on the sidewalk and the use-relevance of the sidewalk for them is an interesting theme for this research.

Design. This paper relies on data collected through ethnographic fieldwork from March to October 2021. The choice of design aligns with the aim of the research to generate an understanding that emerges not only from qualitative interviews but also from sit-in observations.

Population and Sampling. Fifteen trotro drivers, aged between 30 and 50 years, with over seven years of driving experience, participated directly as interview participants. Due to the nature of their occupation, the participants were selected based on convenience sampling. Participants were chosen because they were idle and had some time to spare for the 30 to 45-minute interviews.

Data Collection. In collecting data, I used observations, informal conversations, and semi-structured interviews as the main tools of data collection. I visited the study site on different days of the week and at different times of day over a period of 8 months. Observations took different forms. Sometimes I engaged in sit-in observations, where I sat with and had conversations with the drivers while they were parked on the sidewalk or sitting around their seating area. Other times, I used walk-by observations to observe the different uses drivers made of the sidewalk. I also observed and had conversations about the nature and forms of relationships among drivers, their relationship with other users of the sidewalk, the way they organise themselves on the sidewalk, and how they use the sidewalk during different times of the day. In order to ensure that the people being observed do not alter their behaviour, I tried to observe and remember important events, and subsequently used voice notes as a way of recalling key information. These were written down immediately after fieldwork and after leaving the study site. This approach ensured that I was able to observe without appearing as an intruder. In line with the tenets of such ethnographic observations, I engaged in several informal conversations with other commercial van drivers to help clarify some observed phenomena. These conversations form a key part of the findings.

In addition to the observations, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 15 of the commercial van drivers. The interviews were conducted in their cars, at roadside locations where they typically sit and converse, or while they attended to mechanical issues. All participants were male, as this profession is predominantly male in Ghana and much of sub-Saharan Africa.

Data Analysis. Data analysis followed a systematic approach. I began by transcribing all audio files verbatim into a complete Word document to ensure accuracy and retain participants' original expressions. After transcription, I did a thorough read with the key research questions in mind. Subsequently, participant responses were organized using the main research questions as an organizing framework. This was followed by an intensive familiarisation

process, involving reading and re-reading of the transcripts. This process gave me an in-depth understanding of the key issues emerging from participants' narratives. I proceeded to develop codes and themes (using single words or phrases to represent key ideas). For each research question, I developed analytical tables that allowed me to link codes and themes with specific quotations. Thus, the codes and themes were developed within the framework of specific research questions. Again, since this research is informed by some specific theoretical concepts, the process of coding and theming was influenced by the concepts relevant to this study as outlined in the theory section of this manuscript. In presenting the results, observational data, conversational data, and data from semi-structured interviews are used. The names of participants have been anonymised using pseudonyms.

Research Ethics. The project from which this research emerged received institutional ethical clearance. All participants in the interview gave informed consent. I made it clear to participants that they had a right to withdraw from the interview at any point without any consequences whatsoever. All participants in this study did so voluntarily. The author has upheld the anonymity and confidentiality of participants by keeping participant details separate from the audio files and storing these files separately. Also, in producing the narrative, the author has used pseudonyms to protect participants' anonymity.

FINDINGS

This research set out to 1) analyze the informal processes of poaching and appropriation of sidewalks by para transit drivers in Ghana; (2) explore how drivers maintain the legitimacy of use of urban sidewalks; and (3) analyze the place-making activities of para transit drivers on urban sidewalks. In presenting the results, I have used some key theoretical concepts to organise and present the information from participants.

Claiming the sidewalk as transportation infrastructure: Spatial Poaching, Tactics of Appropriation and the right to the city.

This section explores the informal processes that drivers use to claim the urban sidewalk as part of the transport infrastructure. I examine how structural and developmental inadequacies create conditions that make it relevant for drivers to claim and adapt sidewalks for use as part of their transportation infrastructure. The section includes insights on locational choice and spatial negotiations with authorities. This section is framed around the concepts of spatial poaching, appropriation, and right to the city. Evidence from drivers' accounts and on-site observations shows that the use of the sidewalk as pavement parking emerges as a functional extension of an overcrowded formal station. The use of the sidewalk is sustained through informal governance, negotiated tolerance, and collective self-regulation.

Spatial Appropriation and the right to the city: Urban Sidewalk as transportation infrastructure

As explained by de Certeau, decisions to use the sidewalk as an extension of the transport infrastructure emerge from actors' analysis of the use relevance of such spaces, compared to the perceived nuisance of their presence in such spaces. Through this analysis, the sidewalk is poached and appropriated as a relevant extension of the transport station. In discussing what informed their choice of the sidewalk, participants explain:

"Where we load our cars is usually choked, so we need somewhere to park so that we can have some space and a bit of freedom, so that's how we got here. Parking here also helps ease the place (main station) because if we don't park here and we go there, the place will be very congested." (Mensah)

The main station where we load our cars is very small, but the number of cars that work there is a lot, like plenty. So, we had to come here to make the main station quite spacious for pedestrians and other station users; it used to be too crowded, but now it's fine since we came here. The station is close to a police station; we used to park in a long line that sometimes got the attention of the police, especially the traffic and the honking from our cars. (Kwame)

"Because the main station is small, it used to create a long traffic queue that made it impossible for even ambulances to pass and send persons with emergency needs to the hospital." (Ben)

From the preceding, we get an impression of trotro drivers making decisions about space. Their choices about space seem to reflect choices around which space is available and which space will attract less resistance from authorities. Ben's emphasis on the congestion and the difficulties for ambulances to move as a result, and Kwame's identification of the sidewalk as bringing less attention from the police, are all demonstrations of how the urban sidewalk is poached and appropriated for use by these actors.

"Okay. It is like we don't have a place that is a fixed place for us to park our car. So, if you come like errr get some place that no one would come and like tell you that oh you have blocked my store or you have blocked my goods and those things. That's why we come and park here. And then you would be waiting for your turn. Because right now, I just came right now. So, maybe around 1 or 2.30, then I will go and load." (Kweku Anase)

Clearly, Kweku Ananse sees the sidewalk not only as an available space but equally as a parking space that brings less objection or resistance from other urban actors, including shop owners and other businesses who operate in the central business district. In addition to the availability of the space and the potential for less resistance, the public park's physical and social characteristics further explain why it is preferred over other spaces. Drivers highlight that the park does not carry the same restrictions as private homes, shops, or schools. Kofi Yesu explains:

"If it wasn't for the park, and it was somebody's house, the person wouldn't allow you to park around his or her house like that. If not for this place, it would have been difficult to get a place to park. Because nobody will allow you to come and park in their houses or at the school. So, the park has made it easy for us to park our cars." (Kofi Yesu)

Some drivers also point to security advantages, arguing that commercial vehicles are safer on the sidewalk because drivers and mates are constantly present. Senior, one of the drivers, explained: *You see, the sidewalk is not safe for private cars but for commercial vehicles. We always have the drivers and their assistants around to provide security, so we are safe there.*

Thus, the sidewalk around the park is seen as accessible, secure, and strategically located close to the main station. From their narratives, it is evident that trotro drivers choose urban spaces through a rational decision-making process. They actively choose spaces where the significance or relevance of the space for their work is maximized, and the potential threat or conflict with state or city officials is minimized. In relation to their presence on this sidewalk, drivers emphasise its quality of allowing organized queuing and regulation as a key advantage. We also see urban actors who adopt public space for use as a way of improving transportation access and reducing the potential negative impact of a lack of station space on the mobility of the urban actors. They demonstrate through their narratives that their use of the sidewalk not only serves to decongest the transport stations but also enhances urban mobility and livability in general.

Their continuous use of the sidewalk is sustained through informal governance, negotiated tolerance with municipal and traditional authorities, functional advantages of the park environment, and the absence of alternative legal parking spaces. Although drivers acknowledge that pavement parking is not legally appropriate, they justify it as a necessary and collective response to structural exclusion, congestion, and the everyday demands of urban transport operations.

Spatial Poaching: Negotiating Access and Maintaining Legitimacy in Sidewalk Use

Although drivers recognize that sidewalks are not designed for parking, their presence is enabled by negotiated tolerance from municipal and traditional authorities. They describe how their presence and use of the sidewalk is legitimized through their negotiation with authority as well as their self-regulatory practices on the sidewalk.

Negotiating Access. Participants note that access to the sidewalk was facilitated through engagements with the assemblyman and local leadership: *Parking here was secured by our leaders through the assembly, because our station and waiting area are small, so that's why we park here.* (Akoto). Their use of the sidewalk is negotiated through local stakeholders as a way of making their presence assume some legitimacy, even on an urban space originally designed for other purposes. Some participants seem to indicate that the local authorities understood that their access to the space brings order to the main business district. Ben explains: *…so, our leaders met with KMA and the Chief (Nana), and they gave us this place as a waiting space, to ease the overcrowded and small nature of our station.* Frank emphasizes the order that the sidewalk enables for commercial vehicles within the business enclave: *So, our chairman came to talk to the 'Asem' Chief and the KMA to allow the cars to be here, so that when there is space at the station, the drivers will be called in succession, according to how they arrived.* Senior leadership of the drivers explains that the space was not only accessed but physically improved by the drivers themselves:

The problem was the space; we have a small space here, so we explored alternative solutions and spoke to other people, including the assemblyman. We realized that the pavement was available. However, when we went to inspect the place, we saw that the pavement bricks were destroyed. So, we found relevant bricks and paid for the workmanship so that our cars could be there. That is why we are always there. (Senior)

This investment strengthens drivers' sense of entitlement and responsibility toward the space. They claim the space as theirs, given the investment made to keep the place fixed and useful. This notwithstanding, drivers indicate that they have to engage in everyday performances that allow them to maintain legitimacy in using the sidewalk.

Everyday Tactics and the Maintenance of Legitimacy. The continued use of the sidewalk is sustained through deliberate, collective, and strictly enforced management strategies developed by drivers and their leaders. These strategies are aimed at maintaining order, ensuring cleanliness, regulating interpersonal relations, organizing parking, and avoiding confrontation with municipal authorities.

Legitimacy through self-regulatory practices

Drivers emphasize that the space operates under shared rules collectively agreed upon to prevent behaviours that could attract sanctions or eviction. Bryan, Ben, and Kwame explain that the rules explicitly prohibit road obstruction, littering, violence, and verbal abuse:

"We've all agreed not to park on the road and block it. We also do not litter around so that KMA (referring to the Municipal Authority) will not have any issue with us and want to evict us. Over here, there are some rules; we don't fight or curse each other. If you fight with someone here, you will be sent away. If someone says or does something to you, you have to report to our leaders and not take justice into your own hands. We don't tolerate nonsense here; if you go against our rules, you'll be sacked or asked to pay a fine." (Bryan)

"We have rules here, we keep the place neat, we have attire we identify with, we sweep the space and gutters around almost every morning, we also have day for deep cleaning this place, there is discipline here, we can't say the Chief (Nana)gave us this place so by all means the place is our and we can do with it, whatever we want, no." (Ben)

The preceding demonstrates that the drivers' use of the sidewalk is self-regulated using informal norms and negotiated agreements aimed at reducing potential conflict with the state. The leadership structure they explain and the emphasis that disagreements should be handled through this structure allows trotro drivers to maintain a 'legitimate' and 'organised' presence even within a public space designated for different purposes. Through their voices

and from my own observation, we perceive an organized sidewalk where drivers abide by regulations collectively agreed upon and enforced by station masters. Kwame explains that the station master monitors how drivers clean their cars:

"Some of the drivers or mates here are old, so the station master ensures that everyone speaks or argues respectfully, so that there is peace and happiness always. The station master makes sure that when any driver or mate cleans their car, they don't leave the rubbish just anywhere; if you do, you'll be fined (you'll buy chairs or give the station master 200 cedis for maintenance). This promotes the cleanliness of the place." (Kwame)

The station master also moderates interactions to ensure peace, especially considering age hierarchies. Another emphasized the reason why leaders are responsible for every action or inaction on the pavement:

"Because we pay something small for the leader to maintain the place here, and our leader has marked spaces we can and cannot park, if you don't listen and you park anyhow and the authorities come and tow your car away, no one here (leader or driver) will support or help you, everyone must park and park well. You can't sweep your car and dispose of the refuse anywhere; when caught, you'll sweep the whole area and dispose of all rubbish. We have a roaster for sweeping in the morning and evening, and then leave the organized refuse for refuse collectors to come for them." (Kojo)

The sidewalk and its general organization, therefore, are enabled through collective discipline, regulation, and enforcement of sanctions. These self-regulatory practices serve the collective well-being of drivers and allow them continuous use of a space where their presence within state regulations could be described as precarious at best. These management strategies reveal that drivers are not merely occupying the pavement, but actively governing it in ways that prioritize order, respect, and survival within the urban transport system.

MAKING PLACE ON THE SIDEWALK: Infrastructures of Care, Domesticated Spaces, and Tactical Urbanism

Urban spaces like sidewalks are part of the physical infrastructure of the city. However, the activities and uses of commercial drivers in this space transform it from a mere component of the physical landscape to a place with meaning. When physical spaces are used in ways that reflect the everyday needs of urban dwellers, scholars refer to this as place-making. Thus, this section explores the place-making activities of para-transit drivers on urban sidewalks. The section also explores the everyday practices and pastime activities of commercial drivers that turn the sidewalk into a physical space with meaning for these actors. Drivers' waiting time on the pavement is not idle or unstructured. Rather, it is characterized by a range of purposeful, social, economic, and restorative activities that transform waiting into a productive and meaningful period.

The Sidewalk as A Social Infrastructure of Care: Knowledge Sharing and Social Support

Social infrastructures of care (Klinenberg, 2018) may refer to physical spaces that develop relevance as a place of social support. In this study, participants indicated that a significant portion of waiting time on the sidewalk is spent in social interaction and group conversation. These conversations, often covering several topics (family, religion, safety), allow drivers to learn from each other and to provide support to each other. Drivers themselves describe this as a core aspect of waiting. They emphasized:

After parking and writing your number on the board, we have conversations with each other, talk about ourselves, our problems, we don't play here, we converse, talk about business, and so on. We are different people from different places waiting here, so we talk a lot, help each other out of problems, and sometimes have difficult family times. (Bryan)

While we sit here and wait, it's all about discussions, talking, advising ourselves about family, church, and any other topic that comes on board. We talk about everything here. Everything you can think about. It can be politics, football, anything. It just comes naturally, and we talk about it. Sometimes, one person can be saying one thing, and the other can be saying another thing, and another somewhere, when they hear it, they just join in the conversation. (Kwame)

Thus, waiting time becomes a social support system, strengthening solidarity among drivers. Kweku Ananse provides a detailed account of how conversations sometimes revolve around shared occupational experiences, especially encounters with police or vehicle faults:

Okay. The things we talk about, maybe, maybe, 'when I was coming, the police arrested me at the airport roundabout and, when I share it, the others would utter aha! And share their experiences as well (mimicking how others would chip in: Man, it is not easy to get these police people off my back, you see ... eeii when I was even coming the man almost arrested me ooo herh. I stood here to pick people koraa, and they came to arrest me at Sofoline...those are the things we talk about. Sometimes too someone would say maybe there is a fault in his car…then another person would suggest a solution that check this thing and see … so if you are sitting there and you don't have an idea about the mechanical fault they are discussing, you will also learn something from them…So maybe later on, if you get fault like that, you would know how to do it. (Kweku Ananse)

Through these illustrations, we get an impression of a space that becomes a sociable place as well as functions as an informal learning place, where drivers exchange practical knowledge about vehicle maintenance.

The Sidewalk as a Sanctuary: Domestic and Spiritual Appropriation of Public Space

The participants describe how the sidewalk serves as a space for relaxation, religious rituals, and performing other family responsibilities. Through their explanations, we see how private life and responsibilities spill onto the sidewalk (a public space), and the sidewalk effectively becomes an extension of their domestic places. The domestication of the sidewalk is discussed through its use as a place of relaxation and physical recovery, for fulfilling family responsibilities, and for rituals.

Relaxation and Physical Recovery. In their reflections, the drivers discuss the sidewalk and the parking it affords as creating an opportunity for them to relax and recover from their difficult work schedules. Drivers describe long working hours and early start times as reasons for resting. Kojo reasoned: *Because we wake up as early as 3 am, when you come and sit here to wait, you can rest or even sleep for a while, sometimes you get sooo tired that only a sleep can relax you, even the shortest sleep.* Kwesi also shares how the sidewalk becomes a place for breakfast and relaxation: *Myself, for instance, I don't eat when I'm coming to work, so when I go to the station, and the place is congested, I come here to eat, relax, wait till I am called, and move. So, this is a place for relaxing.* Bryan similarly notes that drivers may sleep briefly after exhausting trips: *Usually, the journey is long, and the traffic is sometimes crazy, so when you return from one drop-off, you may feel tired and weak, so you sleep for a while, not too long though sometimes 45mins to an hour and you'll be called to come to the station and load.* These practices highlight the sidewalk as more than a physical infrastructure, but rather as a place for relaxation and sleep for urban actors engaged in precarious work. The sidewalk is relevant as a place that allows drivers to recover physically before continuing work. Others also find recovery through basic acts of nourishment and leisure: *When you sit for a while, and the place is too quiet, we have cards and other board games, we just play until our cars are called. We play, laugh at each other, and work* (Ben). Through the preceding narratives, we see the sidewalk come alive not only as an extension of the station but also as a meaningful place of relaxation and entertainment for drivers, helping to reduce tension and make waiting psychologically manageable.

Family Responsibilities. The time drivers spend on the sidewalk is not only used to relax but sometimes used to fulfil responsibilities to family and intimate partners. My sit-in observations reveal that during this period, phone calls are common, as drivers check on relatives or respond to domestic needs. Kwame, for instance, uses this period to strengthen his engagement commitments to his fiancée: *I have a girlfriend, someone I want to marry. I usually call her when I'm free, sitting here, at least some small time will be okay.* (Kwame). Another participant, Ben, uses his time to receive calls from his children and fulfill his responsibilities as a father: "*I, for example, have kids, you'll be here, and when they close from school, they'd call and tell you that they want this and that when you close, and you're coming home.*" (Ben). These interactions illustrate how waiting time bridges work and family life.

Rituals. Religion plays a visible role in drivers' use of the sidewalk, serving as a coping mechanism for stress and uncertainty. Some of the drivers (both Muslim and Christian) explain how they use their time on the sidewalk to pray: *"Okay. This is just our mosque. So, we usually pray here. I think it is even time. It is even getting, maybe, 12:30, I would go and pray."* (Kweku Ananse). Others also highlight the importance of prayer timing: *"The Muslim's amongst us also use the time to pray when the time's up, you know they pray, I think 5 times, so they pray."* (Bryan). Christian drivers similarly describe using waiting time for spiritual engagement. They explain: *I am a Christian. Sometimes, while I wait, there are Christian programs on the radio I join, listen to the word, read the Bible, and sometimes pray while I wait to be called. I sit in my car quietly and do all these.* These accounts show that waiting time is also a spiritual space, offering emotional grounding amid economic uncertainty.

Through their relaxation activities, the performance of family responsibilities, and the performance of rituals, the drivers demonstrate how the public sidewalk is appropriate for use in a way that is similar to their own private domestic spaces, where they perform family responsibilities, feel safe to relax, and engage in religious rituals.

Tactical Urbanism: The Sidewalk as an Extended Workshop

There are times when drivers adapt the sidewalk as a functional extension of their work station. As part of my sit-in observations, I saw some of the drivers engaged in some kind of repairs (tyres, engine, etc) on their cars parked on the pavement. This emerged as one of the most functional uses of the sidewalk by the drivers. Drivers frequently use waiting time to diagnose and fix faults that occurred during previous trips, ensuring that their vehicles are roadworthy when called. During observation: This practice was emphasized in some drivers' accounts:

"When I came, I turned, and I came to park. But the noise from my engine was abnormal, so I opened the bonnet to check, and I sparked it again, filled my water tank, and also went to fix my door. I did it myself. The door wasn't able to close, and I realized it was this rubber (pointing to a plastic stretch) preventing it from closing, so I just fixed it. I did it myself. I fixed it." (Kofi Yesu)

"You know the car is a machine and must be strong and well to operate without any challenges, so we check our car's faults while we wait to be called. My battery wasn't working properly when I was called earlier, but I managed to send some passengers to their destinations a while back. When I was returning, I bought some battery terminals and fixed the car as soon as I arrived here." (Bryan)

Mensah further situates this practice within drivers' broader work routines, noting that faults often emerge during trips but are only properly assessed after returning to the waiting space:

Usually, when you are driving, and you have a fault, and you manage to take fault throughout the journey, when you come back and park, that's the time when you would like to diagnose the real problem before you can call an engineer. Some might have their bolts loosened, so when they come here, they just come and tighten their bolts. Some also take their cars to an engineer when they sense a fault in the course of their journey. So, it is when they come here that they try to see what the real problem was. (Mensah)

This shows that waiting time functions as a critical maintenance window, integrating care of vehicles into everyday sidewalk use and transport operations.

DISCUSSION

The trotro is an important part of the transportation infrastructure in urban Ghana. Their presence and function address key mobility needs of the majority of urban Ghanaians. Partly, their relevance and contribution are linked to the inadequacies of the formal transportation infrastructure. Nonetheless, the high number of trotros operating in urban Ghana, coupled with the inadequate transport terminals, creates problems that sometimes put them at odds with state officials (Abane, 2011; Agyemang, 2017). This research set out to explore the informal processes of poaching and appropriation of sidewalks by trotro drivers in Ghana as an extension of the transport infrastructure, and analyze the place-making activities of trotro drivers on urban sidewalks. The findings reveal that drivers make rational and specific decisions in choosing the sidewalk as an extension of the main station. They emphasise the quality of the physical space in keeping the queue and their presence organised as a particular relevance that informs their choice and use of the sidewalk. Participants also indicate that in order to maintain use, they have to engage in practices that create a semblance of legitimacy for their use of a public space that was originally intended for other purposes. In their use of the sidewalk, participants reveal that the sidewalk is also an infrastructure of care, a domestic space, as well as a functional space where tactical placemaking is evident.

Through the Lens of Lefevre's right to the city, we see trotro drivers' use of the sidewalk as an illustration of their agency in claiming their right to use urban spaces (Lefevre, 1991). In their narratives, we appreciate the argument that urban actors are not passive recipients of urban planning and infrastructural restrictions. On the contrary, we see urban actors who are actively engaged in a process of re-purposing urban space, reproducing space in a way that enables not only their livelihood but also facilitates mobility for other urban actors (Purcell, 2002). The sidewalk then becomes a site of justice and belonging, where trotro drivers are able to claim a sense of belonging over a public space. Their maintenance practices and the strategies they use to reduce conflict with city authorities reflect Michel de Certeau's (1984) arguments around strategies and tactics. While the state, through its planning laws, lays out a clear strategy for use of specific spaces as terminals and others as pedestrian sidewalks, these trotro drivers use their own tactics to poach, appropriate, and make functional uses of the sidewalk, and by so doing, enhance their own well-being within city planning strategies that fail to accommodate their needs. The tactics they employ, including the self-regulatory structure that reduces potential conflict with the state, enhance legitimacy and contribute to their continuous existence and use of the sidewalk.

Through their narratives, participants revealed that the sidewalk serves more functions than merely a parking space. It serves as a space for social support, conversation, and relaxation. This turns the sidewalk from a physical space to a social infrastructure of care (Klinenberg, 2018). Social infrastructures of care may refer to physical spaces that develop relevance as a place of social support (Klinenberg, 2018). While the original conceptualisations of social infrastructures of care include other public spaces, including urban parks and libraries, what we explore here is how this manifests on a sidewalk that serves as a transportation infrastructure as well. In a way, from the findings of this study, we see this sidewalk as a multipurpose sidewalk, enabling livelihoods and urban liveability in general. The transformation of this public infrastructure to a social one aligns with Simone's (2004) concept of people as infrastructure, where human agency and innovativeness in their use of public infrastructure address the developmental deficiencies and neglect of the original infrastructural designs. As a result of their access and use of the sidewalk, waiting periods, rather than being unproductive, are actively managed through routines, conversations, trading, and vehicle maintenance. These are adaptive strategies that respond to spatial and economic constraints of the study context. This perspective aligns with urban sociology and transportation geography scholarship, which views informal transport systems as embedded in complex socio-spatial networks where everyday practices mediate access, mobility, and survival (Attoh, 2011; Harvey, 2017). The findings further highlight the intersection of infrastructure and human action, showing that urban space is continuously reproduced through the lived experiences of informal workers. It reveals that informal workers make visible the inadequacies of formal planning through their routine spatial improvisations.

CONCLUSION

This paper analyses an urban sidewalk both as a transportation infrastructure and as an infrastructure of care. The paper highlights how planning deficiencies and mobility needs make it necessary for informal transportation actors to poach and appropriate urban spaces such as sidewalks. Their appropriation of the sidewalk is analysed as a strategy to claim or uphold their own right to the city. Using the lens of critical urban theory, the use of sidewalks as an extension of the transport station is seen not as a symbol of chaos, disorder, and illegality but rather as a symbol of urban vibrancy, the ability of urban vulnerable actors to reproduce and repurpose urban space to enhance their well-being. The right to the city is therefore both a claim and a practice. Trotro drivers assert their urban rights through everyday actions, transforming sidewalks into spaces that support their livelihoods. These spaces are socially produced through tactical practices, as inhabitants negotiate their right to work and inhabit the city. Together, these perspectives show how marginalized individuals claim and create urban space through routine actions that reshape the city from the ground up. This paper highlights how urban mobility and transportation efficiency in Ghana are also partly dependent on the tactics of informal transport actors. Their spatial tactics help to keep the city organised and make affordable transportation accessible to vulnerable actors. This manuscript links Ghana's informal transportation systems to broader conversations on urban mobility, rights of urban residents, and the well-being of urban dwellers in general.

Declarations

Funding.

This research received funding from the British Academy of Sciences (Funder reference TGC\200335).

References

1. Abane, A. M. (2011). Travel behaviour in Ghana: empirical observations from four metropolitan areas, *Journal of Transport Geography*, 19(2), pp. 313–322. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2010.03.002
2. Agyemang, E. (2017). Mode choice for long distance trips: Evidence from the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area of Ghana, *Journal of Transport Geography*, 64, pp. 150–157. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S096669231730323X?casa_token=Fn3hkT-04GsAAAAA:o1MJ_37DCUtK8Vxcy17IfZ_xF8_b6qFpiKa8ta-rXYXY0in8U3yk3qUcS7Ceca2VsxUhnM0M_cnS (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
3. Ahearne, J. (2010). Michel de Certeau, *The practice of everyday life*, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 16(1), pp. 2–3. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630902971595
4. Amoako, J. (2019). Women's occupational health and safety in the informal economy: Maternal market traders in Accra, Ghana. Available at: https://scholarworks.uni.edu/etd/951/ (Accessed: July 6, 2025).
5. Asiedu, E., & Baku, A. (2021). Social Protection in Ghana—History, Equity-Driven Reforms, Financing and Sustainability, in *Transitioning to No Poverty*. MDPI. Available at: https://doi.org/10.3390/books978-3-03897-861-9-7
6. Attoh, K. A. (2011). What *kind* of right is the right to the city? *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(5), pp. 669–685. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510394706
7. Behrens, R. (2017). Improving paratransit service: Lessons from inter-city matatu cooperatives in Kenya, *Transport Policy*, 53, pp. 79–88. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0967070X16306059?casa_token=grwo_L1zBH8AAAAA:3q1oRlhmX5BIjJmUicwSQHaLZNbAz9mmZM8fHWSOz1khshSst5CfHhvMIEjikNZVsbwpVn_SVD92 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
8. Behrens, R., McCormick, D., & Mfinanga, D. (2016). Paratransit in African cities, *Operations, regulation and reform* [Preprint]. Available at: https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/books/mono/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9781315849515&type=googlepdf (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
9. Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., & Mayer, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Cities for people, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203802182
10. Cervero, R. (2013). Linking urban transport and land use in developing countries, *Journal of transport and land use*, 6(1), pp. 7–24. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/26202644?casa_token=nXZOpysW4LYAAAAA:yaEqQhDSYqAaMAa6xnATUWiXEfiLkuaXBxwGOp1qJ69BQGhSeCeV7X4Io5kO2VpG_n3_pqazCKq8MUm1blk_oIxus-l5txd0xBxhDuHMO_cMvPmt0MZ6mg (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
11. Chandel, S., Singh, R., & Sharma, A. (2025). From dispossession to resilience. In Urban resilience and sustainability (pp. 123–145). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781032689579-7
12. Christian, S. (2012). Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city, and the new metropolitan mainstream, in *Cities for people, not for profit*. Routledge, pp. 42–62. Available at: https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9780203802182-5&type=chapterpdf (Accessed: December 1, 2025).
13. Cobbinah, P. B., Erdiaw-Kwasie, M. O., & Amoateng, P. (2015). Africa's urbanisation: Implications for sustainable development, *Cities*, 47, pp. 62–72. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S026427511500044X?casa_token=Jv-LW6EuQsAAAAAA:JPvd68mXKPNKH5kjrl3TZ8-ik0MHt0rrCH-qATvMZtG5LhLFP_aGDjQP0T195QOWAt1dy8Y_iz-1 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
14. Degen, M. (2018). Timescapes of urban change: The temporalities of regenerated streets. *Sociological Review*, *66*(5), 1074–1092. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118771290
15. Dumedah, G., Abass, K., Gyasi, R. M., Forkuor, J. B., & Novignon, J. (2023). Inefficient allocation of paratransit service terminals and routes in Ghana: The role of driver unions and paratransit operators. *Journal of Transport Geography*, *111*, 103643. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2023
16. Ehrenhalt, A. (2017, June). How Much Can Cities Do About Walkability ? *Governing*, 1–2. https://www.governing.com/archive/gov-walkable-cities-chicago-brattleboro.html
17. Elder, A. (1993). *Trading for a living: psychology, trading tactics, money management*. John Wiley & Sons. Available at: https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=Rc7zDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA1&dq=Every+hour+spent+tending+to+a+child+in+the+marketplace+is+an+hour+diverted+from+active+trading +&ots=S1ER-4U-2c&sig=oRE5xDJYVJvB8cFoVj8xsphMhtg (Accessed: July 5, 2025).
18. Forkuor, J. B., Akuoko, K. O., & Yeboah, E. H. (2017). Negotiation and management strategies of street vendors in developing countries: A narrative review. *Sage Open*, *7*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244017691563
19. Goodfellow, T. (2015). Taming the 'rogue' sector: Studying state effectiveness in Africa through informal transport politics, *Comparative Politics*, 47(2), pp. 127–147. Available at: https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/cuny/cp/2015/00000047/00000002/art00002 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
20. Han, H., Nguyen, T. V. T., & Sahito, N. (2019). Sidewalk zoom-in: A spatial-temporal negotiation and self-organization within a sociable space. *Sustainability (Switzerland)*, *11*(22), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.3390/su11226241
21. Harvey, D. (2015). The right to the city, in *The city reader*. Routledge, pp. 314–322. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315748504-46/right-city-david-harvey (Accessed: December 1, 2025).
22. Harvey, D. (2017). The right to the city, in *Citizenship rights*. Routledge, pp. 465–482. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315260211-20/right-city-david-harvey (Accessed: December 1, 2025).
23. Jirón, P. (2009). *Mobility on the move: Examining urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile*. London School of Economics and Political Science (United Kingdom). Available at: https://search.proquest.com/openview/5b1dbaa860d4a84a7328133a95fe18b9/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=2026366 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).

24. Kim, A. M. (2012). The mixed-use sidewalk: Vending and property rights in public space. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *78*(3), 225–238. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2012.715504
25. King, L. (2019). Henri Lefebvre and the right to the city, in *The Routledge handbook of philosophy of the city*. Routledge, pp. 76–86. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315681597-7/henri-lefebvre-right-city-loren-king (Accessed: December 1, 2025).
26. Kissi-Abrokwah, B. (2023). Determinants of First-year Students' Career Path in Ghana. Available at: https://www.researchsquare.com/article/rs-3272323/latest (Accessed: July 10, 2024).
27. Klinenberg, E. (2018). *Palaces for the People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, and the Decline of Civic Life*. Crown.
28. Kumar, A. (2011). Understanding the emerging role of motorcycles in African cities: a political economy perspective. Available at: https://www.ssatp.org/sites/default/files/publication/DP13-Role-Motorcycles.pdf (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
29. Lefebrve, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Basil Backwell.
30. Lefebvre, H. (2014). The production of space (1991), in *The people, place, and space reader*. Routledge, pp. 289–293. Available at: https://api.taylorfrancis.com/content/chapters/edit/download?identifierName=doi&identifierValue=10.4324/9781315816852-56&type=chapterpdf (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
31. Marcuse, P. (2012). Whose right(s) to what city? In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, & M. Mayer (Eds.), Cities for people, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city (pp. 24–41). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203802182-9
32. McCormick, D., Schalekamp, H., & Mfinanga, D. (2015). The nature of paratransit operations, in *Paratransit in African Cities*. Routledge, pp. 75–94. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315849515-10/nature-paratransit-operations-dorothy-mccormick-herrie-schalekamp-david-mfinanga (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
33. Mehta, V., & Bosson, J. K. (2010). *Third Places and the Social Life of Streets*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916509344677
34. Mensah, G. O. (2022). *The Prevalence And Burden Of Black Tax In Ghana*. PhD Thesis. University Of Ghana. Available at: https://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/items/969508a1-e951-45e5-9452-d2dbfe13683c (Accessed: July 6, 2025).
35. Mutongi, K. (2017). *Matatu: A history of popular transportation in Nairobi*. University of Chicago Press. Available at: https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/63441 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
36. Nemeškal, J., Ouředníček, M., & Pospíšilová, L. (2020). Temporality of urban space: daily rhythms of a typical week day in the Prague metropolitan area. *Journal of Maps*, *16*(1), 30–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/17445647.2019.1709577
37. Pojani, D., & Stead, D. (2017). The urban transport crisis in emerging economies: a comparative overview. Available at: https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:412374 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
38. Poku-Boansi, M. (2020). Path dependency in transport: A historical analysis of transport service delivery in Ghana, *Case Studies on Transport Policy*, 8(4), pp. 1137–1147. Available at: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2213624X20300687?casa_token=6UnJgffpERsAAAAA:fOmawbRJp7agH0Flu814hTJ5o1SyElRG6i2dYCMfHpmoiVF3_fdAXDX_ZUpyEjmxaxHxZUTzZ1s8 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
39. Poku-Boansi, M., Asuah, A. Y., & Cobbinah, P. B. (2018). Contextualizing transport infrastructure and services in Ghanaian peri-urbanism, *International Planning Studies*, 23(2), pp. 195–209. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/13563475.2017.1396963
40. Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant, *GeoJournal*, 58(2–3), pp. 99–108. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1023/B:GEJO.0000010829.62237.8f
41. Purcell, M. (2014). Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 36(1), pp. 141–154. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12034
42. Salon, D., & Gulyani, S. (2010). Mobility, Poverty, and Gender: Travel 'Choices' of Slum Residents in Nairobi, Kenya, *Transport Reviews*, 30(5), pp. 641–657. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/01441640903298998
43. Sharma, S. (2014). *In the meantime: Temporality and cultural politics*. Duke University Press.
44. Simone, A. (2021). Massive urbanization and the circulation of eventualities, in *Rethinking global modernism*. Routledge, pp. 353–366. Available at: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003120209-26/massive-urbanization-circulation-eventualities-abdoumaliq-simone (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
45. Simone, A. (2024). Urban life at the extensions, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 123(2), pp. 363–384. Available at: https://read.dukeupress.edu/south-atlantic-quarterly/article-abstract/123/2/363/387188 (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
46. Simone, A. M. (2004). *For the city yet to come: Changing African life in four cities*. Duke University Press. Available at: https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=vMvHYeLquLMC&oi=fnd&pg=PP11&dq=Simone,+A.+(2004).+For+the+city+yet+to+come:+Changing+African+life+in+four+cities.+.
47. Talen, E., & Jeong, H. (2019). What is the value of 'main street'? Framing and testing the arguments. *Cities*, *92*(April), 208–218. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2019.03.023
48. Vergara-Perucich, F., Aguirre-Nuñez, C., & Correa-Parra, J. (2025). Contesting the right to sustainable cities under neoliberalism: The case of Macrocampamento Los Arenales, Chile. Urban Planning, 10. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.10051
49. Vondee-Awortwi, J. (2017). *Aid as a catalyst to development? the Case of Ghana's Political and Economic Transformation (1957–2013)*. Available at: https://repub.eur.nl/pub/101797/ (Accessed: December 22, 2025).
50. Wunderlich, F. M. (2013). Place-Temporality and Urban Place-Rhythms in Urban Analysis and Design: An Aesthetic Akin to Music. *Journal of Urban Design*, *18*(3), 383–408. https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809.2013.772882

51. Yeboah, T. (2021). Future aspirations of rural-urban young migrants in Accra, Ghana, *Children's Geographies*, 19(1), pp. 45–58. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2020.1737643