

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA  
CENTER FOR SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES**

**THE MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF CHILD LABOUR IN  
OLD-FADAMA, ACCRA**



**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE CENTER FOR SOCIAL  
POLICY STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA-LEGON, IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES**

**JULY, 2015**

**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that it contains no material previously published for an award of any degree in this university or any other university.

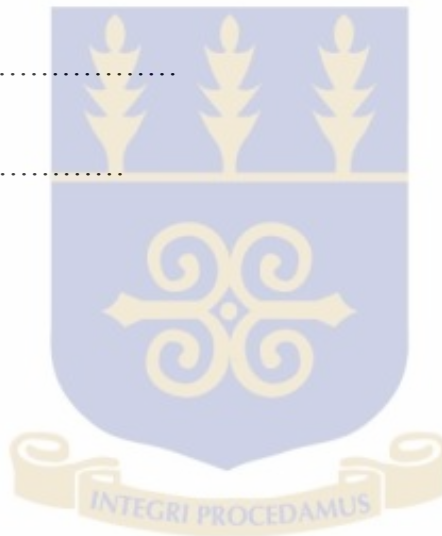
All references made to other studies have duly been acknowledged.

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## DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to Almighty God, who gave me the strength and knowledge to be able to go through this exercised successfully and also to my late dad, Mr. Seth Kwame Bosompem.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am extremely grateful and thankful to the Almighty God for His inspiration and full protection upon my life that led me throughout the academic duration successfully. He alone must take the glory and honour because of the great things he has done for me.

I am very grateful to Mr. Ralph Armah for his overwhelming guidelines and supervisory contributions that guided me to develop successfully this final write up from scratch. Much more, I appreciate much the resource and intellectual contributions from friends, course mates and all participants. Their willingness to participate only is highly commendable.



## ABSTRACT

Globally, children are engaged in a wide-range of activities both in the informal and the formal sectors. Child labour has been defined by the ILO as “work that impairs children’s well-being or hinders their education, development and future livelihoods”. In addition, several theories and models strive to redefine and draw the pattern clear about child labour. The main objective of the study is an assessment of the meanings and practices of child labour in Old Fadama, in Accra, Ghana, with specific focus on examining the meanings, practices, and causes of child labour and better provide an applicable policy to minimize if not eradicate child labour. The study adopted qualitative study approach to achieve the defined objectives. Through this approach, a purposive sampling techniques was used to sample 16 interviewees (8 adults and 8 children) engaged in the practices of child labour. Primary data was used for analysis and discussion purposes in relation to the study objectives. The qualitative analysis techniques employed was thematic content analysis to derive codes that were used to obtain the basic, organizing, and global themes and to draw the thematic network systems. Findings proved that a lot of meanings have been ascribed to child labour, these were: hardworking activity, means of survival, the physical stage/state at which children work, specific category of children working, and morally and ethically bad and worrying phenomenon/practices. Regarding the practices, child labour brings about: 1) negative and positive impacts, 2) Employment Avenues, 3) The Key Actors, 4) Working Conditions, and 5) Specific works done by boys and girls. Finally, the study demonstrated that the root causes of child labour were pull, push and other related factors which were allcategorised as socio-economic. The study therefore concluded that meanings and practices of child labour in Old Fadama is socioeconomic, widespread in the street than at home, and there is no intervention existing to weld out the phenomenon in the study area. The study based on the conclusion to recommend social and economic interventions with special focus on redressing poverty and bettering or providing quality, free, and accessible educational facilities and services for the poor individuals as the prudent immediate solution to minimise child labour in Old Fadama.

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AU	African Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GNCC	Ghana National Commission on Children
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GCLMS	Ghana Child Labour Monitoring System
HAF	Hazardous Activity Framework
ICLS	International Conference of Labour Statisticians'
ILO	International Labour Organization
ISSER	Institute of Statistical Social & Economic Research
JHS	Junior High School
SHS	Senior High School
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs
SIMPOC	Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SOPS	Standard Operating Procedures
UNC	United Nations Convention
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

The interpretation of “Child Labour” has resulted to several debates about working children. There have been diverse views on what constitute Child labour; some understanding of child labour present the practice in the context of children fulfilling frequently occurring household chores while other interpretations assume a laborious nature of work that children are subjected to. This highlights the nuances in the terms “Child chores” and “Child Labour”. Child chores is explained to be household tasks such as cleaning, washing, bathing and ironing that have to be done regularly by children without enforcement or against their welfare. Child labour has been defined by the ILO as “work that impairs children’s well-being or hinders their education, development and future livelihoods” (ILO, 2002; FAO-ILO, 2011).

Work in the home for children may consist of light tasks that are combined with schooling. Also, Clark-Bennett and Sherer (2004) explained that work carried out by children does not always constitute child labour. For example house hold working activities like cleaning and fetching water considered important in sustaining every day running of households are considered household chores.

Regional publications feature more prominently key macro level developmental issues of poverty and unemployment and relate these two developmental challenges to the manifestation of child labour. This is closely tied to the regions parity with Asia in employing over 90% of child workers (Thorsen, 2012; Idowu, Amos, and Olabisi, 2013). Country dynamics exist in formal and informal sector employment of child labourers within West and Central Africa; reveal rural and urban disparity in employment of child

labourers in West and Central Africa; a third of all children in West and Central Africa are estimated to work full or part time with either paid or unpaid salary arrangements (Thorsen, 2012). Again Idowu et al (2013), child labour is a persistent problem found in all countries and to a lesser extent in the developed countries.

The Ghanaian context of child labour is highlighted in policy, practice, concept and implications of child labourer: In Ghana Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560), establishes that children below 15 years are supposed to be in school and hence are disqualified from engaging in any form of employment (UNESCO, 1998). Furthermore, the understanding of Ghanaian children in the context of policy directives addressing child labour issues defines child Labourers as minors engaged in paid or unpaid labour activities. By way of policy, the two dominant issues in the Ghanaian context is the age and the employment status of children regardless of payment arrangements (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

The practice of child labour in Ghana highlights working conditions and the opportunity cost of the working hours of the child Labourer, 28.5% of children between five to seventeen years are involved in economic activities in Ghana, within this group 76.4 % are involved in child labourer activities considering the definition of child labour as; children engaged in employment (GSS, 2014) with close consideration of the age category of persons below eighteen years considered as children (Ghana Children's Act, 1998). The educational institution is the most affected child developmental institution. Concerns about working conditions address occupational hazards and laborious working conditions (Nippierd, Gros-Louis and Vandenberg, 2007).

Two levels of negative implications of child labour have been identified; these are national, institutional and individual levels. Institutional level reveals challenges in child labour that manifest in institutions established for child development. The educational institution is the most affected institution in Ghanaian specific reports on implications of

child labour; Child labour causes a decline in literacy rates as a result of declining school attendance. In order of dominance the Health institutional records mental health complications and physical health developments as concerns of child labourers (GSS, 2014).

Poverty, poor education, unemployment and informal labour market arrangements have been identified from; international, regional and national quarters as causes of child labour (ISSER-UNICEF, 2012; Idowu et al, 2013; FAO-ILO, 2012). While admitting that child labour is a national concern, there are rural and urban dynamics in statistics that reveal that urban communities have a relatively higher growth rate of poverty, unemployment and a growing Informal labour market that accounts for 87.2% of urban children five to seventeen years old engaging in economic activities (GSS, 2014).

Urban slum communities are also disproportionately affected with relative deprivation and causes of child labour manifesting strongly in urban poor communities like Old Fadama a suburb of Accra the capital Town of Ghana. This study identifies and examines the meanings and practices of child labour in Old Fadama in submitting academic attempts to understanding child labour in urban poor communities in Ghana.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

There are current global, regional and national legislations that criminalise the practice of Child labour (The CRC, 1989; Children's Act, 1998: ACRWC, 1990); in the face of all these legislations, studies continue to reveal the increase in prevalence of child labour activities subjecting children to laborious and hazardous working conditions that are detriment to their welfare (Housing the Masses, 2010 GSS, 2014). Over the years academic research attention has focused on the causes and the manifestations of child labour activities in Ghana (Hilson, 2010; FAO-ILO, 2011; GSS, 2014) in light of existing

problems of child labour. This study identifies knowledge gap in trying to examine how key actors in child labour make sense of this well legislated illegal practice that presents national developmental challenges (Hilson, 2010; FAO-ILO, 2011). The social context is important in understanding social practices that are defined as illegal. The meaning of child labour to key actors such as employers of child labourers and children engaged in child labour activities are important to addressing this social menace. Unfortunately the symbolic meanings and its relationship with the practices of child labour has not been adequately addressed by academic research in the face of deteriorating welfare challenges the practice presents to children.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The study attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. How do employers of child labourers and child labourers understand and interpret child labour?
2. Which child labour practices exist in Old Fadama?
3. What are the causes of child labour in Old Fadama?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The prime aim of conducting the study is to examine the meanings and practices of child labour in Old Fadama in Accra, Ghana. To achieve the main objective, the study focus on three specific objectives as outlined below:

1. To identify the meanings of child labour.
2. To examine the practices of child labour in Old Fadama.
3. To evaluate the causes of child labour practices in old Fadama.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

Children are generally identified as the delicate future of every society, presenting the need to safeguard their welfare and ensure their development. Child labour practices present a threat to the development and welfare of children who represent the future of every society. Attempts at addressing child labour issues in Ghana has mostly been legislative ( Labour Act 651 of Ghana; The Children's Act of Ghana, 1998),criminalising the practice of child labour, however the practice of child labour still persist and continues to threaten children's future. Empirical studies have focused on causes and negative effects of child labour to a large extent which though commendable in understanding child labour have had limited impact in reducing child labour activities. Urban slum areas experience poverty, unemployment and low education disproportionately (Housing the Masses, 2010). This accounts for a high rate of child labour in urban slums like Old Fadama. One of the unaddressed areas of child labour relates with how actors identified in this study as employers of child labourers and child labour employees understand and interpret the meaning of the practice of child labour. This places this study in a more social context of examining how child labour is understood by key actors in ways that makes them engage in child labour activities in the face of legislations that criminalise the practice. The ultimate relevance of this study is aim to examine meanings that relate with practices of child labour in ways that will reveal options to understanding and dealing with child labour that legislative instruments have not been able to deal with.

### **1.6 Scope of Study**

This is a case study examination of meanings and practices of child labour among individuals engaged in the practices of child labour and settled in Old Fadama in Accra Metropolitan Area. Geographically the study will be conducted in the Old Fadama community with targets on all individuals engaging children in labour works (practices)

and all children engaged in child labour and below the age of maturity 15 years who are either dependents or independent on their parents.

### **1.7 Study Limitations**

The study is limited because of the methodology adopted by the researcher. This is a case study with qualitative approach. Both contain critical constraints that point out the potential weaknesses of the study. However, the findings of the study would have been more suitable for generalization if more key actors in other deprived towns in the ten regions of Ghana are included.

In addition, the sample technique is subjective, not randomized. The study used purposive sampling to sampled 16 participants living in Old Fadama. This technique is mostly considered to be bias and subjective hence not suitable for generalisations and inferences.

Finally, the recent demolition exercise in the study area (Old Fadama) by the government made it very difficult for respondents to accept that their responses were for a research but not for any governmental agenda and hence their identification was quite difficult.

### **1.8 Organisation**

This thesis work has been divided into five chapters. Chapter one presents a general introduction and discussion of the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions research objectives and significance of the study. It further details the study's weaknesses and organisational structure. Chapter two of the work is devoted to the theoretical framework and literature review. Chapter three defines the profile of the study area and the reasons for its selection. The chapter further presents the detailed research approach and methods that will be adopted for the data collection and analysis. Chapter four focuses on results and discussion of data in relation to the literature findings and

study objectives, and chapter five of the research covers the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews materials under various thematic areas; these are the understanding the term 'Child' and Child labour, Types of child labour, Determinants of Child labour, Nuances between child labour and child work ,the Ghanaian context of child labour, Causes of child labour, Factors contributing to child labour Globally, impacts of child labour and the Challenges of child labour. In addition, the chapter presents a theoretical framework on the concept of child labour.

#### 2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study used the Reasoned Action Theory as theoretical grounds for understanding the meanings that key actors in child labour ascribe to the practice of child labour, and possible correlation with specific practices involved in child labour.

The Reasoned Action Theory was postulated by Ajzen and Fishbein in 1980 as a model which seeks to identify and understand reasons behind particular behaviours (Vallerand, Deshaies, Cuerrier, Pelletier & Mongeau, 1992).

According to Ajzen and Fishbein's Reasoned Action Theory, a person's behaviour or practice is determined by two major factors that come together to form an intention that is closely tied with a practice; these are subjective norms and intrinsically constructed attitudes toward a behaviour or practice (Vallerand et al., 1992).

There are three influences to what is described by the theory as subjective norm; these are the beliefs of other people within a person's environment, legislated rules and regulations

about a practice that constitute the views of experts and extrinsic motivations to a behaviour. The attitudinal component of an idea that forms part of the intension is made up of what is known to be the perceived outcome of the practice that is under consideration and an evaluation of possible outcomes of actions and inactions relating to the behaviour or practice. This therefore means that the benefit of every practice is keen to every individual. Both subjective and attitudinal components of what precedes behaviour combine to establish an intension of a person that leads to a particular action or behaviour. Subjective norms in this theory refers to the influence of the things around individuals which motivates them to involve themselves in a particular practice (Vallerand et al., 1992).

However, Werner (2004) re-examined the focus of the theory by explaining that intention determinants are not only limited to the two influencing factors (subjective norms, intrinsically constructed attitudes) proposed by the theory. There may be other factors that influences behaviour. According to the author, various studies such as Ajzen (1991) have shown that only 40% of behaviour can be explained using Reasoned Action Theory. He further explained that the theory proposes a laid down rules (criteria) for predicting individual behaviour which may not be applicable to every individual.

Subjective norms of behaviour in the context of the Reasoned Action theory allows this research to explore environmental factors in the study area in ways that affect the understanding and intensions of key actors which determine their role in the practice of child labour in Old Fadama. The theory specifically highlights rules and regulations and presents them as part of what goes into building a subjective norm about a particular behaviour; the children's Act of Ghana 1998 and The Ghana labour Act 651, 2003 constitute experts positions on child labour in this context. The theory also makes room for the study to explore the impact of other people's behaviour in terms of their overt expressions that they take on child labour issues in the study area under what is described

as motivation by behaviour of other people, this was examined by interviewing employers of child labourers and child labourers considered as key actors in child labour in Old Fadama. Identified causes of child labour exposes various motivational factors that potentially underpin child labour practices that were subject to further examination to reveal specific nature of practices of child labour in Old Fadama. This is placed in theory as perceived outcomes of engaging in child labour practices. The Reasoned Action theory enabled the study to examine beliefs and meanings attributed to child labour which constitute one of the study objectives. Child labour presents different experiences to both child labourers and their employers; a second component of attitudes in the theory address intentions that lead to actions or practices connected to perceived outcomes of engaging in Child labour by evaluating possible outcomes to the nature of attitudes and meaning that will be formed in relation to child labour by key actors. Intentions are established as the product of subjective norms and attitudes, which determine various practices under child labour that allows the objectives of identifying the meanings, practices and specific nature of child labour causes in Old Fadama.

## **2.3 The Concept of Child Labour**

### **2.3.1 Understanding the term ‘Child’ and ‘Child Labour’**

The 1999 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) stipulates that a child is a person under 18 years of age (Osment, 2014). The term “child” in “Article 2 of the ILO’S Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (C.182)” applies to all persons under 18 years (Nippierd et al., 2007; ISSER-UNICEF, 20012). The term has been defined by the GSS (2014) as “work that is physically, mentally, or socially precarious and harmful to children.

It is the minimum age that sparks up the agitations in that there are also self-employed children working to provide for their own basic needs (FAO-ILO, 2011; ISSER-UNICEF, 2012). Due to this, the minimum age for a child in terms of what constitute child labour is not certain. The key requirements of the ILO Minimum Age convention include the need for Member States to specify an agreeable minimum age for admittance to employment or work below which no child may be engaged in work. According to the ILO (2010), this minimum age should not be lower than the age of completing compulsory schooling and, in any case, not less than 15 years. However, an exception to this rule gives discretion to States whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed to specify a lower minimum age (i.e. 14 years) (FAO-ILO, 2011).

### **2.3.2 Nuances between Child Labour and Child Work**

Many studies hold that while the worst form of child labour can easily be identified and its eradication accepted, the distinctive difference between child labour and acceptable children's work is most often not vivid but however muddled by cultural practices and societal beliefs. It is therefore important to differentiate between acceptable work and child labour.

According to Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) , there is no international consensus definition of child labour because most nations do not only have dissimilar minimum age work limitations, but also have varying regulations based on the type of labour and this makes the limits of child labour very ambiguous. In context of Africa and Asia, Osment (2014) explained that the definition of child labour differs among societies since both continents do not consider the work of fifteen years old person as child labour; they distinguish between child labour and child work, where child work is considered to be a part of the children's training to become responsible adults while child labour is thought to be

exploitative. The study therefore concluded that not all work that children do is severe (Osment, 2014).

In the ILO (2002) report, if a work does not hinder children's schooling or do not affect their health physically and mentally, then it is normally not characterized as child labour (Francavilla and Giannelli, 2007; Clark-Bennett and Sherer, 2004). For instance helping parents at home, looking after siblings or working for pocket money after school hours and during holidays (Osment, 2014). Another perfect scenario in support of Osment's (2014) situation is that on Lake Volta in Ghana, at least one child (boy) is employed as crew on all boats. This nuances makes it difficult to examine how many of these children should be classified as child labourers and how many are doing acceptable work (Zdunneket *al*, 2008, cited in FAO-ILO, 2011).

From a different perspective, Bhat (2010) asserts that the definition of child labour is not just simple, in that it is tripartite. That is, it comprises three difficult concepts to define, namely "child", "work" and "labour". The survey reports that the term of childhood can be defined by age but in some societies, people cease to be a child at different ages (*ibid*).

Even though, some children under 5 years work, using the International Conference of Labour Statisticians' (ICLS) standards, children's work and labour point to age category 5 to 17 years (Nippierd, et al., 2007). Furthermore, the Ghana living standards survey 6 by the GSS(2014) reports that children who have reached the legislative minimum age can also work full-time in non-hazardous work. The work becomes an issue when it hinder schooling, is hazardous, dangerous or harmful and when children are exploited or under age (Francavilla and Giannelli, 2007; Clark-Bennett and Sherer, 2004). Some activities can be positive, providing children with practical and social skills for work as adults. In

this situation the pattern can be very clear as to whether to prevent an acceptable work or child labour.

Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) brought to light that if the minimum age requirement for work is higher than the compulsory schooling age, children who have completed the mandatory schooling duration must remain inactive for a while before they can lawfully work. They expressed aggressively, *“when a poor child from Bangladesh finishes the required schooling at 10 years of age, that child is not supposed to work until the age of 14. Such an expectation seems unreasonable”* (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

Boyden (1993) (as cited in Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) conclude that the problem is, then, not child labour itself, but the conditions under which it operates. Synonymously, Nippierd, et al. (2007) also reported that whether an activity is considered acceptable work, child labour or hazardous child labour depends on a range of factors and conditions (determinants). From the above review, it is evident that the age and physical structure children is not the issue with child labour but rather the conditions and nature of work under which children experience is the problem.

### **2.3.3 Types of Child Labour**

Using the three parameters: “Age”, “Hazards” and “work/labour”, Child labour can be classified into three categories Bhat (2010). This is detailed below.

- a. **Non-Hazardous Child Labour:** According to the ILO (2002) report, is the work/labour performed by a child who is under a minimum age specified in one’s national legislation for that work particularly. This is not the same as the children’s work as most studies strive to differentiate, rather is a work which poses threats to the education, health, and complete development of children.

- b. **Hazardous Child Labour:** this denotes work that endanger the physical, mental or moral welfare of a child either by virtue of its status or its underlying conditions (ILO, 2002). According to the ILO an extreme proportion of child labour is concerned with hazardous occupations such as agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction, and fishing (Osment, 2014).
- c. **Unconditional Worst Forms of Child Labour:** this is the extreme form of child labour. Based on the ILO 1973 Convention on Minimum Age (C138) and the ILO 1999 Worst Forms of Child Labour convention (C182), all forms of slavery, trafficking of children, forced recruitment for armed conflict, use of children in illicit activities, sexual exploitation, and deadly work constitute the worst forms of child labour (ILO, 2002; Nippierd, et al., 2007).

All these categories of child labour mentioned above, according to the UNICEF (2006) needs to be permanently abolished effectively and completely.

### **2.3.4 Determinants/Attributes of Child Labour**

It is very important to review the factors that determine child labour. Some of these factors are outlined below.

- i. **Age:** As already discussed in the above, the minimum age of a child although debatable as Boyden (1993) (as cited in Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) and the FAO-ILO (2011) report claimed is not the cardinal problem, is the first parameter for identifying who a child is and the work of a child.
- ii. **Health and Safety Issues:** Aside age, another major determinant of child labour is the work or working conditions that inflict children's welfare and or tasks that portray potential health impacts for children (FAO-ILO, 2011; ILO, 2002). Children's immature physical and mental conditions in general makes them more

- victim to hazardous conditions that even pose health and safety threats to adults (FAO-ILO, 2011).
- iii. **Time:** Whether a work is acceptable for a child or not also depends on its duration and time. Ten to eighteen years children needs 9.5 hours of sleep in order to support their holistic development (FAO-ILO, 2011; ILO, 2002). Most often, work done during or over long hours, are exhausting hence are considered hazardous. Adding to that, the ILO report established that children work long hours and are the worst paid of all labourers (Bequele and Boyden 1988, cited in Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).
  - iv. **Education Interference:** Education is very vital in children's capacity development, in that children serve as a future human resources bank for nation's development. Activities that interfere or restrain children from perusing their educational tasks or duties is deemed as an educational interference. Especially, working periods that impede children's school time are also regarded as a child labour (FAO-ILO, 2011).
  - v. **Physically Demanding Work/Work Load:** There are some tasks that are unfitting for children due to children's physical characteristics, which are yet to be developed; this makes them highly vulnerable to works that need the strengths of adults (FAO-ILO, 2011; Osment, 2014). Included in this category of physically demanding work are those that can cause injuries or damage to children's physical development. Such labour work also includes responsibilities where there is a risk of exposure to noise, poison or toxics or other substances or conditions to which children are likely to have lower tolerance than adults (FAO-ILO, 2011; ILO, 2002).
  - vi. **Risk/Hazard Assessment:** Additionally, some of the tasks of a child relate to the characteristics of the related professions and the safety and health issues outlined

above. It is also important for determine what types of activities and specific tasks that pose risks/hazards to children and young persons (FAO-ILO, 2011). Explaining further, because children tend to be at greater risk than adults, risk/hazard assessment means that hazards identified for adults need to be evaluated in relation to children (FAO-ILO, 2011; ILO, 2002, Idowu, et al., 2014; Osment, 2014), using the credible criteria and recognised standards. Moreover, tasks that are not recognized hazardous for adults could be suitable for children and should hence be included in the child work risk assessment (FAO-ILO, 2011).

Finally, the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation No. 190 (1999), as reported by ILO (2002), the following factors below should be considered in identifying and determining the types of work that constitute child labour:

- a) Work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
- b) Work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
- c) Work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- d) Work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
- e) Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.”

## **2.4 Child Labour in Ghana**

Historically, van Hear (1982) views child labour as a vital contributor towards the development of capitalist agriculture in Ghana due to the introduction of cash crops like

cocoa. The study, further explained that more child and women labourers migrated from the northern part of Ghana in the early in 1930s as a result of the cocoa boom.

Ghana's labour market entails a high proportion of economically active children. Otoo, Osei-Boateng and Asafu-Adjaye (2009) reported in their survey that about 13 per cent of Ghanaian active children between the ages of 7 and 14 were identified to be part of the economically active labour force. The possibility of this proportion of children entering into labour works is undeniably high.

In Ghana, child labour is predominant in the informal primary sector and in the rural areas since this is a sector that requires more labour. As evidenced in Otoo, et al. (2009) final report, approximately 89.3% of Ghanaian children found in the economically active labour force are into agricultural activities.

It is therefore easy to observe children engaged in labour work in the rural sectors of Ghana. The consequences of rapid rural-urban migration in Ghana has led to the neglect of most children in the rural communities. As a result most of the rural children have to find every alternative to meet daily needs. Otoo, et al. (2009) survey estimated that the proportion of working children employed in the rural communities in Ghana is at 92.1%. This only is an illustration of child labour predominance in the poor communities. Other sectors that these children are engaged in includes the hospitality industry, fishing, and mining (Otoo et al., 2009). Proportionately, the FAO-ILO (2011) estimation from Ghana indicate that child labour in fisheries only represents 2-5 percent of the total number of child labourers in the country.

The Labour Act, Act 651(2003) of Ghana declared a maximum working hours of forty of official working week (Otoo et al., 2009). That is, eight hours of working per day. According to Otoo et al., (2009) an extra working hours attracts overtime pay. This

provision in the Article is most often violated by employers of working children. The FAO-ILO (2011) survey in the Volta Region of Ghana, demonstrated that children involved in fishing along the coast and Volta river work for not less than 10 hours during the night and more than 8 hours during the day with little pay, sometimes no pay at all.

#### **2.4.1 Cause of Child Labour in Ghana**

A survey conducted by the GSS in 2010 proved that, an extreme proportion 46.1% of Ghanaians live below a dollar, an illustration of abject poverty (GSS, 2014). This poverty level poses an enormous pressure on families and children as well. This therefore makes child upbringing an economic burden, forcing parents to engage their children in all manner of trades and works (Oteng-Ababio, 2011).

Challenges associated with education is another major problem. These challenges includes low school attendance by children, poor (lack of) educational facilities, and inaccessibility of educational centers. Hilson's (2010) reported that, in the northern part of Ghana, most of the children instead of schooling were into artisan mining because there were few public schools within the commutable distance from the mines.

Adding to the above is the failure of obligatory responsibilities and unfulfilling promises by international and state agencies. In a report about child labour in the northern Ghana, Hilson (2010) reported that children who were into child labour specifically in the artisanal mining stop to school on promise that their school fees will be catered for by an existing international non-governmental organization. Evidenced by his child focus discussion proved that that promise was not fulfilled, pressuring the children to return to the mining sector in an attempt to raise money to minimise their financial burden (Hilson, 2010).

Poverty has crippled most households in Ghana, forcing family heads (parents) to push their children into hazardous works that they think the outcome will better the entire family. Most of the children involved in child labour are independent. Several studies term this as child-independency as one major effect posed on children by poverty (Thorsen2010). A study by Hilson (2010) in the Talansi-Nabdam district in the northern Ghana revealed that participant children engaged in child labour in that district are the bread winners of their family. He explained that most of the children's parents were blinded by blackfly bites, hence depends directly on the survival of their children (Hilson, 2010).

#### **2.4.2 Government Intervention Strategies**

As an urgency to counteract the rapid rate of child labour in Ghana, many measures have been put in place by the central government. Among these according to Hilson (2010), Oteng-Ababio (2011) includes:

- a) The free basic education system. This is a system all Ghanaians embraced unanimously and without any agitations. The programme is solely to make school affordable and bearable for all from the lower class to the upper class. This was a collaborative initiative by the government and international organizations. According to the GSS (2014), with this initiative school enrolment increased periodically. The policy as well alleviated the financial burden of educating children on parents.
- b) The national school feeding program, which aims at increasing school enrolment through 'schooling-to-feed'. That is providing students with nutritious food as children attend school. The ulterior motive is not to make starvation a hindrance to child education and also make school the best alternative for survival.

- c) The amendment of Child Labour and Welfare Laws. Ghana established a treaty with the ILO, UNICEF and other renowned organizations. Under the terms of the treaty, Ghana has amended its laws on domestic violence against children and stipulated the working age of children at 18 years where any job or act contrary is a violation. Among these laws (Acts) includes the African Union (AU) Charter on the Rights of the Child and the Section 28(1) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana on the rights of the child
- d) The creation of the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) in the year 2001 to promote the children's well-being, rights, and development.

#### **2.4.3 Factors Contributing to Child Labour Globally**

Even though, the causes of child labour are highly contextual and deeply arguable, in this section, much emphasis is on the major causes of child labour that most scholars have demonstrated widely in many child labour researches and agreed upon. The number of reasons why children work, among these are:

The generally accepted cause of child labour by most scholars is poverty (Francavilla and Giannelli, 2007; Brown, et al., 2002; ISSER-UNICEF, 2012; Nippierd, et al., 2007). Children ought not to work but for those who work is because of poverty syndrome. Everywhere child labour prevail, poverty existence because when conditions of poverty prevail Child labour are reinforced (Nippierd, et al., 2007; GLSS, 2014). Many scholars affirm the belief that poverty is the primary cause behind child labour. Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) explained in their study that because, children work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves. The FAO-ILO (2011) also reported similarly that most children work for the sake of their survival and the survival of their parents, although their parents acknowledged that it is wrong. Poverty has become endemic in developing

countries, pressuring parents to use their children as a means of generating family income for daily bread. Developing countries like India, Nigeria, Iraq, Sudan, and Pakistan, Chad, and Philippines are countries identified to be faced with abject poverty; they are countries with high rate of child labour (Nippierd, et al., 2007).

The second most identified cause of child labour is the poor education. This is concerned with the challenges of schooling. According to Hilson (2010) most often children who seek employment are those who do not get access to school. When children do not get access to school or drop out of school, they become potential employees. Thorsen (2010) emphasis that in situations where there is access, the poor quality of existing education makes child attendance somewhat a waste of time for school children. In the study of Osment (2014) low quality, poor or absent of formal education, the expenses of schooling and poor educational level of parents together causes child labour. The research concluded that in rural areas, communities with poor access to school, children indulging in child labour is expected to be everywhere (Osment, 2014). Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) explains that children's school attendance correlates highly with family income, hence if children dropout of school it does not necessarily mean that parents are irresponsible, but might be due to the family's financial situations. An analytical survey conducted by Weiner (2009) (as cited in Osment, 2014) revealed that, India remain the country with the largest juvenile workforce as a result of 82 million school dropout children. Directly linked to education is the problem of parental education. Owing to the fact that parents have considerable authority over their children, their insight about the importance of education is a chief determinant in children's school attendance (Otoo et al., 2009). The fact is educated parents comprehend the need and value of schooling based on personal experience. Consequently, parental education have a direct impact in shaping child education and child labour (Hilson, 2010).

Every child labour issue begins from the house. Child labour occurs within families before revealing. The role of household heads is an additional contributory factor of child labour. This is mainly about parental control. Parents play a very vital role in the entire lives of children since they also depend directly on parents in their upbringing (Otoo et al., 2009). Mostly mothers and fathers in developing countries consign different chores to their children. This has been termed child specialization, and may intensify the increasing figure of child workforce (ILO, 2010). This phenomenon involves allotting tasks that parents themselves could do to children. This supports what Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) reported that, children are pressed to work by their parents. According to Francavilla and Giannelli (2007) survey in developing countries, they noticed that parents represent 62 percent of the source of induction of children into employment, and 8 percent of children decide for themselves to be engaged in work (Otoo et al., 2009). However, the motive of parents in poor countries is to bear many children for them to be profitable (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

Also, some aspects of cultural practices in most societies generate child labour. Many societal practices of certain communal laws are prone to child labour (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). In some traditions, women responsibilities command that females will be imperfect to perform customary practices if they become educated (Idowu et al., 2013). It is a pervasive believe that in some developing countries educated females will not be married nor bear children, therefore, making many households nurture daughters purposely to take over the household duties in order release the mother for paid labour (Brown et al., 2002; Idowu et al., 2013). Such customary believes and practices constrain the education of females consequently leading to child employment (Idowu, et al., 2013; Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). According to Weiner (as cited in Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) the recognition of social class philosophy also promotes child labour. In the case of India,

for instance lower castes are anticipated to perform manual labour and therefore are more fitting uneducated (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). ILO (2002) unravelled that traditional practices including social characters geared towards child labour and work immensely and additionally escalate the widespread of child labour in most part of the world. These cultural practices together makes labour force cheap and disorganized. In the report of the FAO-ILO (2011), it was stipulated that child labour tends to happen in environs with discounted and unstructured labour.

The rural sectors is said to be predominant with child labour, however, their movement to the cities (urban settings) has additionally being a contributory factor of child labour. Most research reports the rapid rate of rural-urban migration in countries like India, Nigeria, Ghana, China, and other developing countries are the source of the devastating rate of child labour in urban communities of the developing world (Brown et al., 2002; Clark-Bennett and Sherer, 2004; FAO-ILO, 2011; Idowu, et al., 2013; Thorsen, 2012). In the rural setting, households abandoned the severity of farm work conditions to urban centres with the aim to look for economic prosperities that in reality do not often exist (Clark-Bennett and Sherer, 2004). The global facts about rural-urban migration establishes undoubtedly that the last decades have experienced drastic rural-urban movement (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) Adhering to the records from the past decades, the trend is on the increase in the developing world. From 1950, urban population in the developing continents was estimated to be 17 percent, which increased to 32 percent in 1988, it aggregated to 40 percent in the year 2000, and now projected to be 57 percent by the year 2025 (Nippierd, et al., 2007; ILO, 2010). This increment in the trend coupled with the global economic crunch inflict families with urban poverty which in the long run need for children to work as a part of survival means (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

In most situations, many people including siblings, parents, couples and employers of children are not aware of even the age at which a child must work and as well the kind of work preserved for children. Meaning, there is lack of awareness about child labour and its constituents. In some communities, countries, or industries by virtue of ignorance or lack of awareness, the tasks that children perform is seen to be normal and the difference compared to adults' work is not known hence very difficult to differentiate between children's work and child labour (FAO-ILO, 2011). Lack of awareness or ignorance about child labour and child work is a direct product of poor education of illiteracy, societal norms, and poverty (Clark-Bennett and Sherer, 2004; Francavilla and Giannelli, 2007).

Enforcement of child labour laws and its associate punitive measures is very weak in countries bedevilled with child labour. Brown et al. (2002) and the FAO-ILO (2011) reported in their studies that lack of enforcement of labour preventive precincts trigger child labour. According to Osment (2014), this is demonstrated in numerous ways and in different sectors. According to Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995), the enforcement agencies is either not existing or very low, most particular in developing countries where the immediate priority of subsistence takes precedence over anything else. Osment (2014) added that enforcement is lacking because there is absence of proper national policies and legislation on child labour as well as inadequate legal frameworks.

From the above review, poverty is the major cause behind child labour, but child labour is further influenced by the effects of educational challenges, household decision, lack of enforcement of child labour laws and regulations, lack of child labour awareness, cultural practices, and rapid rate of rural-urban migration.

## **2.5 The Impact of Child Labour**

The negative consequences and impacts of child labour are highly contextual (FAO-ILO, 2011). If not the negative implications and the escalating trend, child labour on the

positive perspective, should be encouraged. The reason being that, children into work deems much essential considering the economic contributory functions, which brings about positive outcomes.

Economically, children work for a multiple reasons (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). Many children who are into labour works do so for their survival and their families as well, although parents acknowledge its wrongness and consequences (Nippierd, et al., 2007).

Working children even though are inadequately paid, they still serve as major contributors to family income in developing countries (Thorsen, 2012; Brown, et al., 2002, Basu and Van, 1998). For instance, Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) articulated that children working in Paraguay contribute almost a quarter of the total family income. Hilson (2010) also reports that, children are the ‘bread-winners’ of their family. The study in Ghana disclosed that children in the northern part of Ghana do labour work to feed themselves, pay their fees and provide for the financial burden to their parents (Hilson, 2010).

Review of research works in different countries with existing child labour issues arguably debates that through child labour children get training and capacity development. (Brown, et al., 2002; Hilson, 2010; Idowu, 2013; Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) argue that works that seems to constitute child labour are works through that children gain training experience and maturity development. In the context of Africa and Asia, Osment (2014) articulated that both continents view child labour as a good task that children learn skills from. Moreover, there is also the persuasive notion that work can help a child in socializing, in building self-esteem and confidence, and for training (Collins, 1983, cited in Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

In strengthening the positive side of child labour, the FAO-ILO (2011) reaffirmed the belief that not all work that children do is child labour and needs elimination. In explaining this, the report added that above a convinced minimum age some non-

hazardous work can be an acceptable and sometimes a beneficial activity for children (Thorsen, 2012). Engaging in light work, with household or community, can give children an opportunity to develop skills and also improve their sense of belonging and self-esteem (FAO-ILO, 2011).

Financially, the World Bank presumes that child labour phenomenon can pose serious threat to long-term national investment (Osment, 2014). Furthermore, UNICEF (2006) reported that the rising challenges associated with child labour could have more predicaments despite all the concerns of investment or its relation to economic activity.

Much more, the health and safety implications of children involved in labour works is uncalled for and appalling. Children engaged in child labour endure work conditions which include health hazards and potential abuse (Clark-Bennett and Sherer, 2004; Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). Working conditions of children do not equip them with the stimulation for effective and prudent physical and mental development (Osment, 2014).

Again, the Nippierd, et al. (2007) reported that child labour does weakens children's well-being or retards their education, development and future livelihoods. Their report made it clear that child labour causes damage to children's physical, social, mental, psychological or spiritual development, for the reason that it is executed at a very tender age, at an age that is unsuitable for children (Nippierd, et al., 2007).

Most work carried out by children are not within better conditions. Children's safety and health is vital for their growth and future. Weston (2002) (as cited in Osment, 2014) argues that work children do, can be damaging to their health because the work can be abusive, exploitative or hazardous and it can influence their health. The FAO-ILO (2011) also added exemplified that if appropriate health care is lacking, there is an increased risk

that the consequences from injuries and other physical and mental problems caused by child labour become more severe.

However, the socialization benefit aspect of children in employment, Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) explains that these same children are deprived of the simple joys of childhood, and downgraded to a life of drudgery. As opposing studies claim child labour promotes self-esteem, the FAO-ILO (2011) debated that the phenomenon deny children of their childhood, their dignity and rights. In education, child labour frequently brings about negativity on literacy rates and children's school attendance and constraints children's mental and physical health and development (GSS, 2014).

When the issue of child labour emerged, many people associate its source to poverty, however, the evidence in the Nippierd, et al. (2007) report prove that even though poverty push children into labour work, the aim of working to earn better pay is most often not so. Most of the children claim to be working to earn money for survival are unpaid or payless ((Brown, et al., 2002). It is assessed that only one out of five working children is in paid employment; the majority are unpaid family workers (ILO, 2010). Among working children that are paid Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) asserted explicitly that many are fraudulently paid.

The agitations for and against the impacts of child labour in the researcher's perspective is that, the phenomenon has a greater negative implications considering the health, safety, education, and the entire development of children.

### **2.5.1 Challenges In addressing Child Labour**

Child labour is a complicated issue and involving. Dealing with it is very difficult because of its close link to poverty, education, employment, tradition, society and age variations (Francavilla and Giannelli, 2007; Brown, et al., 2002; GLSS, 2014; UNICEF, 2012; Nippierd, et al., 2007).

The fight against child labour begins at the various households. However dealing with child labour from the domestic houses is very challenging due to the hidden nature of domestic work within private houses (Thorsen, 2012). In many developing countries where child labour occurs, it is very uncommon to witness what children go through as many children work for relatives both within and outside their extended families and also most house work are socially and culturally recognized as rightful task for children, it is often problematic to collect proof of when domestic work is nonthreatening and when it is injurious (Osment, 2014; Thorsen, 2012). The FAO-ILO (2011) reported that a gigantic hindrance for statistics on child labour in general is that the various surveys on child labour tend not to consider household works or chores into account and accordingly, that is, the ‘double-burden’ of most children—particularly girls, working both at home and in an economic activity – is often ignored.

The problem of non-existence of reliable data especially in the informal sector is a burden in an attempt to disclose indicators of child labour (Francavilla and Giannelli, 2007; Nippierd, et al., 2007). Even though on the international level, the establishment of ILO Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) in 1998 has been fruitful in the availability of statistics on child labour, information on child labour in the informal sector in the developing countries continually to be rare (UNICEF, 2006). World-wide data are usually not disaggregated, hence, the available data tends to be from specific case studies and surveys, or even anecdotal (Mathew, 2010, cited in FAO-ILO, 2011).

Furthermore, there are also policy inconsistencies and Implementation variations on child labour issues which most often pose problematic burdens. Every country has its own child labour guiding legislations and principles. For instance, a variation exist between the minimum ages needed to work and drop out of school as in the case of Nigeria, Thailand,

France, Sri Lanka, etc., where, the minimum working age is lower than the required age of compulsory education (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) providing children access to work before they even complete the minimum school age (Brown, et al., 2002).

Many studies reveal that complete abolition of child labour is impossible and unrealistic because of its coherence with education and poverty. To abolish child labour means to abolish poverty and promote quality education (Brown et al., 2002; Osment, 2014; Hilson, 2010; Idowu et al, 2013; Thorsen, 2012). According to Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) many children have to work to enable them attend school otherwise, they will not be able to afford the tuition and other fees associated with school attendance. In supporting this, Idowu et al., (2013) and Francavilla and Giannelli (2007) hold the view that education and employment for children are not mutually exclusive, therefore, immediate abolition is a mirage. However, this underscores the fact that child labour and education may work together in many cases (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995). Their study concluded that the correlation that lies between labour and education is more complex than anticipated, hence, immediate abolition of child labour is not basically the solution (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

According to De Beer (1999), research methodology refers to the research decisions taken within the framework of specific determinants unique to the research study. This chapter outlines the research methodology of this study. This chapter explains how the study was conducted and the methods adopted to achieve the set objectives. The chapter discusses the research design, sampling techniques, data gathering instrument, and methods of data processing and analysis.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

The research is a qualitative study that used descriptive and exploratory techniques in examining meanings and practices of child labour in old Fadama, Accra.

Qualitative method was significant to this research because researchers who adopt this method are able to stay in touch with their participants and get close to the activities on the ground. This method enables the researcher to see for himself or herself some salient issues on the field (Osuala, 2007; Tewksbury, 2009; Creswell, 2009).

The descriptive component was used to explore, understand and present the meanings and practices that were subject to examination, this enabled the researcher to collect information concerning child labour. Moreover, this design was used to describe the characteristics of the variables of interest on meanings and practices of child labour in old Fadama at Accra. For this reason, it was used in finding answers to the research questions based on the responses from respondents in old Fadama at Accra. This was done through the use of procedures that describe existing child labour practices in old Fadama at Accra, and the problems associated with this practice.

### **3.3 Study Area**

Old Fadama has been identified as the largest slum in Accra with a population of about 79,684 (Hosing the Masses,2010). It occupies 3.1 hectares of land. Old Fadama has become a shelter for a number of youth, over the years, especially, those from the northern parts of Ghana, seeking greener pastures and a better standard of living(Oteng-Ababio, 2011).Escapees from forced early marriages and witchcraft accusations also use Old Fadama as shelter. Because the settlement is regarded as illegal, the settlers are at risk of being evicted and so have been excluded from infrastructural developmental projects, in terms of health and creation of jobs(Hosing the Masses,2010).

Inhabitants of Old Fadama live, eat, work and relieve themselves on the land and amongst the waste. Children who are able to attend school often spend every evening and weekend processing waste searching for metals.

Old Fadama at Accra was chosen as the case study area because the slum is also home to one of the world's largest electronic waste dumps (Oteng-Ababio, 2011).The health risks electronic waste burning and scrap dealing pose to the wellbeing of the children engaged in these activities is an issues of much concern. Unprotected workers, mostly children are made to process the imports in search for metals, such as copper, aluminium and iron, to

collect and sell. The process of extracting these metals and wires, mostly done with child labour, involves the breaking apart and burning of the products, which end up generating toxic elements like lead, mercury and brominates, causing pollution. According to experts, exposure to lead can have a wide range of effects on a child's development and behaviour. Exposure to small amounts of lead levels can cause inattentiveness, hyperactivity and irritability in the children. Children with greater lead levels may also have problems with learning, reading, delayed growth and loss of hearing. At high levels, lead can cause permanent brain damage, and even death. Early identification and treatment of lead poisoning, reduces the risk, thus preventing the children from suffering permanent damage. Treatment begins with removal of the child from the sources of the lead, while medications can remove lead from the body.

Additionally, to gain access to the metals, the children are also made to burn old foam on top of the electronics in order to melt the plastic, or they dismantle the waste with their bare hands and stones. Magnets from other rubbished electronics are then used to gather the smallest of metal scraps left behind in the process. The remaining materials are further burned or dumped nearby. The workers including these children also sell the metal scraps to earn a living.

### **3.4 Population**

The target population for the study was all children engaged in child labour activities and adults who employ child labours. Due to physical, monetary and time constraints, only a sample of this target population was selected.

### **3.5 Sample and Sampling Technique**

The study sampled 16 individuals; this included 8 adults engaging children in child labour and 8 children engaged in child labour activities. The 16 individuals comprised of: eight

adults made up of four men and four women and eight children fifteen years and below, this group comprised of four boys and four girls.

Purposive sampling was the sampling technique used. It is a type of non-probability sampling technique where the units that are investigated are based on the judgement of the researcher (De Vaus, 2002). Purposive sampling method was used in getting participants for the research and again employed to select Old Fadama as the study site since it has been reported to have a high population of child labourers (Selby, 2011).

With the help of community a focal person who was involved in prior studies relating to child labour in Old Fadama. The focal person was contacted for the purpose of assisting with purposive sampling due to his empirical experience in related studies in the same setting. An initial visit to the community was arranged on phone and a subsequent meeting was established to explain my study objectives and make a formal request for assistance in identifying children involved in child labour activities and adults who engage children in child labour activities. Initial discussions explained the study objectives to all selected sample, their consent was sought by signing a consent form and an agreed later date was scheduled for both set of interviews. Further discussions and observations were made in between first date of meeting and date of interview to verify that both children and adults purported to be involved in child labour were indeed engaged in child labour activities.

### **3.6 Data Gathering Instrument**

Data for the research was collected through the conduct using two instruments. These are In-depth interviews and focus group discussion. The in-depth interview conducted was on the sampled children involved in child labour activities. This was employed to capture the unique experience of child labourers.

The focus group discussion was used for the adults who engaged children in child labour activities. This was done to explore possible similarities and differences in the practice of engaging child labourers.

Consequently, data collected by combining the two aforesaid approaches enabled ease of analysis, focus and comparisons as well as being adequately informative since interviewees were allowed to share information in an unconstrained manner.

Questions were categorised into three sections; the first section examined the meanings and practices of child labour among households in old Fadama at Accra. The second section evaluated the causes of child labour practices among households in old Fadama, and the third section assessed the causes of child labour practices among households in old Fadama.

### **3.7 Data Collection and Data Analysis Procedure**

The study employed in-depth interview and focus group discussion. With the aid of pre-designed questions, data was elicited from interviewees. Questions posed to all interviewees embodied variables that the study sought to address. The questions were open-ended to allow for free flow of information from participants without any form of hindrance. Responses were recorded with a recorder and later played for transcription while field notes were also taken.

Recorded responses of study participants were transcribed and encoded for thematic analysis. Descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis such as thematic analysis were employed in the presentation and analysis of the qualitative results.

### **3.8 Ethical consideration**

The consent of all research subjects were carefully sorted for and adequate information was presented to enable study participants to voluntarily decide whether or not to

participate as a research subject. Consent forms were given out to all research subjects for signing before the commencement of the study. However, options were made for opting out as a research subject – when one wished. This research was mindful of the duty of confidentiality and treated all information received accordingly.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of data gathered by the researcher through personal interviews and focus group discussions during field stage. As a qualitative design, the study adopted Thematic Analysis in analysing and presenting findings in this study. Three levels of themes were extracted namely global themes, organizing themes and basic themes of the meanings and practices of child labour in addressing the research questions and addressing objectives of the study. In the discussion section, the global and organizing themes were developed and deliberated upon in relation to the study objectives and the findings disclosed in the literature review.

The analysis of data first begins with the demographic characteristics of interviewees, which includes the occupation, education, and age among others and then followed by the thematic analysis and discussions of responses in relation to the thematic networks, objectives and findings.

The outcomes of the analysis and discussions in this chapter are presented to indicate the responses to the four main questions:

1. To identify the meanings of child labour.
2. To examine the practices of child labour in Old Fadama.
3. To evaluate the causes of child labour practices in old Fadama.

#### 4.1.1 Derivation of Themes, Coding Framework, and Thematic Network System

The analysis performed in this section is a thematic analysis (TA); themes extracted were categorised into *Global Themes*, *Organizing Themes*, and *Basic Themes* as discussed in accordance with Attride-Stirling's (2001) explanations. According to Attride-Stirling (2001):

- a) ***Basic Themes*** are the lowest-order themes derived from textual data. In this study, they are the basic distinctive responses to all the study research questions asked during the data collection. These responses were steadily identified thorough readings of transcribed data and then grouped together to form the organizing themes.
- b) ***Organizing themes*** are the middle-order theme that groups the Basic Themes into a single issue(s). In the context of the study, the organizing themes were constructed to bring about a collective contribution to the meanings, practices and causes of child labour in Old Fadama. These category of themes were used to build the Global theme.
- c) ***Global themes*** are the super-ordinate themes, which encompasses all the organizing themes as principal metaphor. In this study, basic themes were grouped into organizing themes, and then regrouped into global themes, which redresses (carry) all the research objectives. That is, all the research objectives were addressed as Global Themes.

#### 4.1.2 Coding Framework Table

In deriving the codes for building the various themes, a coding frequency table was constructed to identify the various response on each basic theme. Responses were shown

by an asterisk symbol (\*) under each respondent, also represented by ‘I’ symbol as respondents’ identification with assigned number used throughout the analyses and discussions.

#### 4.1.3 Thematic Network Systems

A network of themes (see Figure 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3) were constructed to demonstrate the relationships among basic, organizing and global themes for each objective of the study.

#### 4.1.4 Understanding the Symbols used in interviewees’ statements during transcription

**Table 4.1: Key Symbols used in Textual data**

[ ]	Inaudible
<i>Hmm</i>	Expression of sorrow, pity and emotional feeling
“ ”	Direct quotation of respondent’s word to word (speech)
!	Exclamation
---	Omitted section
?	Question asked
...	Truncated statement
<u>Underlined statements</u>	Stressed speeches ( raised voices)

Source: Field Study, 2015

#### 4.2 Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

The demographic variables: age, sex, occupation, tribal origin, religion, dependency, number of dependents, personality, and among others., of all the participants engaged in the study seem to have an influence on child labour concept.

In the below tables (i.e. Table 4.2 and 4.3), Table 4.2 details the demographic characteristics of, children and adults, interviewees whereas Table 4.3 summarizes altogether.

**Table 4.2: Detailed Profile of respondents**

Interviewee (I)	Personality	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Religious Status	Occupation	Education Level	Ethnic Origin	Place of Origin	Years living in Old Famada	Number of Dependents	Dependency
1	Adult	F	33	Single	Christian	Food vendor	JHS	Fante	Elmina	7	3	Self-Dependent
2	Adult	F	39	Married	Muslim	Food vendor	JHS	Gonja	None	1	2	Husband
3	Adult	F	42	Widow	Muslim	Seamstress	No School	Gonja	Kpandai	2	2	Self-Dependent
4	Adult	F	30	Married	Muslim	Shop owner	No School	Dagomba	None	9	3	Husband
5	Adult	M	38	Married	Muslim	Scrap Dealer	SHS	Dagomba	Tamale	12	3	Self-Dependent
6	Adult	M	28	Married	Muslim	Scrap Dealer	JHS	Dagomba	Yampala	None	1	Self-Dependent
7	Adult	M	35	Married	Muslim	Pipe Water vendor	SHS	Dagomba	Tamale	2.5	1	Self-Dependent
8	Adult	M	32	Single	Christian	Motor cycle Operator	JHS	Ewe	Kete-Krachi	3	None	Self-Dependent
9	Child	F	11	Single	Muslim	Head potter ( <i>Kayaye</i> )	No School	Kokomba	Tamale	Unspecified	N/A	Self-Dependent
10	Child	F	14	Single	Christian	Store Keeper	Primary	Kokomba	Tamale	3	N/A	Sister
11	Child	F	13	Single	Muslim	Plantain Chips Seller	Primary	Kokomba	None	Unspecified	N/A	Mother
12	Child	F	15	Single	Muslim	Head potter ( <i>Kayaye</i> )	School Dropout	Mamprusi	None	1	N/A	Self-Dependent
13	Child	M	11	Single	Christian	Scrap Dealer	No School	Mamprusi	None	Unspecified	N/A	Sister
14	Child	M	12	Single	Muslim	Motor Cycle Apprentice	Primary	Kusasi	Kete-Krachi	Unspecified	N/A	Parents
15	Child	M	15	Single	Muslim	Scrap dealer	No School	Dagomba	Tamale	2	N/A	Self-Dependent
16	Child	M	14	Single	Muslim	Off loader	Primary	Dagomba	Tamale	1	None	Self-Dependent

Source: Field Study, 2015

**Table 4.3: Summary Profile of Interviewees**

Sex	Total number of respondents
Male	8
Female	8
Age	Total number of respondents
11 -17	8
21 – 30	2
31 – 40	5
41 – 50	1
Education	Total number of respondents
SHS	3
JHS	4
Primary	3
Uneducated	5
Dropout	1
Religious Status	Total number of respondents
Christian	4
Muslim	12
Ethnic Origin	Total number of respondents
Ewe	1
Fante	1
Kusasi	1
Komkomba	3
Mamprusi	2
Gonja	2
Dagomba	6
Marital Status	Total number of respondents
Married	5
Widowed	1
Single	10
Occupation	Total number of respondents
Scrap Dealer	4
Pipe water Vendor	1
Head potter (Kayaye)	2
Off loader	1
Seamstress	1
Motor Apprentice	1
Food vendor	2
Plantain Chips Seller	1
Store Keeper	1
Shop owner	1
Motor cycle Operator	1
Dependency	Total number of respondents
Dependent	4
Self-Dependent	12

Source: Field Study,2015

The summary results in Table 3 on interviewees' profile show equal number of females and males interviewed. With regards to the ages, all the children were within 11-17 years category whereas the adults were found to be within the ages of 21 and 50. Religiously, a dominant number (12) of interviewees were from a Muslim background. Five (5) of interviewees were uneducated while only one interviewee was a school dropout. Regarding the ethnic background of interviewees, those with Dagomba background recorded the highest (6).

The summary results, in the Table 3 again shows that, one interviewee remained widowed, the extreme majority (10) were single. Emphasizing on the occupation of interviewees, most (4) were recorded to be scrap dealers. Lastly, based on the statistical results, most (12) of the interviewees were recorded to be self-dependent. That is, most take care of themselves. For detailed profile of respondents, see Table 4.2.

#### **4.3 The Meanings Assigned to Child Labour in Old Fadama**

The first objective of the study is to establish the meanings assigned to child labour by interviewees in Old Fadama. To achieve this, interviewees were asked questions which was analysed thematically (see Table 4.4) using thematic analysis to derive codes that were used to build the themes. The themes were restructured into network of linkages as displayed in the Figure 4.1 below.

The definition of child labour differs among societies (Osment, 2014) as the term child varies across and among societies. Identifying the meanings that go into the term 'Child labour' is essential in understanding the issues and practices of child labour in Old Fadama. In Old Fadama, interviewees have ascribed five meanings to child labour. As displayed in the Figure 2 and Table 4 below, the five meanings are: 1) Children's workplace, 2) Specific category of

children working<sup>3</sup>)Physically engaging activity, 4) Sentiments, and 5),Means of survival .These meanings have been classified as organizing and basic theme (see Table 4 and Figure 1) and discussed below.

**Table 4.4: Coding Frequency on Meanings of Child Labour**

Interviewees' Identification Code		I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6	I.7	I.8	I.9	I.10	I.11	I.12	I.13	I.14	I.15	I.16	Total
<b>Organizing Themes</b>	<b>Basic Themes</b>																	16
Children's Workplace	Children working/selling in the street	*				*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*	*	*	11
	Children working in the house										*	*	*					3
Specific category of children working	School dropout children or Children not schooling but working		*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*							8
	Self-Dependent children		*	*	*	*				*		*					*	7
Physically engaging work	Difficult activity	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*				*	*		10
	The physical state of work	*			*					*								3
Sentiment	worrying phenomenon	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*					*	*	10
Means of Survival	Money for food		*			*				*		*	*	*		*		7

Source: Field Study, 2015

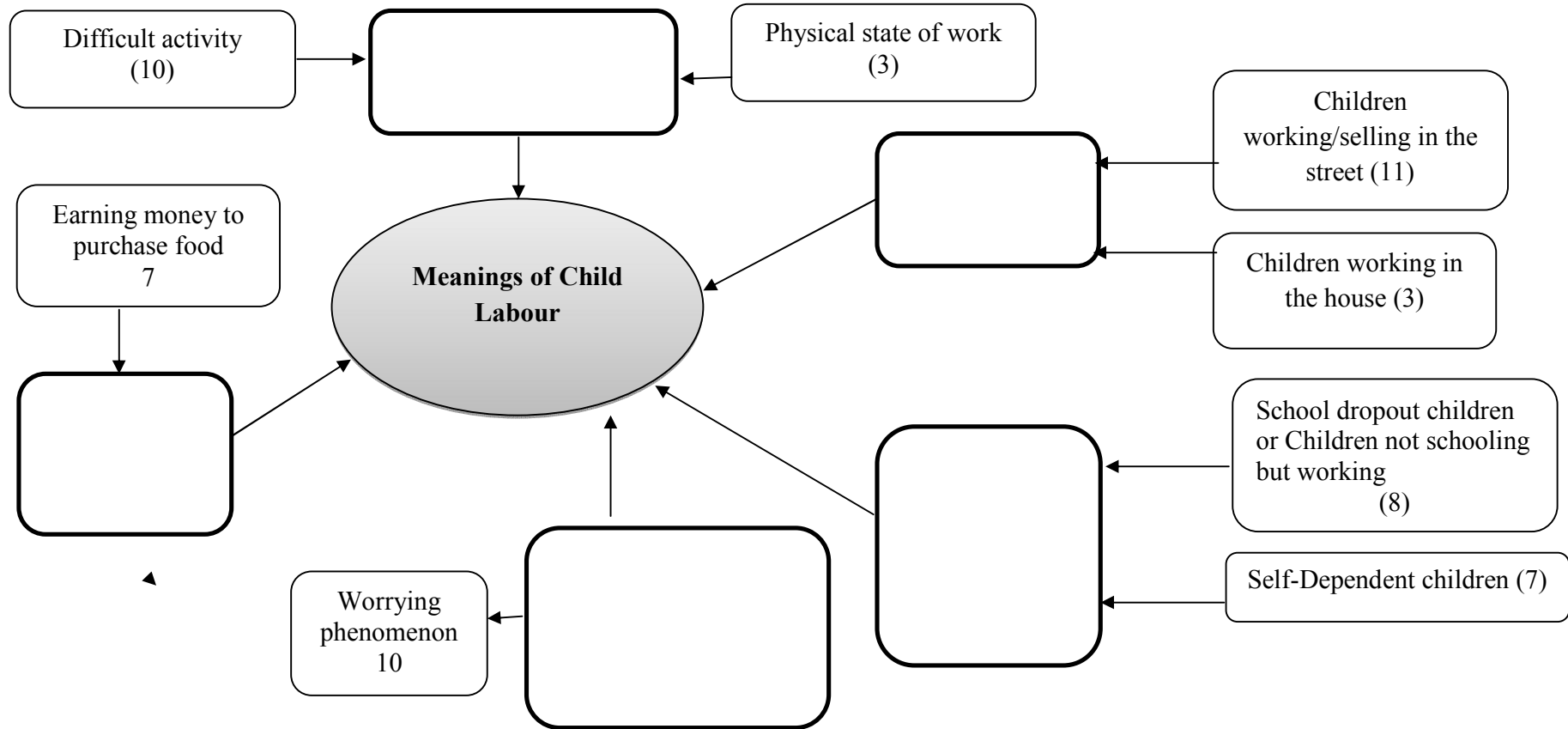
Table above (Table 4) shows the coding framework, which presents the organizing themes, basic themes, and respondents' identification codes used in the analysis. These codes were based on to draw the thematic network system (see Figure 1) and it as well shows the number of interviewees who responded or came up with responses under each theme.

**Table 4.5: Thematic Framework on the Meanings of Child Labour**

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme	Number of responses	Definition	Quotes
Meanings of child labour	Children's work place	Children selling or working in the street	11	Reference to children who sell and work by road sides and in market places.	"... <i>Even here we have one! I see most those children on the street. Here is like a market with big size. So you see them around doing kayaye.</i> " <sup>1.4, 1.7, 1.8</sup>
		Children working in the house	3	Laborious Work done by children in the house	"--- <i>one working in the house whenever her mother is not there and she is made to do very hard work that is too much for her...</i> " <sup>1.1</sup>
	Specific category of children working	School dropout children	7	Children who have stopped schooling	"... <i>some have stopped going to school...</i> " <sup>1.10</sup>
		Self-dependent children	8	Children who do reside alone without care givers.	"... <i>for those who are like him and are here? Most of them are independent and self-dependent!</i> " <sup>1.3</sup>
	Physically engaging work	The physical state of work	3	Very laborious work done by children outside their homes for money.	"--- <i>you will see a little small child not even up to the stage of selling but carrying sachet water selling in the street.</i> " <sup>1.9</sup>
		Difficult activity	10	Working tasks that children cannot do but are forced to do	"--- <i>It is using children to do hard work when the children do not want to do.</i> " <sup>1.1</sup>
	Sentiment	Worrying phenomenon	7	An unpleasant activity	" <i>Child labour is not good at all. This is because, if let a little child to go to the street [ ] is not good. It worries a lot!</i> " <sup>1.1</sup>
	Means of Survival	Earning money to purchase food	10	Means of seeking nutrition	"--- <i>That is, what they depend on for food...</i> " <sup>1.2</sup>

Source: Field Study, 2015

*Figure 4.1: Thematic Analysis on the Meanings of Child Labour in Old Fadama*



Source: Field Study, 2015

**a) *Physically engaging work***

One of the major determinants of child labour according to (FAO-ILO, 2011) is the physical characteristics of children which are yet to be developed. It was evident during the study that thirteen responses meant that children were engaged in activities beyond them.

- ***The physical /state at which children work***

One of the lowest reported meanings of child labour was based on the physical state (stage) at which children engaged in labour practices. When the eight adults were asked to explain what is meant by child labour, some of their response included,

*“---you will see a little small child not even up to the stage of selling but carrying sachet water selling in the street.”<sup>1.9</sup>*

This finding is an undeniable evidence that there are some tasks that are unfitting for children due to children’s physical characteristics, which are not yet totally developed; this makes them highly vulnerable to works that need the strengths of adults (FAO-ILO, 2011; Osment, 2014).

- ***Difficult Activity***

Child labour according to many interviewees is a difficult work activity. Out of the Ten (10) interviewees all the female adults interviewed perceived child labour to be a difficulty activity.

During the focus group discussion, some participants explained,

*“...at times you will see them very weak and sick.”<sup>1.4</sup>*

*“---which is child servitude or forcing children to do hard work.”<sup>1.4, 1.7, 1.8</sup>*

*“---It is using children to do hard work when the children do not want to do.”<sup>1.1</sup>*

The children engaged in child labour practices also affirmed based on their understandings, that child labour is a hardworking activity. Two of them expressed,

*“The work...it is very difficult for me.”<sup>1.9</sup>*

*“The work is hard....because you sometimes carry heavy sachets of water.”<sup>1.10</sup>*

The above quote clearly highlights a working conditions that inflict children’s welfare and or tasks that portray potential health impacts for children which confirms the report of (FAO-ILO, 2011; ILO, 2002).

### ***b) Means of Survival***

The FAO-ILO (2011) reported that most children work for the sake of their survival. The meaning deduced from the analysis of seven interviewees’ responses brought to light that the term child labour is understood to be a means of seeking basic needs food and also obtaining some financial resources..

- ***Earning money to buy Food***

Child labour according to seven (7) interviewees means children’s survival approach (technique). The below expressions are sample quotes from the interviewees

*“---That is, what they depend on for food...”<sup>1.2</sup>*

The above quote confirms the argument of the reasoned action theory that the benefit of every practice is keen to an individual. This however suggests that children will continue to involve in child labour activities as a mean to get their daily food need.

### ***c) Children’s Workplace***

The place at which child labour practices occur was captured in the analysis as the meaning that people (interviewees) ascribe to child labour. This is not surprising as Osment’s (2014) discovered at least one child (boy) is employed as crew on all boats along the Lake Volta in Ghana. This analysis discovered that people define child labour based on where children work. Based on 14 interviewees’ views, the workplace was discovered to be:

- ***Children working/selling in the street***

Child labour was understood or explained to be a child or children working and selling in the public street. From the analysis, this is what many of those who responded to this question “What is child labour?” meant by child labour. Eleven (11) interviewees perceived child labour to be children working in the street. This finding is based on the expressions below.

*“...Even here we have one! I see most those children on the street. Here is like a market with big size. So you see them around doing kayaye.”<sup>I.4, I.7, I.8</sup>*

*“Some go to makola to carry things---kayaye and some go to collect scraps.”<sup>I.2</sup>*

- ***Children working in the house***

Three children interviewed also explained child labour to be a practice of helping parents in the house. This is what one asserted,

*““---one working in the house whenever her mother is not there and she is made to do very hard work that is too much for her...”<sup>I.1</sup>*

Having identified the various work place used to interpret child labour, the analysis has made it known that the engagement of children below 18 years in hard works or works that impair their well-being in Old Fadama occurs both in the house and in the street. The above confirms the assertion of FAO-ILO (2011) that working periods that impede children’s school time are also regarded as a child labour

***d) Specific category of children working.***

Many studies and international organizations operating within the spheres of child labour phenomenon or children welfare use the three parameters: age, hazards, and work load, to define child labour Bhat (2010). Out of those interviewed, fifteen (15) interviewees ascribed child

labour to a particular group of children but not every child (all children). Of the 15 interviewees, eight (8) meant child labour to be a ‘School dropout children or Children not schooling but working’ and nine (9) meant it to be a ‘Self-Dependent children’.

- ***School dropout children or Children not schooling but working***

Child labour in Old Fadama is meant to be children who have stopped schooling and engaged in work such as selling pure water. The meaning ascribed to child labour by eight (8) interviewees is that child labour is children who were schooling but have stopped in order to work. Below were some of their views displaying their meanings of child labour.

*“Sometimes they come here in uniform working [ ] some have stopped going to school...”<sup>1.10</sup>*

*“...it is not good for the children to stop schooling to work! And mostly, many of them do not go to school!”<sup>1.2</sup>*

The above quote asserts Hilson’s (2010) report that, in the northern part of Ghana, most of the children instead of schooling were working.

- ***Self-Dependent children***

Also, as many as nine (9) interviewees explained child labour to be children who are taking care of themselves. This was not surprising that majority (4) of the children interviewed were self-dependent. From the adults’ perspective, child labour is a self-dependent child. Some of the sample quotes articulated includes,

*“...for those who are like him and are here? Most of them are independent and self-dependent!”<sup>1.3</sup>*

*“Some children do not have a care taker or helper [ ] ---”<sup>1.4</sup>*

The children interviewed also explained that,

*“What I understand child labour is if a child and he or she is working for her/himself.”<sup>1.16</sup>*

*“I take care of myself!”<sup>1.9, 1.13</sup>*

These quotes however confirm the argument of Thorsen (2010) that most children in child labour activities are self-dependent.

#### **e) Sentiments**

Child labour was understood by majority of the interviewees as a worrying phenomenon. Most expressions about child labour implied that child labour is a pitiful experience. Below are some sample quotes extracted from the transcripts.

*“Child labour is not good at all. This is because, if let a little child to go to the street [ ] is not good. It worries a lot!”<sup>1.1</sup>*

*“... I feel pity, sad and sorrow for some because some the problem is from their family. [ ] So if I see that ---, then I feel sad for them.”<sup>1.2</sup>*

*“In terms of worrying, it worries a lot because if you give birth to a child and the child is suffering in the work/job it will definitely worry you because you like him/her; at times you will see them very weak/tired! You feel pity for them when they carry heavy things standing here!”<sup>1.4</sup>*

From the above, all expressions proved child labour as bad and pitiful phenomenon.

#### **4.4 Practices of Child Labour in Old Fadama**

The second objective of the study aimed at identifying child labour practices in Old Fadama. This section specifically unravels how child labour is done, who the key actors are, its constituents and dynamics. It first presents the coding framework and the thematic network. The interpretations and discussions were based on the contents of what has been displayed in the Figure 4.2 and Table 4.6.

The analysis of the primary data generated from interviewees showed that the practices of child labour in Old Fadama centred on five organizing themes (see Table 6 and Figure 2), which are:

Employment Avenues, Effects (Impacts), Working Conditions, Specific works done by boys and girls, and the Key Actors, engaged in the practices of child labour.

**Table 4.6: Coding Frequency of Themes on the Practices of Child Labour**

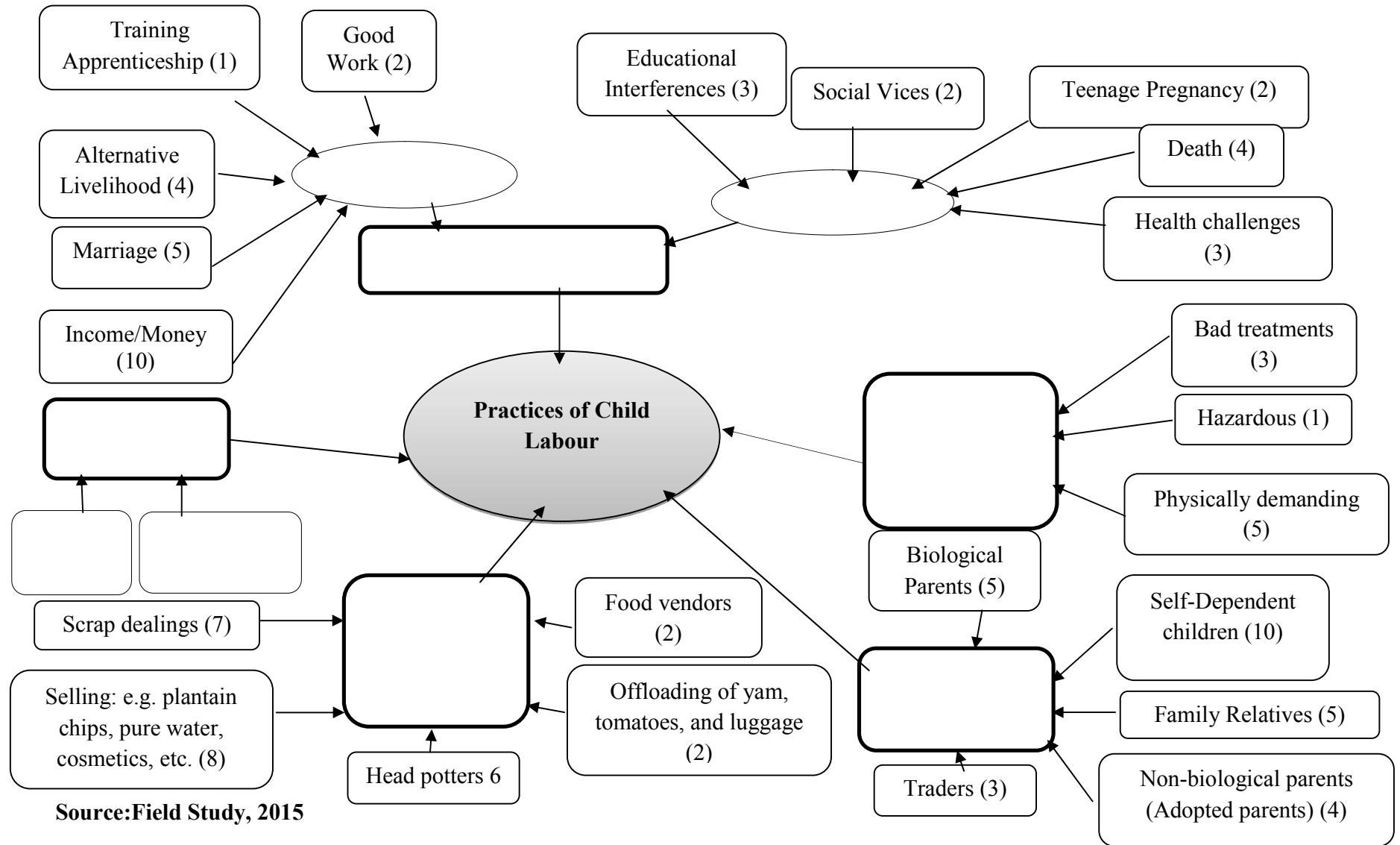
Interviewees' Identification Code		I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6	I.7	I.8	I.9	I.10	I.11	I.12	I.13	I.14	I.15	I.16	Total	
<b>Organizing Themes</b>	<b>Basic Themes</b>																	16	
Key Actors	Biological Parents		*				*					*	*				*	5	
	Non-biological parents (Adopted parents)	*			*									*		*		4	
	Family Relatives	*	*							*					*		*	5	
	Traders			*			*										*	3	
	Self-Dependent Children			*	*	*		*	*	*		*		*	*	*		10	
The specific works based on Gender	Scrap dealings		*	*	*		*		*					*			*	7	
	Selling: e.g. plantain chips, pure water, cosmetics, etc.	*	*	*		*					*	*			*	*		8	
	Head potters		*		*					*	*			*			*	6	
	Offloading of yam, tomatoes, and luggage.													*	*			2	
	Food vendors			*													*	2	
Working Conditions	Bad treatments			*										*	*			3	
	Hazardous									*								1	
	Physically Demanding									*	*	*		*		*		5	
Effects (Impacts)	Negative	Death		*		*	*				*							4	
		Social vices			*						*							2	
		Teenage pregnancy									*						*		2
		Health hazards			*						*		*						3
		Educational		*				*					*						3

		Interferences																	
	Positive	Marriage	*	*	*		*	*											5
		Income/money	*	*	*				*	*	*		*		*	*	*	*	10
		Good work			*										*				2
		Training/ Apprenticeship													*				1
Employment Avenues	Full time		*					*		*	*						*	*	6
	Commission based							*						*	*				3

Source: Field Study, 2015

The table above (Table 6) displays the coding framework, which presents the organizing themes, basic themes, and respondents' identification codes used in the analysis. These codes were based on to draw the thematic network system (see Figure 2) and it as well shows the number of interviewees who responded or came up with responses that were used to derive each theme. For thematic framework see Appendix .

**Figure 4.2: Thematic Analysis on the Practices of Child Labour in Old Fadama**



### **a) Key Actors**

In the analysis, the key actors identified to be engaged in the practices of child labour in Old Fadama were parents (biological and non-biological), family relatives, traders, and self-dependent children. According to the interviewees, these were key actors in the practices of child labour in Old Fadama. Based on 27 responses (see Figure 4.2 and Table 4.6), the key actors were;

- *Biological Parents*

The actual parents of children were identified to be engaged in the practices of child labour. Five (5) interviewees indicated that, the real parents of children also force their children into child labour. This is what two interviewees revealed,

*“...I am living with my mother. [ ] --- I work--- [ ] I prepare plantain and sell it.”<sup>1.11</sup>*

*“Okay! Yes...because some children have parents with fridges for selling so before going to school they give them pure water to sell.”<sup>1.6</sup>*

- *Non-biological parents*

The practices of child labour involves those who adopts children (adopted parents). Evidence from 4 interviewees' responses show that, parents who adopt children are directly involved in child labour. This is based on 4 responses as displayed in Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2. The below statement from one interviewee confirmed,

*“---Somebody will give his/her child to someone else to travel or sometimes the nature of this is that the child has not reached that level to do the work but letting the child to do it because, the child has been given to him/he---.”<sup>1.1</sup>*

- *Family Relatives*

Based on five (5) interviewees' response, it was revealed that, some relatives of both nuclear and extended families were part in the practices of child labour in Old Fadama. Interviewees

explained that, sometimes family members will seek permission from the child's parent with the aim of helping the child but later the child ends up in labour works. This is what one interviewee disclosed,

*“My Auntie...she lets me work every day from this time to the evening...”<sup>1.11</sup>*

- Traders

People (especially women) who sell or do business also engage children in child labour. From the analysis of interviewees' responses, three respondents disclosed that children are employed by these traders to do labour works. One interviewee's response support this,

*“Okay! Sometimes those (marketing women/traders) selling orange, tomatoes, pineapple, banana etc. [ ] the children come for some and resell it...”<sup>1.5</sup>*

- Self-Dependent Children

In some situations, the children offer themselves in labour works. From the analysis, it came to light that, some of the children themselves also willingly and deliberately engage in the practices of child labour. This is what one of the children said,

*“I decided to do it [ ] ---”<sup>1.13</sup>*

The responses from the above quotes affirm the central theme of the Reasoned Action theory, that people's intent to involve in a practice is based on the benefit the practice may give.

### ***b) The Specific Works Based Gender***

In Old Fadama, interviewees reported that specific child labour practices were distributed based on gender. This reveals a subjective norm as noted in the Theory of Reasoned Action that boys engaged in scrap dealings, off-loading yams, tomatoes, and luggage whiles girls engaged in

Head potters, food vendor, and selling (e.g. plantain chips, pure water, and cosmetics). As discussed below, this finding is based on 25 responses (see Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2).

- *Scrap Dealings*

Children engaged in child labour means those children are not just working but engaged in hard tasks. Evidence of 7 interviewees' response showed that, children engaged in hard task, the boys are involved in scrap dealings. Below statement support this finding.

*“--- and most when they come here from the north the metallic things is what they are interested in doing. That is all those young boys over here do.”<sup>1.14</sup>*

*“Scraps [ ] ...that is all those young boys over here do!”<sup>1.4</sup>*

*“---Most of the boys do scrap dealings and metal works.”<sup>1.8</sup>*

- *Selling (example plantain chips, pure water, cosmetics, et cetera)*

The practices of child labour involve children in selling items such as plantain chips, cosmetics and pure water. This is what the interviewees articulated;

*“---For the girls most like selling of plantain chips, and pure water, that is what most do over here. That is the only thing they do.”<sup>1.4</sup>*

- *Head potters*

From the analysis, it was revealed that, some of the children engaged in child labour are head potters (locally called Kayaye). According to 6 interviewees, these category of children were mostly the girls and in practice, they carry both heavy and lighter materials such as foods, clothes, and any other material that can be carried with a potter. The two statements below confirm this finding.

*“---For the girls (hmm) most like the kayaye! That is what most do over here.”<sup>1.14</sup>*

*“...For the girls most like the kayaye...”<sup>1.4</sup>*

- *Offloading of yam, tomatoes and luggage*

It was demonstrated that, children engaged in the practices of child labour do offloading tasks. These tasks include removal of food items such as tomatoes and yam and other items like luggage from traveling vehicles. Two (2) interviewees asserted that, these tasks are performed by boys. This based on one of their statements,

*“...It is not all who do scrap dealings, most of those between 15 to 17 years carrying yams and tomatoes, and people’s bags from the cars.”<sup>1.8</sup>*

- *Apprenticeship*

According to 2 interviewees, some of the children engaged in child labour are apprentices. That is, those children engaged in child labour as a means of learning skilled work. As explained by the two expressions below,

*“...It is not all who do scrap dealings, some are apprentices.”<sup>1.8</sup>*

*“---but for those who are 16 to 17 years (pause) most aim at opening their own job through apprenticeship. In the process of learning the job---”<sup>1.3</sup>*

This means that, the practices of child labour do not necessarily engage children in hazardous works.

- *Food Vendors*

In practices, children involved in labour works, some assist food vendors. This category of children according to 2 interviewees (see Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2) were the girls who either adopted or employed by traders. That is, some of the children engaged in child labour are indirectly food vendors on the street. As one interviewee explained below,

*“...some of the girls are waitress...helping food sellers to sell food on the roadside.”<sup>1.8</sup>*

### ***c) Employment Avenues***

Whether a work is acceptable for a child or not also depends on its duration and time. In the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Recommendation No. 190 (1999), one of the factors and determinants of child labour is “Work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night”. That is, according to nine (9) interviewees (see Figure 4.2 and Table 6), the practices of child labour in Old Fadama means;

- *Full Time Work*

In practice, child labour in Old Fadama is classified as a full time work. Evidence of this finding was unfolded by two interviewees.

*“---children in the street selling for longer hours or throughout the night.And mostly, many of them do not go to home!”<sup>1.1</sup>*

*“[ ]...full work for living...”<sup>1.9</sup>*

This finding is an evidence of the FAO-ILO (2011) survey report about Ghana that in the Volta Region of Ghana, children involved in fishing along the coast and Volta river work for not less than 10 hours during the night and more than 8 hours during the day with little pay.

- *Commission Work*

According to 3 interviewees, children engaged in labour works are on commission bases. That is, child labour in old Fadama is a commission work, whereby the output of child labourers commensurate their rewards, as one interviewee explained,

*“...Okay! Sometimes those women trading [ ] the children come for some and resell it, to get some interest/commission on it. So by the end of the day, they will get some little money.”<sup>1.6</sup>*

#### *d) Effects (Impacts)*

According to Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995), economically children work for multiple reasons. Similarly 31 responses attributed the practices of child labour in Old Fadama to the impacts (effects) on children (see Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2). These effects were identified to be both positive and negative. The positive aspect is socioeconomic, which includes;

- *Income generation*

Economically or financially, the practices of child labour according to 10 interviewees (see Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2), is a lucrative work for living. Two children articulated,

*“I collect scrap and --- I get 5 cedis for my daily bread and as well finance other activities before I close.”<sup>1.13</sup>*

*“...I charge 1 cedi for small loads and 2 cedis for heavy loads .It is the same money that I use to buy food...”<sup>1.9</sup>*

One adults also added,

*“The job helps him very much because their boss gives them some stipend (TNT) for some expenses, so it helps them (laughing).”<sup>1.3</sup>*

Economically, some adults also testified that, in practice, child labour help bring about development to children’s place of origin. One expressively proved,

*“...Through this work, some are able to contribute to the development of the north (Tamale).”<sup>1.7</sup>*

- *Training (apprenticeship)*

In the context of Africa and Asia, Osment (2014) articulated that both continents view child labour as a good task that children learn skills from. Similarly, the analysis demonstrated that some of the children practicing child labour benefit socially in terms of traineeship. As one young child pointed out,

*“Aside money I get training skills---i.e. for those who are not experienced they can take it as an opportunity to learn it.”<sup>I.11</sup>*

- *Alternative Livelihood*

As disclosed earlier, self-dependent children were disclosed to be willingly engage in labour works. Evidence from 4 interviewees demonstrate that practicing child labour is practicing alternative livelihood.

*“...the goods? [ ] ... as they are selling the pure water [ ] --- he or she can get money to eat.”<sup>I.5</sup>*

- *Good work*

Two interviewees hold that, child labour is a good work. According to two interviewees practicing child labour is better than stealing or indulging in all manner of social vices. Their assertions below testify this finding,

*“The benefit is that it is better than stealing so it is good work. It is only for those who do not like hard work that go into stealing and other things.”<sup>I.3</sup>*

*“The children get good training...they learn a lot of skilful work...”<sup>I.13</sup>*

- *Marriage*

Through child labour, some females get husbands and vice versa. One respondent unfolded,

*“For the girls, they get boyfriend which they get pregnant which leads to marriage. It happens for both girl and boys.”<sup>I.6</sup>*

*“...some to get their lovers here for marriage, --- [ ] --- then they do not have any problem.”<sup>I.3</sup>*

From the adults’ perspective, two outlined,

*“I think for the children it helps them a lot because they don't have a caretaker of someone whom they will look upon for survival. So if they don't go to collect scraps or carry loads to get money to buy food, they will go and steal which is not good.”<sup>I.1, I.2</sup>*

From the above analysis it seems the practices of child labour has been of much benefits to the children engaged in child labour.

Furthermore, the practices of child labour in Old Fadama is being recognized in the eyes and minds of interviewees as an aspect of negativity. This negativity is both social and economic. Fourteen (14) responses demonstrated that in practice the phenomenon (i.e. child labour) has negative socio-economic effects; it brings about social vices, health challenges, educational interferences, teenage pregnancy, and to extreme death (see Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2). These negativities are discussed below.

- *Social vices*

In practice, children engaged in child labour ends up in all manner of social vices. According to two interviewees (see Table 4.6), child labour is a practice of social vices. This is what articulated,

*“...Ooh! It is bad. The behaviour which is not good because as they are into it they will be living towards so many things, armed robbery, prostitutions, drugs.”<sup>I.5</sup>*

- *Health challenges*

The ILO (2002) classify work that children do as child labour and hazardous when the tasks for children jeopardise the health conditions of the children (child). From the analysis, it was disclosed that the practice of child labour poses challenges to the health of the children engaged in child labour. Tow interviewees pointed out,

*“...You see, it's not good at all. The work is hard, the children get sick all the time...It is not good for their health.”<sup>I.4</sup>*

*Oh! As you know, as nobody controlling, he or she sometimes can sick ...* „I.5

- *Teenage pregnancy*

In Old Fadama, children engaged in labour works includes females (girls). According to two interviewees, the girls involved in labour works most often are impregnated at a very tender age.

Two views from the interviewees reaffirm this finding, as displayed below,

*“There is no benefits of it![ ] Teenage pregnancy or unwanted pregnancy and others.*” „I.1

*“---Sometimes to when they are on the street, they become vulnerable to people which leads to rape or pregnancy.”* „I.8

- *Death*

Based on the ILO 1973 Convention on Minimum Age (C138) and the ILO 1999 Worst Forms of Child Labour convention (C182), deadly work constitute the worst forms of child labour, which is termed Unconditional Worst Forms of Child Labour (ILO, 2002; Nippierd et al., 2007). The analysis of interviewees’ views on the practices of child labour disclosed that, child labour in Old Fadama is a death phenomenon. These two expressions demonstrate this finding,

*“There is no benefits of it![ ]--- They can be victim of rape---they can be killed. Especially when they sleep in the street”* „I.1

*“The negative effects are that, e.g. the last time a girl was knocked down when she was trying to cross the street and she died on the way to hospital---.”* „I.8

- *Educational interferences*

Most of the interviewees upheld that the practices of children in labour works is a great impediment to education of the children and as well health challenges. Four (4) interviewees

believed it brings about both health problems and educational challenges. Their responses confirmed:

*“If I look at those who are in child labour, I see that they cannot go to school; they can’t live a better live; they become victims to many other things; and some are even learning armed robbery.”<sup>I.1</sup>*

*“...in terms of their education, as they have travelled to this place it directly means they have stopped schooling. Because they know that nobody will cater for their educational needs so they do not continue their education over here.”<sup>I.3</sup>*

*“---sometimes, before they could get the needed money then the school duration has passed! So they postpone it to next academic year, which most often they refuse to continue/go.”<sup>I.6</sup>*

From the above analysis, child labour practices has been helpful to the children but as well been harmful to them.

#### ***e) Working Conditions***

Boyden (1993) (as cited in Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995) concluded that the problem of identifying child labour is, not child labour itself, but the conditions under which it operates. The FAO-ILO (2011) also reports that whether an activity is considered acceptable work, child labour or hazardous child labour depends on a range of factors and conditions. It was disclosed that, the practices of child labour in Old Fadama is hazardous, physically demanding and of a bad treatment (see Table 4.6 and Figure 4.2).

- ***Bad Treatment***

Three interviewees believed that children engaged in child labour practices go through awful treatment. They explained that, practices of child labour is a phenomenon whereby children are maltreated. Two interviewees explained,

*“...for the ladies... because of place to sleep, any man that propose to them they agree so they could get some place to sleep”<sup>l.3</sup>*

*“The last time I saw some child like that, she complained that she cannot go home because, the total price of the goods was 90 cedis but 40 cedis remain, meaning there is loss of 50 cedis so when she goes home, she will be whipped. She said someone tricked her and took away all the money.”<sup>l.1</sup>*

- *Hazardous*

One interviewee revealed that, the practice of child labour is hazardous considering the overall conditions that the children work. Below is his, explanation,

*“The challenge with mine is that, I stand for longer hours cutting the plantain, hence makes my waist very painful (gives me waist and leg pains). When it occurs, I do buy pain killer to cure...”<sup>l.11</sup>*

- *Physically Demanding*

Five interviewees believed that child labour practices is a physically demanding work. Evidence that strengthened this finding was garnered from one interviewee’s articulation,

*“...hmmm...I have not eaten since morning! The work...to get some to buy food, I walk...walk... [ ] shout before...”<sup>l.9</sup>*

One can base on these findings discussed above, to affirm that there are some tasks that are unfitting for children; this makes them highly vulnerable to works that need the strengths of adults (FAO-ILO, 2011; Osment, 2014). Included in this category of physically demanding work are those that can cause injuries or damage to children’s physical development.

#### **4.5 The Causes of Child Labour practices in Old Fadama**

Every human phenomenon in global life has a cause. This section of the study presents the real factors contributing to the practices of child labour in Old Fadama. It details why people engage children in child labour and why children are engaged in child labour practices.

This section first begins with the coding structure (framework) and the thematic network system for interpretation and discussions. It well displays how the organizing themes relates.

Evidenced garnered through qualitative survey illustrates that the practices of child labour within Old Fadama is caused by numerous factors but social and economic, which has been agglomerated into three organizing themes: pull, push and other related factors (see Table 4.7 and Figure 4.3).

**Table 4.7: Coding Frequency on the Causes of Child Labour**

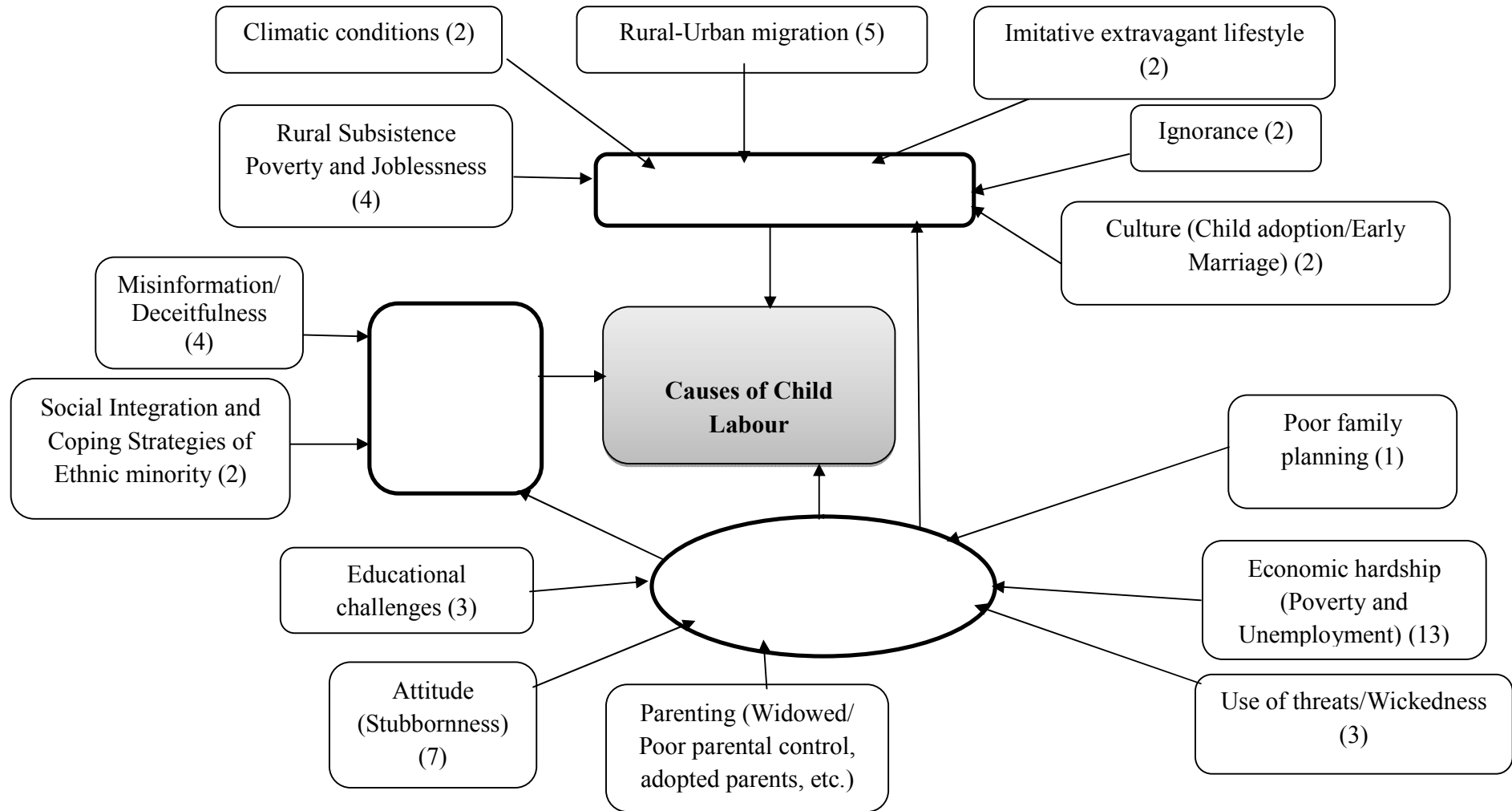
Interviewees' Identification Code		I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6	I.7	I.8	I.9	I.10	I.11	I.12	I.13	I.14	I.15	I.16	Total
<b>Organizing Themes</b>	<b>Basic Themes</b>																	
Push Factors	Rural Subsistence Poverty and Joblessness			*			*	*								*		4
	Climatic conditions							*		*								2
	Rural-Urban migration		*		*		*	*		*								5
	Imitative extravagant lifestyle		*	*														2
	Ignorance			*									*					2
	Culture (Child adoption/Early Marriage)		*				*											2
Pull factors	Misinformation/Deceitfulness	*	*	*					*									4
	Social Integration and Coping Strategies of Ethnic			*													*	2
ORF (Other Related Factors)	Attitude (Stubbornness)		*		*				*	*	*		*		*			7
	Parenting (Widowed/Poor parental control, adopted parents, etc.)	*	*	*			*		*	*					*	*	*	9
	Educational challenges			*			*	*										3

Economic hardship (Poverty and Unemployment)	*	*	*		*	*		*	*	*	*		*	*	*		7
Poor family planning					*												1
Use of threats/Wickedness	*												*		*		3

Source: Field Study, 2015

The table above (Table 4.7) displays the coding framework, which presents the organizing themes, basic themes, and respondents' identification codes used in the analysis. These codes were based on to draw the thematic network system (see Figure 4.3) and it as well shows the number of interviewees who responded or came up with responses that were used to derive each theme. For the Thematic Framework, see Appendix.

**Figure 4.3: Thematic Analysis on the Causes of Child Labour in Old Fadama**



Source:Field Study, 2015

#### 4.5.1 Push Factors to the causes of child Labour

One major interesting cause from interviewees' views on the causes of child labour is the pull factor that exist in the rural communities. With regards to the Northern part of Ghana, where most participants came from, the survey disclosed that certain factors that exist in those places are aspects of the major cause of child labour practices in Old Fadama. According to seventeen (17) interviewees, these causes included in the push factors are.

##### a) Rural Subsistence Poverty and Joblessness

In Ghana, the socio-economic word 'poverty' is not a term that needs to be currently quantified or emphasized. The level of poverty existing since colonial era is an eyesore, however in the rural sectors, it is persuasive. Its major consequences is today bedevilling the rural centres (in this case Old Fadama). Interviews with four (4) participants revealed that, the level of unaddressed poverty caused by joblessness in the rural sector force the youths (younger children) to journey a distance of several kilometres to the cities (in this case Old Fadama). Inhabitants in the rural communities like Kpandai, Yampala, KeteKrachi, etc., where most children in labour works came from find it extremely difficult to withstand the hardship brought upon them by nonexistence of payable jobs. As displayed in the Figure 3, three responses attested to this finding.

*"...in my home town there is no job to do apart from farming which is not lucrative to cater for household needs, hence I have to travel all the way from the north to look for job that will offer him money to go to school."<sup>1.15</sup>*

*"They do all because of poverty; if not there is no job at the North, we wouldn't have come here."<sup>1.3</sup>*

*The family they come from is not good--very poor, so if the child is being cater for at some level/stage, then they decide to move from the north to here to hustle for money but some are lazy (do not like working) so they indulge in all manner of social vices including prostitution but those with aspirations, they do kayaye or work at chop bar as waitress to raise money for either marriage of buy goods to the north”<sup>1.7</sup>.*

Similarly another interviewee exemplified this with his own life story when he completed SHS, “Me, when I finished SHS, I pursued to go to Ashanti region to weed to get some money to take care of myself.”<sup>1.6</sup> This has been the trend, as poverty and unemployment continually prevail in the rural settings. This finding strengthens what Clark-Bennett and Sherer (2004) report that in the rural setting, households abandoned the severity of farm work conditions to urban centers with the aim to look for economic prosperities that in reality do not often exist. In remedying these causations (poverty and joblessness), an interviewee recommended,

*“We want the government to bring investors to the north because we have a vast land which does not make operations costly. So we can get job at the north to work than coming.”<sup>1.15</sup>*

#### b) Rural-Urban Migration

Another push factor that came up in analyzing interviewee’s opinion lies on the rapid rate of rural-urban migration. As in other African countries, rural-urban migration is pervasive in Ghana. Most children and adults interviewed disclosed that they migrated from communities such as Kpandai, KeteKrachi etc., existing in the rural part of Ghana to the urban center (hereinafter referred to Old Fadama) to look for greener pastures. This phenomenon in Ghana had not been an issue if it remained so but its rapid rate and predicaments in triggering child labour makes it problematic to not only the government but to all individuals. Five interviewees

disclosed this but evidence provided is based on two (one female adult and a male adult) interviewee's opinion during the focused group discussion.

*“We are all from the north, here almost 99% of us all from the north, we are different, different, different but we all come from tamale up to search for job.”<sup>1.4, 1.9</sup>*

This also confirms what the Brown et al. (2002), Idowu et al. (2013), and Thorsen (2012) uphold that the rapid rate of rural-urban migration in countries like India, Nigeria, China, and other developing countries are the source of the devastating rate of child labour in urban communities.

### c) Imitative Extravagant lifestyle

Deliberating on the push factors, analysis of interviewees' views informed that the flamboyance life style of urban-based indigenous rural people is also a contributory source of child labour practices existing in Old Fadama. It might be oblivion as how this factor in, but two participant interviewed brought to light that, when rural migrants in the cities fortunately get the prosperity that they aspired to achieve in the cities, they return to their villages (hometowns) to show up extravagant lifestyle which motivates and ginger families, parents and households to compel other young children to also come down to the cities to hustle for money (greener pastures) to live similar flamboyant lifestyle. This is confirmed by their responses,

*“In terms of the cause, at times they (other households) consider the dressing and your wealth of those who return to the village, when they see it they also encourage their boys to come to Accra to work for money that will make their family wealthy.”<sup>1.2</sup>*

*“At the north, if they see that children are able to raise money to buy things to the north, other parent over there also force their children to come here to work to also get some money for the family. This motivates others to move from there to this place. But the fact is that, when they come here some of the things they carry are too heavy for them so they go in for the scraps and selling of pure water.”<sup>1.3</sup>*

One can base on this to prejudge that the causes of child labour practices within Old Fadama is the exemplification of prosperous life that children from the city portray in the rural sector. On the other hand, understanding of this attitude (parents forcing their children to go to the cities to generate wealth) of rural parents means that, a possible motive parents in poor countries bear children is the fact that the children will be profitable (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

d) Ignorance (Lack of Information)

Furthermore, hidden cause of child labour within Old Fadama, is that parents or household heads in the place of origin of the children engaged in child labour practices were completely not informed or lacking any information or knowledge about whatever their children do at the various destinations (where they travelled to). There is an evidence that shows that most of the children's (children involved in child labour) parents were kept in ignorance of their children's activities in Old Fadama. One woman interviewed explained,

*“My brother, hmm...the parent at Kpandai don't know, they don't know that this is what they are here to do.”<sup>1.3</sup>*

The cause of parents' ignorance perhaps might due to the high illiteracy rate among households in the rural communities in Ghana. Likewise what Francavilla and Giannelli (2007) asserted, “Lack of awareness or ignorance about child labour and child work is a direct product of poor education of illiteracy, societal norms, and poverty.”

e) Cultural Practices (Child adoption and Early Marriage)

Some culture practices in the rural communities were identified to be contributory cause of child labour. Traditional practices such as child adoption by relative(s) or family member to help in farmlands and domestic chores and early marriage through force were among the top causes that

force children to migrate to Old Fadama leading them to be engaged in child labour practices.

One interviewee has this to say;

*“You know us? The Northerners! We have marriage age. So if you do not go to school and still staying at home dependent on your parent, your parent will ask you to bring a boy who is interested in you for marriage. So if the girl has one, then they go in for marriage, but if she does not, the family will provide her one for marriage.”<sup>1.6</sup>*

This finding is a demonstration of what the ILO (2002) unravelled that traditional practices including social characters geared towards child labour and work immensely and additionally escalate the widespread of child labour in most part of the world. These cultural practices most often facilitates the supply aspect of children in labour works. This as well undoubtedly strengthens the argument raised by the reasoned action theory which explains that the attitudinal component of an idea that forms part of the intension is made up of what is known to be the perceived outcome of the practice that is under consideration.

#### f) Climatic Conditions

The seasonal rainfall accounts for child labour within Old Fadama. This seems strange but evidence proves that directly the climatic condition at specifically the northern terrain of Ghana compel indigenous inhabitants to migrate to the south to look for alternative job to do. This according to interviewees is ubiquitous during the dry season. One interviewee's response *“there is no rain fall so if they are there they are just sitting down there not doing anything. So they have to move down here to do that job,”<sup>1.7</sup>* was captured to substantiate this finding.

#### 4.5.2 Pull Factors to the causes of Child Labour

Another agglomerated factor that brings about child labour in the study area is the existent of pull factors within Old Fadama that apparently and directly tow children from various communities into child labour practices in Old Fadama. These pull factors are: 1) Misinformation/Deceitfulness, and 2) Social Integration and Coping Strategies of ethnic minority group resident in Old Fadama (see Table 4.7 and Figure 4.3).

##### a) Misinformation/Deceitfulness

As discussed above, because of ignorant and the cultural practices of child adoption, the parents of most children engaged in child labour were deceived by their relatives resident in Old Fadama. During the interviews, it came to light that, parents specifically women who need house helps, shop keepers, or trading assistants intentionally travel to the north to misinform/deceive other family members or relatives or friends to adopt their children with the aim of catering for them to alleviate the economic burden of the children's parents, however, when they get to Old Fadama, they indulge the adopted children into labour practices that they did not disclose to their parents. This is based on two interviewees' assertions during the focus group discussion;

*"In some circumstances, some parents or people will go to their families (parents) to seek permission to take the children here with the aim to help the children but later you will realize it will not be so."*<sup>1.1</sup>

*"That is sometimes, they will say it is my sister's or brother's son or daughter, brought here to help me but they reach here they do not let the children do the purpose for bringing them here. That is they deceive the children's family."*<sup>1.8</sup>

#### b) Social Integration and Coping Strategies

Social integration and coping strategies of ethnic minority groups settled (resident) in Old Fadama, according to two (2) interviewees were among the causes of child labour in Old Fadama. That is, certain communal practices are a prone to child labour (Siddiqi and Patrinos, 1995).

Not doubting Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) assertion, the analysis demonstrates that, there is a shared way of understanding multi-ethnic activities among residents of Old Fadama, which over the years have been a source of existing child labour. Through participatory observation and the focus group discussions, it was demonstrated there is a strong collective force on people's beliefs, values, and norms and a set of networks of inter relationships between indigenes and non-indigenes residents towards ensuring peaceful co-existence and a collective consciousness and sense of belongingness. This has been a means for rapid flow of most migrated children to Old Fadama to participate in every labour practices. As one interviewee explained,

*“Master! Here when they come here they sleep in 4, 5 and even 6 batches in the mosques and kiosk. They have no problem with accommodation; the Mosques are there...,there streets are there...,the structures are also there...,they all go together to sleep and wake up to work.”<sup>l.3</sup>*

The major agents of social integration where found to be cultural institutions such as the Mosques and societal clubs.

This makes it evident that mosque and societal clubs which has been identified by the reasoned action theory as a subjective norm influences the practices of child labour.

#### 4.5.3 Other Related Factors

The study identified other related factors to be 1) Attitude (Stubbornness), 2) Parenting, 3) Economic hardship (poverty or financial challenges), 4) Poor family planning, 5) The use of

threats and wickedness, 6) Educational challenges and 7) unemployment (see Table 7 and Figure 3). As discussed below, these factors were categorised as a general cause of child labour and Old Fadama because it directly and indirectly relates to the aforementioned pull and push factors.

**a) Attitude (Stubbornness)**

To begin with, the analysis of gathered data proved beyond doubt that the cause of child labour in Old Fadama is partly attitudinal. There was an indication during the survey that some children were willing to do labour works. Example, a young girl interviewed gave a reason for quitting school to fry plantain chips,

*“For me I have stopped schooling long time. I stopped at primary 5 when I was here. I stopped not because of anything but I stopped to work to get money.”<sup>1.12</sup>*

Another young girl also added,

*“Me like this, if I get that job (labour works) I will do it because now I am at store doing nothing, wasting time.”<sup>1.10</sup>*

In support of this, a 10 year child dealing in scraps also explained why he was into child labour, *“I decided to do it, even though I am partly influenced by my colleagues.”<sup>1.14</sup>* This finding is a demonstration that 8 percent of children decide for themselves to be engaged in work (ILO, 2010; Otoo et al., 2009).

Assessing from interviewees’ responses, it as well demonstrates that directly linked to attitude is casual attitude (negligence). That is, the children engaged in child labour practices do not care about the consequences involved; all what they are interested in is the money to take care of themselves.

Adding to the elements of attitude is the issues of ‘Disobedience/Stubbornness’ on the side of the children engaged in labour works. This is based on two young men’s opinion,

*“Some to have parents but due to disobedience/stubbornness [ ] they indulge in prostitution and other social deviant activities.”<sup>1.7</sup>*

*“Some to when their parents leave them to the market, then they refuse to go to school and rather move around doing all sort of things.”<sup>1.8</sup>*

A woman’s explanation, *“So some children are in the same situation as mine but some to it is stubbornness they will run away from the north to the south to do these child labour works,”<sup>1.4</sup>* during the focus group discussion.

#### **b) Parenting Problems**

It is worth mentioning that parenting is among the contributory cause of child labour in Old Fadama. Analysis of interviewees’ expressions indicate that poor parenting and/or single parenting promote child labour in the study area. Most of the children interviewed expressed that they were not living with their parents. For the few, dependent on their parents, they were being forced to sell before leaving for school. As one interviewee said,

*“Yes. Because...some children’s parent have fridges before going to school they give them pure water to sell.”<sup>1.6</sup>*

More to this, some 11 years children interviewed claimed they live with their siblings but they have abandoned them hence have to engage in labour works to make a living. A sorrow expression, *“I take care of myself. I live with my sister. My sister do not help... [ ]... take care of me so I do not also do anything for her at home,”<sup>1.14</sup>* expressed by an 11 year boy, during the survey. Another 11 year girl into child labour exclaimed, *“I used to stay with my brother over here, but now he has abandoned me over here (hmm...)”<sup>1.9</sup>*

Furthermore, a detailed evidence disclosed by an interviewee strongly affirm that, some parents also encourage their children to be engaged especially in street child labour. The interviewee expressed broadly,

*“Regarding the course, it is in two cases. First, if a child is living with her mother only and the mother leaves the house to go and struggle for money, the child can also say oh let me also go out to try and get something to do to help and the mother will also encourage the child to go. But to some, it is the parents who in put (enforce) these things into the children which makes them go out to do those things. It is balanced!”<sup>1.8</sup>*

According to Francavilla and Giannelli (2007) survey in developing countries, they noticed that parents represent 62 percent of the source of induction of children into employment. This finding confirms that, that the unsubstantiated motive of parents in developing countries bearing children is the fact that the children will be profitable.

Additionally, the big challenge in terms of parenting as a causative agent of child labour in Old Fadama is the situation whereby children lose their parents or do know their parents hence being adopted. There are evidence to prove this. Two participants during focus group discussion pointed out in details, these,

*“...sometimes it is death on the side of parent. Because, if a parent is living and does not have money, no matter what they will find the means to get what it takes to take care of the child. The poor parent will never send their children to someone else for catering or will not maltreat the child. But in a situation where the parents are dead, the child will engages in labour work...”<sup>1.7</sup>*

*“...some to, they are staying with their step parents (mother or father) so they are not getting the help they need so they have to think about how they will cater for themselves. And up till now it is still existing that if your mother or father is not there is pressure on you to make a living...”<sup>1.8</sup>*

The fact is, due to child adoption, poor parenting, and/or lack of parenting, most child: found to be involved more in child labour in Old Fadama, and are either self-dependents or independent, as literature term it ‘child dependency’. The issues discussed above demonstrate that parents and parenting play a very vital role in the entire lives of children as children depend directly on parents in their upbringing (Otoo et al., 2009).

### **c) The use of threats and Wickedness**

Directly associated with the issues of parenting, is the maltreatments (malpractices) that children go through in the hands of their parents or caretakers or adopted parents. This according to one female interviewee is wickedness, as she explained, “*There is no benefits of it... [ ] ...it is out of wickedness.*”<sup>1</sup> The young woman angrily asserted that,

*“Sometimes, they scare the children, that if they do not sell all the products of items, they should not come home which scare the children hence are not willing to come home. Some do not even come home at all.”*<sup>1</sup>

This is not different from what the study of Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995), “Children are pressed to work by their parents. This finding supports the position of the Reasoned Action theory that the benefit of a practice is vital to the involvement of any practice.

### **d) Educational Challenges**

While education is slowing down, child labour is rising up—a seesaw phenomenon. Educational challenges including poor infrastructure, inaccessibility, sub-standard, and even poor parent education trigger the phenomenon of child labour. According to Hilson (2010) most often children who seek employment are those who do not get access to school.

The analysis of raw data confirmed Hilson’s (2010) statement. Educational problems exist in areas where the children came from and at the same time where they reside. The fact is, most of

the children interviewed were either school drop outs or did not school before engaging in child labour practices. For the few, it is because of the high cost of education which compelled them to resort to labour works to enable them earn money to cover up educational expenses. Some of the responses that confirm this finding are,

*“I do not go to school... [ ]...my sister --- does not take care of me.”<sup>1.11</sup>*

*“Because they know that nobody will cater for their educational needs so they do not continue their education over here.”<sup>1.3</sup>*

*“They complain that, examination cost is expensive. Some want money to buy uniform and others to attain SHS.”<sup>1.7</sup>*

This finding validates what Thorsen (2012), and Osment (2014) articulated that low quality, poor or absent of formal education, the expenses of schooling and poor educational level of parents together causes child labour. Understanding of this finding could on the other hand mean what Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) asserted that children’s school attendance correlates highly with family income, hence if children dropout of school it does not necessarily mean that parents are irresponsible, but might be due to the family’s financial situations. But still, when children do not get access to school or drop out of school, they become potential labourers (employees).

#### **e) Poor Family planning**

Decisions concerning family size to a large extent among the causes of child labour in Old Fadama. Even though among the causes of child labour in Old Fadama, it is the least recorded factor; the analysis performed brought to light, poor family planning as a factor causing child labour. This was disclosed by one interviewee.

*“Assuming you give birth to more than five children instead of two or three it can bring child labour. Because you can't control or feed them so definitely you bring child labour.”<sup>1.5</sup>*

#### **f) Economic Hardship (Poverty and Unemployment)**

Generally undisputed cause of child labour by most scholars is poverty and unemployment. Siddiqi and Patrinos (1995) explained in their study that, children work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves. Analysis of participant's views authenticate that yes it is. The outcome of the analysis is that poverty and unemployment exist everywhere, specifically Old Fadama and at the place of origin of the children engaged in child labour.

The FAO-ILO (2011) also reported in similarly that most children work for the sake of their survival and the survival of their parents, although their parents acknowledged that it is wrong. The study attest to this as thirteen (13) interviewees unravelled that poverty and unemployment were the consequential cause of child labour. As one respondent exclaimed,

*“They do all because of poverty. This is because, there is no job. And here to everything you do, you will pay for it, if you don't work how can you pay rents bills?”<sup>1.7</sup>*

Another 11 year girl who is self-dependent explained, *“I charge 1 cedi for small loads and 2 cedis for heavy loads to take care of myself.”<sup>1.11</sup>* This could be an illustration that an extreme proportion 46.1% of Ghanaians live below a dollar, a sign of abject poverty (GSS, 2014). More to this, two interviewees added that,

*“...the children do the labour work in order to raise money for their needs”<sup>1.3</sup>*

*“...they (children) come here to work for a while to raise money to either rent and stay in it or take it to the north.”<sup>1.2</sup>*

This reaffirm the study by Hilson (2010) in the Talansi-Nabdam district in Ghana that children engaged in child labour are the bread winners of their family and the FAO-ILO (2011) report that child labour phenomenon is more prevalently found in poorer countries and deprived regions.

Another two interviewees also explained,

*“I will say that, for those children engaged in child labour, what they aim at is all about money so if you do not have money for them you cannot stop them from child labour. So if you have money to help them not to engage in that act then they will obey you and do it.”<sup>1.7</sup>*

*“---some want money to buy uniform and others to SHS. They do all [ ] because of money/poverty.”<sup>1.6</sup>*

This is a sign that the poverty level poses an enormous adversities on families and children as well. Making child upbringing an economic burden, forcing parents to engage their children in all manner of trades and works (Oteng-Ababio, 2011).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the analysis and discussions of child labour issues in relation to the literature findings and interviewees' responses and opinions. This is the last chapter of the study, which presents the summary of the findings in chapter four relating to the objectives of the study, derive conclusion from it and essentially initiate appropriate and applicable policy guidelines to remedy or eliminate child labour in Old Fadama.

#### 5.2 Summary of Findings

The findings of the study through systematic investigation are summarized below relative to the research objectives.

##### *5.2.1 Demographic Profile of Interviewees*

The analysis of interviewees' demographic data demonstrated that, majority (8) of the interviewees were within the 11-15 year category while the few (2) were within the 21-30 year category. The marital status of the adult participants statistically apportioned a greater number (5) to married couples. Moreover, the educational background of most adults interviewed were low, majority (5) had JHS qualification. Religiously, an extreme number (6) of adult interviewees were Muslims. In terms of ethnic origin, adults with Dagomba background recorded the highest figure (4). Lastly, it was evident that, most (2) of the men were scrap dealers and that of the women, 2 were food vendors.

The findings on the demographic characteristics of the selected children interviewed, revealed 'head potter' and 'scrap dealings' as the most dominating labour works children at Old Fadama do. Regarding the ethnicity of the children interviewed, it came out that majority (3) were of Kokomba origin. With regards to education, poor educational profile was captured. The analysis brought to light that, most (3) did go to school, and 3 ended at primary level. Religiously, as similar to the adults interviewed, majority (5) of the children were of Muslim background. The summary of the demographic profile of interviewees was based on the detailed profile provided in the Table 3 in the chapter four of the study.

### ***5.2.2 The Meanings Ascribed to Child Labour in Old Fadama***

The first specific objective of the study is to establish the meanings levelled against child labour by interviewees in Old Fadama. Respondents by their meanings were able to differentiate the various constituents of child labour that occurs in Old Fadama. They were able to interpret child labour practices as:

- a) Physically engaging work activity: That is an activity that is difficult and beyond the physical strength of children. Fourteen (14) interviewees explained that child labour is a difficult activity whiles three (3) interviewees based it on the physical state at which children engage in labour practices.
- b) Means of Survival: A way or approach of obtaining financial and economic resources to sustain life. Seven interviewees interpreted child labour to be children's survival technique. .
- c) Children's Workplace: The meaning of child labour by 14 interviewees was based on the place that children perform the labour works. Eleven (11) interviewees perceived

child labour to be children working in the street. Whereas, 3 defined child labour to be children working in the house.

- d) Specific category of children working: Two categories of children were identified and used by 15 interviewees as the meaning of child labour. Of the 15 interviewees, eight (8) thought child labour to be a ‘School dropout children or Children not schooling but working’ and nine (9) thought is a ‘Self-Dependent children’.
- e) Sentiments: This is the only emotional meaning ascribed to child labour by 10 interviewees. These interviewees meant child labour to be a worrying practices and bad phenomenon.

The study based on these findings to achieve the first specific objective.

### ***5.2.3 Practices of Child Labour in Old Fadama***

The analysis of the primary data garnered showed that the practices of child labour in Old Fadama was within the spectrum of five organizing themes. These were:

- a) Employment Avenues: Child labour practices is a full time and commission work. From the analysis of nine (9) interviewees’ revealed that children engaged in labour practices work for full time and sometimes on commission basis.
- b) Effects (Impact): Based on 31 responses, it was established that the practices of child labour have both negative and positive impact. 22 interviewees acclaimed the practice provides children alternative livelihood, marriage, income (money), good work and training skills (apprenticeship). Per contra, 14 interviewees made it known that in practice, child labour brings about negativity, and this includes: educational interferences, social vices, teenage pregnancy, death, and health challenges. Nine

interviewees believed that children engaged in child labour practices go through awful treatment, and physical demanding works. These interviewees' responses helped pointed out that, the practices of child labour in Old Fadama is hazardous, physically demanding and of a bad treatment.

- c) Working Conditions: The conditions under which children work is the major issue, as discussed in the literature review section in chapter two, of identifying child labour.
- d) Specific works based on Gender: Findings from the analysis of 25 responses proved that the practices of child labour in Old Fadama, was based on an observable specific work of boys and girls. The practices is an engagement of: a) little boys in scrap dealings, off-loading yams, tomatoes, and luggage, and b) little girls in kayaye, apprenticeship job, and selling (e.g. plantain chips, pure water, and cosmetics).
- e) The Key Actors: The main people identified to be engaged in the practices of child labour were parents (biological and non-biological), family relatives, traders, and self-dependent children. Analysis of 27 responses demonstrated that, these actors were the pillars in the practices of child labour in Old Fadama. These findings affirmed what the Reasoned Action theory, which states that the benefit of a practice is key in every decision.

The study based on this finding to accomplish the second specific objective aimed at identifying child labour practices in Old Fadama.

#### ***5.2.4 Causes of Child Labour Practices in Old Fadama***

The thematic content analysis performed diagrammed pull, push and other related factors (ORF) as the main causes of child labour in Old Fadama, which are all both economic and social.

Among the myriad of:

- (i) Pull cause comprised: rural subsistence poverty and joblessness, rural-urban migration, imitative extravagant lifestyle, ignorance (Lack of Information), cultural practices (Child adoption and Early marriage), and climatic conditions. These pull causes were highlighted by 6 interviewees.
- (ii) Push cause included: deceitfulness (misinformation), and social integration and coping strategies of ethnic groups resident in Old Fadama. Seventeen (17) responses came up with the push factors.

The pull and push causes confirmed the subjective norm component of the reasoned action theory which states that the environment of individual shapes their behaviour.

- (iii) Other related factors were attitude (stubbornness), parenting problem (widowed, poor parental control, and adopted parents), poor family planning, use of threats and wickedness, educational challenges, and economic hardship (poverty and unemployment). These factors were directly and indirectly related to the pull and push factors. That is they were classified to be a general cause of child labour in Old Fadama. As high as 38 responses recorded from interviewees pinpointed these factors.

All these causes were identified categorically in the analysis as social and economic, which was based on to attain the last specific objective that seeks to identify the causes of child labour practices in Old Fadama.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

In the past two decades, Ghana has made significant inroads when it comes to the rights and protection of Children. Based on the summary of findings above, the study at this stage

concludes that, the meanings and practices of child labour in Old Fadama is socioeconomic and ubiquitous in the street and among self-dependent people. Moreover, it is fair to add in the conclusion that, as at the time of submission of the final report, there is no government or private intervention implemented or executed to weld out child labour practices in Old Fadama.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

Child labour issues were found to be social and economic. In addition, it was discovered and established that, there is no intervention executed or implemented to weld out child labour practices in the study area. Based on these findings, the study at this phase proposes three recommendations:

Firstly, formulation and implementation Social Policy Intervention Strategies: The social intervention strategies should aim at redressing educational challenges. That is formulation and implementation of a better sustainable educational reforms in terms of infrastructure and quality teaching. This intervention should include incentives such as consistent school feeding programmes, free basic education, and creation (establishment) of standardized educational centers in various deprived communities.

Secondly, adoption of Economic Intervention Strategies: These strategic policies should aim at redressing (alleviating) poverty. In Old Fadama and as other similar researches on child labour reported the prime cause of child labour is poverty. Wherever, there is poverty, there is child labour. Every economic policy should target job creation to minimise high rate of unemployment and abject poverty that is triggering the creation of children workforce and compelling parents to negligently indulge their children in labour practices.

Lastly, there should be a suspension of Child Labour Law (Acts) Enforcements: Most research works conducted on the child labour phenomenon advocates the enforcement and establishment of child labour laws and reforming or strengthening existing ones as soon as possible as a prudent approach to eliminate child labour practices. Contrarily, this study does not endorse this proposition but recommends that enforcement of child labour Acts (laws) could be best as most scholars uphold, it will be a precautionary weapon to restrain parents and people from engaging children below 18 years in child labour practices but the major consequence is that it will worsen the real existing situation, especially in the case of Old Fadama. This is because, most children found to be engaged in child labour practices were self-dependent or independent in life, and some to were the 'bread-winners' in their family so enforcing child labour laws directly and immediately is a destruction of their means of survival besides it will let hunger (starvation) kill alot of children. That is, many children in the case of Old Fadama will go hungry because for some children their parent do not have money (live in abject poverty), hence it is throughout their effort (toil) that brings some for their family to eat. So if the government use force to resist these category of children from going to work it will not worry the children only but their parents as well.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Interview Guide

#### SECTION A: Demographic Characteristics

1. Please tell me about yourself.  
Probe on age, sex, occupation, religion, level of education, ethnicity, and place of origin, marital status, number of children (sex of these children), how many live with you/elsewhere, number of wives if male (if non-native, how long you have been in this community)

#### SECTION B: Child Labour Issues

##### B. Establishing Level of Understanding of Child Labour Among Household

1. Have you ever heard the term “child labour” before? From where?
  - A. If yes, what does the term “child labour” mean to you/ can you define child labour?
  - B. If no, try explaining the term and seek the view of the respondent on it.
2. Can you give an example of child labour? Probe with what you know from the literature
3. Are there different types of child labour? At home? On the street? Which one is common?
4. What is your opinion on child labour issues? And why do you have such a view?
5. Are there any known benefits of child labour? What are they?
6. Are there any known harmful effects of child labour? What are they?
7. What are the reasons for the existence of child labour?

##### C. Identification of Child Labour Practices among Households

8. What are the daily duties of your children workers?
9. How do you feel about their daily duties?
10. Does your child engage in any activity that brings home income? What does he/she do? What is the child’s birth order? Are some of these duties sometimes harmful to them? If yes, mention the harmful duties. *Skip next question if there are no such duties*
11. Do you sometimes worry about your child workers responsibilities/duties? Why?

##### D. Evaluation of the causes of child labour practices among households

1. Do you know of any child or family going through the issues of child labour in this community? What is their situation like. Probe on (poverty, education, health, safety, income of the child, etc)?

#### SECTION C: Recommendations

What measures do you know of, that can help eliminate this (Child Labour) practice?

What advice do you have for those practicing child labour?

## **Appendix II: Interview Guide Children Engaged in Child Labour**

### **SECTION A: Demographic Characteristics**

- Please tell me about yourself.  
Probe on age, sex, occupation, religion, level of education, ethnicity, and place of origin, marital status, number of children (sex of these children), how many live with you/elsewhere, number of wives if male (if non-native, how long you have been in this community)

### **SECTION B: Child Labour Issues**

#### B. Establishing Level of Understanding of Child Labour

2. Have you ever heard the term “child labour” before? From where?
  - A. If yes, what does the term “child labour” mean to you/ can you define child labour? B. If no, try explaining the term and seek the view of the respondent on it.
3. Can you give an example of child labour? Probe with what you know from the literature
4. Are there different types of child labour? At home? On the street? Which one is common?
5. What is your opinion on child labour issues? And why do you have such a view?
6. Are there any known benefits of child labour? What are they?
7. Are there any known harmful effects of child labour? What are they?
8. What are the reasons for the existence of child labour?

#### Identification of Child Labour Practices

9. What are your daily duties as a child?
10. How do you feel about your duties?
11. Do you engage in any activity that brings income? Do some of these duties sometimes harmful to you? If yes, mention the harmful duties. *Skip next question if there are no such duties*
12. Do you sometimes worry about your your responsibilities/duties? Why?
13. Evaluation of the causes of child labour practices among households
14. Do you know of any child or family going through the issues of child labour in this community? What is their situation like? Probe on (poverty, education, health, safety, income of the child, etc)?

### **SECTION C: Recommendations**

15. What measures do you know of, that can help to eliminate this practice?
16. What advice do you have for those practicing child labour?
17. What do you think can be done to make children not get involved in these activities?

### Appendix III: Thematic Framework on the Practices of Child Labour

Global Theme	Organizing Theme	Basic Theme	Number of responses	Definition	Quotes
Practices of Child Labour	Key Actors	Biological Parents	5	Actual parents of children engaged in child labour	"...I am leaving with my mother. [ ] --- I work--- [ ] I prepare plantain and sell it." <sup>1.11</sup>
		Non-biological parents (Adopted parents)	4	Parents who adopt children engaged in child labour	"---Somebody will give his/her child to someone else to travel or sometimes the nature of this is that the child has not reached that level to do the work but letting the child to do it because, the child has been given to him/he---" <sup>1.1</sup>
		Family Relatives	5	External family members including cuisines, nephews and aunts	"My Auntie...she lets me work everyday from the this time to the evening..." <sup>1.11</sup>
		Traders	3	People selling varieties of items in the market and at open spaces	" <u>Okay!</u> Sometimes those (marketing women/traders) selling orange, tomatoes, pineapple, banana etc. [ ] the children come for some and resell it..." <sup>1.5</sup>
		Self-Dependent Children	10	Children not under anyone's care or protection.	"I decided to do it [ ] ---" <sup>1.13</sup>
	The specific works based on Gender	Scrap dealings	7	A profession of collecting and selling waste metals for livelihood	"...Most of the boys do scrap dealings and metal works." <sup>1.8</sup>
		Selling: e.g. plantain chips, pure water, cosmetics, etc.	8	Hawking of edible and drinkable items in the street and at open spaces	"For the girls most like selling of plantain chips, and pure water [ ]." <sup>1.4</sup>
		Head potters	6	People who carry heavy things using head pan, basket and/or carrier	"For the girls most like the kayaye, that is what most do over here. That is the only thing they do." <sup>1.4</sup>
		Offloading of yam, tomatoes, and luggage.	2	Carrying edible and non-edible items from loaded vehicles	"...most of those between 15 to 17 years carrying yams and tomatoes, and people's bags from the cars and some apprentices." <sup>1.8</sup>
		Food vendors	2	People selling food on the street	"--- and most when they come here from the north the metallic things is what they are interested in doing. <u>That is all those young boys over here do.</u> For the girls (hmm) most

					<i>like the kayaye! That is what most do over here.</i> <sup>1.14</sup>
Working Conditions	Bad treatments		3	Maltreating children by whipping and beating	<i>"The last time I saw some child like that, she complained that she cannot go home because, the total price of the goods was 90 cedis but 40 cedis remain, meaning there is loss of 50 cedis so when she goes home, she will be whipped. She said someone tricked her and took away all the money."</i> <sup>1.1</sup>
	Hazardous		1	Harmful work that jeopardizes children's safety	<i>"The challenge with mine is that, I stand for longer hours cutting the plantain, hence makes my waist very painful (gives me waist and leg pains). When it occurs, I do buy pain killer to cure..."</i> <sup>1.11</sup>
	Physically Demanding		5	Working demanding lots of walk (energy)	<i>"...hmmm...I have not eaten since morning! The work...to get some to buy food, I walk...walk...[ ]shout before..."</i> <sup>1.9</sup>
Effects (Impacts)	Negative	Death	4	Lethal work: capable of leading the children to death	<i>"The negative effects are that, e.g. the last time a girl was knocked down when she was trying to cross the street and she died on the way to hospital. Sometimes to when they are on the street, they become vulnerable to people..."</i> <sup>1.8</sup>
		Social vices	2	Engagement in robbery, stealing, sexual immoralities	<i>"...Ooh! It is bad. The behaviour which is not good because as they are into it they will be living towards so many things. Pregnancy, armed robbery, death."</i> <sup>1.5</sup>
		Teenage pregnancy	2	Working girl carrying unborn child	<i>"There is no benefits of it! [ ] Teenage pregnancy or unwanted pregnancy and others. They can be victim of rape--- Especially when they sleep in the street"</i> <sup>1.1</sup>
		Health hazards	3	Threats to children welfare	<i>"...You see, it's not good at all. The work is hard, the children get sick all the time...It is not good for their health."</i> <sup>1.4</sup>
		Educational Interferences	3	Discouraging children from schooling	<i>"If I look at those who are in child labour, I see that they cannot go to school; they can't live a better live; they become victims to many other things; and some are evening learning armed robbery."</i> <sup>1.10</sup>

	Positive	Marriage	5	Dating for future family	<i>“For the girls, they get boyfriend which they get pregnant which leads to marriage. It happens for both girl and boys.”<sup>l.6</sup></i>
		Income/money	10	Fiscal earnings	<i>“I collect scrap and --- I get 5 cedis for my daily bread and as well finance other activities before I close.”<sup>l.13</sup></i>
		Good work	2	Avoid children in engaging in theft, and armed robbery.	<i>“The benefit is that it is better than stealing so it is good work. It is only for those who do not like hard work that go into stealing and other things.”<sup>l.3</sup></i>
		Training/ Apprenticeship	1	Equip children an entrepreneurship skills	<i>“Aside money I get training skills---i.e. for those who are not experienced they can take it as an opportunity to learn it.”<sup>l.11</sup></i>
	Employment Avenues	Full time	6	Working from early morning till late evening	<i>“[ ]...full work for living...”<sup>l.9</sup></i>
		Commission based	3	Earning based on outcome	<i>“...Okay! Sometimes those women trading [ ] the children come for some and resell it, to get some interest/commission on it. So by the end of the day, they will get some little money.”<sup>l.6</sup></i>

Source: Author's study, 2015

### Appendix III: Thematic Framework on the Causes of Child Labour

Global Theme	Organizing Themes	Basic Themes	Number of Responses	Definition	Quotes
	Push Factors	Rural Subsistence Poverty and Joblessness	4	Existence of unemployment in rural communities	<i>"...in my home town there is no job to do apart from farming which is not lucrative to cater for household needs, hence I have to travel all the way from the north to look for job that will offer him money to go to school."</i> <sup>1.15</sup>
		Climatic conditions	2	Dry season constraining farming activities in rural sectors	<i>"there is no rain fall so if they are there they are just sitting down there not doing anything. So they have to move down here to do that job."</i> <sup>1.7</sup>
		Rural-Urban migration	5	Movement of people from the villages to the cities	<i>"We are all from the north, here almost 99% of us all from the north, we are different, different, different but we all come from tamale up to search for job."</i> <sup>1.4, 1.9</sup>
		Imitative extravagant lifestyle	2	Learning from the experiences of people who were once engaged in labour works	<i>"In terms of the cause, at times they (other households) consider the dressing and your wealth of those who return to the village, when they see it they also encourage their boys to come to Accra to work for</i>

					<i>money that will make their family wealthy.”<sup>1.2</sup></i>
		Ignorance	2	Lack of awareness on what children do in cities	<i>“My brother, hmm...<u>the parent at Kpandai don't know</u>, they don't know that this is what they are here to do.”<sup>1.3</sup></i>
		Culture (Child adoption/Early Marriage)	2	The traditional practices of willingly allowing ones child to work with any family member who needs a helper	<i>“You know us? <u>The Northerners! We have marriage age</u>. So if you do not go to school and still staying at home dependent on your parent, your parent will ask you to bring a boy who is interested in you for marriage. So if the girl has one, then they go in for marriage, but if she does not, the family will provide her one for marriage.”<sup>1.6</sup></i>
	Pull factors	Misinformation/Deceitfulness	4	Usage of untruthful and flattery pleasantries with intention to adopt a child from his/her mother	<i>“In some circumstances, some parents or people will go to their families (parents) to seek permission to take the children here with the aim to help the children but later you will realize it will not be so.”<sup>1.1</sup></i>
		Social Integration and Coping Strategies of Ethnic	2	Religious groups and clubs that have come together to help individual member of the same origin	<i>“Master! Here when they come here they sleep in 4, 5 and even 6 batches in the mosques and kiosks. They have no problem with accommodation; the Mosques are there...,the streets are there...,the structures are also there...,they all go together to sleep and wake up to work.”<sup>1.3</sup></i>

	ORF (Other Related Factors)	Attitude (Stubbornness)	7	Resistance to advice from parents	<i>“For me I have stopped schooling long time. I stopped at primary 5 when I was here. I stopped not because of anything but I stopped to work to get money.”<sup>1,12</sup></i>
		Parenting (Widowed/ Poor parental control, adopted parents, etc.)	9	Calibre of people taking care of children and its associated issues	<i>“Regarding the course, <u>it is in two cases</u>. First, if a child is living with her mother only and the mother leaves the house to go and struggle for money, the child can also say oh let me also go out to try and get something to do to help and the mother will also encourage the child to go. But to some, it is the parents who in put (enforce) these things into the children which makes them go out to do those things. It is balanced!”<sup>1,8</sup></i>
		Educational challenges	3	Socioeconomic challenges constraining school going children	<i>“Because they know that <u>nobody will cater for their educational needs</u> so they do not continue their education over here.”<sup>1,3</sup></i>

		Economic hardship (Poverty and Unemployment)	7	Inability to purchase expensive items and needs for living	<i>"They do all because of poverty. This is because, there is no job. And here to everything you do, you will pay for it, if you don't work how can you pay rents bills?"<sup>1.7</sup></i>
		Poor family planning	1	Giving birth to many children without planning for the future consequences	<i>"Assuming you give birth to more than five children instead of two or three it can bring child labour. Because you can't control or feed them so definitely you bring child labour."<sup>1.5</sup></i>
		Use of threats/Wickedness	3	Indoctrinating children with threats	<i>"There is no benefits of it... [ ]...it is out of wickedness."<sup>1.1</sup></i>

Source: Field Study, 2015