NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (NTNU)

MASTER'S THESIS

CHILDREN'S PERSPECTIVES ON WORK AND MIGRATION IN YEJI, GHANA

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (MPHIL) DEGREE IN CHILDHOOD STUDIES, NTNU.

JUNE 2018, TRONDHEIM

Declaration

I do hereby declare that, except for references to other sources which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the product of my own research

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Acknowledgement

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to JEHOWAH GOD then my husband, Rickson Annan and son Benjamin Annan.

Abstract

The study explored children's perspectives on work and migration. The aim of the research was to explore the similarities and differences between children, caregivers and NGOs narrative of migration, fosterage and work and bringing to the fore families/community and NGOs perspectives on the implication of children's work to their wellbeing. Methodology employed for the study included interviews, observation, ranking exercise, recalling, focus group discussion and drawings. Also, the study made use of ethical strategies such as privacy, confidentiality, protection, power balance and respecting cultures.

The study made some findings that most children view work as part of socialisation in the society, whilst others also see it as securing one's future. Also, the main reason for migration leading to fosterage and work was poverty followed by high birth rate, divorce, single parenthood and the guest for greener pastures. Most of the children confirmed feelings of self-worth that comes with working since the society respect and appreciate a child who is hardworking. In addition, it revealed the contradicting viewpoints of NGOs on migration, work and fosterage. The study observed that there is a rift between the parents/community members and the NGOs in the area since the community members see the NGOs as interfering in their personal business.

It is evident from the study that some children are actively involved in the fishing work and majority of them are school dropouts whilst some are combining both. The cost of enrolling the children into schools involves pertinent cost which makes it difficult for the parents or guardians to afford hence forcing the children to help-out with the family business. In summary, children's work is very important to their wellbeing thus help prepare them for the future. However, they should be protected, and the law should at least make basic education free for all children to attend school, so they can have basic education in addition to the work they do. Children voices must be listened to in order to make policies pertaining to children lives and wellbeing.

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List of Abbreviations

ACRWC   African Chapter on the Right and Welfare of the Child

CORM   City of Refuge Ministries

FCUBE   Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education

GSS   Ghana Statistical Service

HIV/AIDS   Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune

       Deficiency Syndrome

MIHOSO   Mission of Hope International

NGO   Non-Governmental Organisation

NSD   Norwegian Centre for Research Data

PACODEP   Partners in Community Development Programme

PTA   Parent Teachers' Association

UNCRC   United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

IOM   International Organisation for Migration

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

This is a qualitative research conducted in Ghana on children's perspectives on work and migration in Yeji. It revolves around children's fosterage, family system, work and children's participation. The thesis also outlines the aims of the research as well as the research questions involved. It elaborates on the organisation of the thesis for easy accessibility and reading.

Children's migration has been a common practice in Ghana and Africa as a whole. The discovery of children right has had a different meaning to children's migration hence the enquiry into how children view the rationale behind migration. This is a qualitative research with the use of child centred research methods to collect data on children perspectives on migration often resulting in fosterage and work.

Children's migration needs to be understood from the historical and economic-moral contexts in which households in a particular geographical area have always depended on the labour of all active members in the rearing of the young ones (Boyden & Howard, 2013). Hence, children's migration should not be understood on the surface but should be researched into to understand the history and other reasons that contribute to children's migration in a particular area and time.

Institutions however have their own language concerning children's migration. Thus, according to Boyden & Howard (2013), institutions working on child welfare across a variety of contexts have come to understand children's migration as child protection violation, representing a spontaneous act that stems from adult negligence and exploitation and causing harm to children, their families and their communities.

Child migration has been argued to be a result of family breakdown compounded by the set of ideas, which holds that independent movement is basically dangerous for the young (Boyden & Howard, 2013). Moreover, they continue to stress that by children leaving the protective domestic area, key familial ties are detached, and young people find themselves in

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abusive relations with strangers hence the frequent fusing of child migration with child trafficking.

Communities have a set of needs that ought to be met by its members. Therefore, most children in Ghana relocate from their communities to other places to work in the form of apprenticeship or making ends meet to support the family back home. Consequently, child fostering does meets communities' wider socio-cultural needs, thereby serving as a form of shared coping with adversity in family networks and a means to promote social bonds (Kassa & Abebe, 2016).

In this thesis, children perspectives made use of variety of methods such as interviews, ranking method, recall charts, focus group discussion and observation to collect data as well as employing ethical considerations such as power relations between adults and children, voluntary participation, privacy and reciprocity. It will use literature and discussions on children's migration, work and child fostering to analyse the work.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This topic came about after the news being published on the plight of working children who are said to be subjected to abuse and how unsafe and dangerous the work is to them in various media.[1] Moreover, after reading articles on children's migration and work in most NGO web pages, I decided to undertake this research focusing on children's own perspectives rather than NGO narratives or media reportage to find out children's own perspectives on migration. NGO narratives about children migration has been termed as "trafficking" thereby reporting on children as helpless without agency. Looking at documentaries on television and the plight of these children, it compelled me to find out whether what the media and other institutions portray is the same as children's own perspectives.

Meanwhile, the families also see children migration as not harmful but part of socialisation in the communities. The research field of the Social Studies of Childhood and Children helped

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[1] Sources: accessed on 23rd April 2016 from https://www.touchalifekids.org/carecenter/, accessed on 23rd April 2016 from https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/crime/Five-children-rescued-from-child-traffickers-383454. Accessed on 23rd April 2016 from https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/immigration-service-intensifies-campaign-against-child-trafficking.html

me to perceive children as social actors with agency. Communities have a set of needs that have to be met by its members hence most of these families in Ghana have to make ends meet

The research was based on children's daily activities and uncovered the genesis of these children`s lives. For the purpose of this thesis, "child" means a person below the age of eighteen years.

1.3 Aims of the Research

To explore the similarities and differences between children, caregivers and NGOs narrative of migration and also bring to the fore parents/community viewpoints and NGOs perspectives on the implication of children's work to their wellbeing.

1.4 Research Questions

- How do children view the social and cultural reasons for their migration?

- How do children view the work they migrate to engage in?

- How do parents, the community and NGOs perceive children's work and migration?

1.5 Relevance of the Study

This study adds knowledge to the existing academic knowledge on children. This will bring to the fore the agency portrayed by children in their daily lives as they carry on their work. Thus, it will see children as competent whose voices must be listened to. The Social Studies of Children and Childhood has been bringing to the fore the need to see children as competent "beings" who can construct their own world instead of "becomings" who are incompetent (James & Prout, 1990).

1.6 Organisation of the Chapters

The thesis has been divided into eight chapters comprising of the introduction, background, theoretical framework, methodology, analysis/discussion and concluding chapter.

Chapter one starts with the introduction, the statement of the problem, overview of the research including the reasons for choosing the topic, aims and research questions and overall plan of the other chapters.

Chapter two represents the background/context chapter which talks about the scope of Ghana, the Volta Lake, research site, policies and interventions on children and working children

which include Convention on the Right of the Child, Children's Act, Human Trafficking Act, children's Act and the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. It ends with the relevance to the study.

Chapter three includes the theoretical framework on issues explored. It unveils related literature in connection to the topic. It also presents the tenets of Social Studies of Children and Childhood and other relevant theories and concepts like Agency, work and chore curriculum.

Chapter four unveils the methodology chapter which comprise of the sources of data, child focused methods, sampling methods, ethical considerations employed, limitations and challenges to the study, data interpretations and summary of the chapter.

Chapter five represents the analysis and discussion of the data collected. It includes analysis on children and parent/community perspectives on children's migration, and fosterage. It includes the map of Ghana showing the study town and the important towns and Lake as mentioned in the thesis.

Chapter six discusses children's work and participation, where their work is the focus. It also includes the benefits children derive from work and the challenges encountered during work. It further showcases how children develop resilience in their work and the self-worth that comes with work.

Chapter seven touches on the NGOs conflicting perspectives on children's work and migration.

Finally, chapter eight the concluding chapter, summarises the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for future policies that will help and safeguard children in their lives.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND CHAPTER

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief overview of Ghana from the aspect of socio-economic features, health, demography, education, culture and political climate, language and religion in Ghana. It also gives an overview of the fieldwork site and the Volta Lake as well as the language, education, cultural and economic activities in the area. It further outlines some international and government policies and interventions directed to the protection of children in the country.

2.2 Scope of Ghana

Ghana was a former British colony which took its name from the Sudanic Empire of Ghana which existed during the fifth to thirteenth century (Gocking, 2005). On March 1957, Ghana, the then Gold Coast gained independence from the British. Ghana is found in the West Africa with a population of 24,658,823 million comprising of 12,024,845 males and 12,633,978 females (GSS, 2012). According to the 2010 Housing Census, the age structure of the population is dominated by young people, with about 40 percent under 15 years of age. Only 4.7% of the population are elderly (65 years and above).

Ghana's capital is Accra. The country has ten administrative regions comprising of Ashanti, Central, Western, Northern, Eastern, Upper West, Upper East, Brong Ahafo, Volta and Greater Accra region. The fieldwork was conducted in Yeji, the Pru District of the Brong Ahafo region in Ghana. The gross domestic product per capita is 1,328 dollars (GSS, 2012). Ghana has an area of 238,540 square kilometers and consist of rainforest and savannah woodland (Gocking, 2005). The infant mortality rate in the country is 36.3 (GSS, 2012). There are two major seasons comprising of dry and rainy seasons.

The country has natural resources which include minerals such as bauxite, manganese, gold, timber, crude oil, and diamond. It can boast of cash crops, livestock, arable crops as well as fish found in the various water bodies especially Lake Volta. The major ethnic groups in Ghana as officially provided by the Bureau of Ghana Languages indicated in 2010 that Akan was the largest ethnic group in the country representing 47.3%, followed by Mole Dagbani 16.6%, Ewe 13.9%, Ga-Dangme 7.4%, Gurma 5.7% and Guan 3.7% (GSS, 2012).

Seventy-one percent of the population (71.2%) are reported to be Christians (Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal/Charismatic and other Christian) followed by Islam (17.6%) and Traditionalists (5.2%) in 2010 (GSS, 2012).

2.3 Lake Volta

The research was conducted in communities around the Lake Volta which serves as a major transportation and fishing business to the towns along it. The Lake Volta is the largest man-made lake in the world found in Ghana. It consists of two rivers that have converged to form the Volta Lake. The lake flows from the northern part of Ghana to the southern part of the country and eventually joins the Atlantic Ocean in the south. The maximum extent of the river eventually cover 8,000 km and is 400 km long and 30 km broad (Viner, 1970). This is about 4% of the area of Ghana, covering a region mainly of dense savannah and tropical rainforest in the south.

The average depth is about 30m. The lake is formed by the construction of the Akosombo Dam in 1965 (Gocking, 2005). The reason for the construction was to generate hydropower to fuel industrial growth in the country (van de Giesen, Andreini, van Edig, & Vlek, 2001). The lake however also serve other purposes such as transportation of people and goods, tourism, fishing, wood lumbering, and irrigation purposes (Gocking, 2005). Fishing has been the major economic activity for the inhabitants of the communities located along the banks of the Lake. The lake serves as a source of livelihood in the form of fishing business, farming and transportation.

2.4 Fishing in Ghana

Ghana has a long coast and lakes that offer employment in the fishing sector. According to Kielland & Tovo (2006), fishing requires strength and endurance from the fishermen to be able to catch and haul onboard the fishes to be able to sell to the public. Most fishermen and some natives living around the lake are not making enough money and have limited possibilities to send their children to school (Kielland & Tovo, 2006). Hence many families place their children in apprenticeship with either their relative or other members of the family. Parents who usually send their children into apprenticeship are generally poor who cannot cater for all their children's needs. Therefore, fishermen usually use the apprentices' work as a form of acquiring skills in the industry. Apprentices are not paid but when there is abundant catch, they are given some of the bounty to sell for their up keep.

Life as a fisherman and fishing apprentice is not easy but tend to be hard coupled with the dangers involved in fishing (Kielland & Tovo, 2006). The researchers further add that some dangers encountered include uncertain incomes, gruelling schedules, long hours spent on the lake and the lack of rest. Usually this is considered male work. However, girls are sometimes sent onboard to drain water from the boat. On the shore both sexes join in to transport the catch, clean the fish and help sell them in the various markets. In Yeji fishing area, these apprenticelike arrangements are common and have been in practice for a long time (Kielland & Tovo, 2006).

2.4.1 Fishing Community

The fishing community involves children being trained on how to handle a boat, mend fishing nets, swim and dive in a form of apprenticeship. On the Lake, the net is cast to trap the fishes and the children help to pull them on board of the canoe. However, some also scoop the water that comes into the canoe back to the lake to prevent the canoe from sinking.

On the lakeshore, the fish are removed into big pans to be ready for sale. Sometimes the fish are grouped and sold to the fishmongers, usually women, who in turn sell them smoked or fresh at the market centres on retail or wholesale to other traders. Most children especially females, are seen preparing the fish for family use.

2.4.2 Market Community

The market community involves the trading of foodstuffs such as yams, plantain, cassava, cocoyam, groundnuts, grains and cereals (GSS, 2010). The sale of animals such as cattle, poultry, sheep, goats and guinea fowls are also a common scene during market days in Yeji. Furthermore, other products such as clothes, provisions, vegetables, furniture and household utensils are sold in the market. The women especially sell the smoked fishes to other traders on wholesale which is being sent to other parts of the country such as Accra, Kumasi, and Sunyani.

Children are seen selling both fresh and smoked fishes on trays in the market. Other enterprises and businesses such as hotels, secondary schools and other cooperate entities inside the town also come to purchase the fishes in wholesale for their use. The market community is very busy with a lot of traders from all over the country engaged in trading activities. There is a market day for trading whereby sellers and buyers come from towns and

villages around Yeji to trade which is weekly, and it starts from dawn to the evening every Tuesday.

2.5 Setting

The study took place at the river bank as well as in the marketplaces. The shore involves the fishermen, fishmongers and other traders who come to trade. The local fishmongers also buy and preserve the fish in the form of drying, salting, smoking and freezing to sell them at the market centre. Most of the fishmongers are the wives or family members of the fishermen.

There are all kinds of people on the shore ranging from babies, children, adults and the old people as well. Apart from the selling of the fishes on the shore, most fishermen and their crew including children on the boat are seen mending their nets which have been torn during the catch. Children carry out a range of tasks: work on board vessels, unloading catches, preparing nets and baits, sorting, processing, and selling of fishes.

2.5.1 Yeji in the Pru District

Yeji is the study town and a business centre as well as capital town of the Pru District of the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. The population of Pru District, according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census, is 129,248 representing 5.6 percent of the region's total population (GSS, 2012). Males constitute 50.9 percent whilst females represent 49.1 percent in the district. About 63.1 percent of the population resides in rural localities. The Pru district shares boundaries with seven (7) other districts, all in the Brong Ahafo Region and covers an area of 3220.7kmsq. The Pru River, which is a tributary to the Volta Lake flows across the northern part of the district (GSS, 2012).

Moreover, the Volta Lake and other streams such as Sele, Kefoose, Kalekya, Pre and Nyelase flow through the district (GSS, 2010). The Ghana Statistics Service (2010), in their report, made mention that the district has fertile nature of alluvial soils which is good for food production and agricultural business in the district. Accordingly, familiar tree species found in the district include, Dawadawa, Acacia, Baobab, Mahogany, and Shea trees (GSS, 2012).

2.5.2 Language and Education

The Yeji town is inhabited by the Nchumurus, who are the original settlers but due to economic reasons migrant workers from Mamprusis, Konkonbas, Frafras, Kusasis, Moshies,

Ewe, Ga-Dangme, Dagonbas, Gonjas, Dagaaba's and Akans constitute the major ethnic groups in the district (GSS, 2010). According to the National Population Census (2010), Twi, Ewe, Ga, Gonja, and Nchumuru are languages mostly spoken in the district. However, there are many languages spoken in Yeji and its surroundings due to migration and the market centres.

The main native dialects in Yeji are the Chumburung, Dagbani, Kokomba and Twi (GSS, 2010). Nevertheless, the Twi language which is widely spoken in the country is used in communication because of the market centres whereby most traders from the southern part of Ghana engage in business with the natives. According to the National Population Census (2010), 49.6 percent of the population do not have formal education illiterate whereas 50.4 percent have formal education in the Pru district.

2.5.3 Economy, Cultural and Social Structure

The people of the Pru District have a very rich cultural heritage. The people of Yeji celebrate the annual Kajuji Festival which is a rich cultural practice that unites the people in the area according to the National Population Census and Housing in 2010 (GSS, 2010). The main economic activity in the district is agriculture which comprises of farming and fishing. Yeji, the District capital is acknowledged as the largest inland supplier of smoked/salted fish, cattle and other food crops such as yams, plantain and maize in the district (GSS, 2010).

According to the statistics, the fish market serves as the main backbone of the District Assembly's revenue. The primary modes of transportation in the district are road and water. The use of boats, ferry, and canoes to carry people and goods on the Volta Lake is vital to the people and serves as a major link between the district and the Northern Region. The Akosombo Queen, a ferry is also one important means of transport on the Volta Lake (GSS, 2010).

2.6 The Extended Family System

The extended family has traditionally played an important role in caring for children who will succeed them in the future. Children are of great importance to the household and the community. According to Bourdillon (2007), traditions and values of these communities dictate that children are to be cherished and seen as blessings from God and of the ancestors, since life without children according to the inhabitants is seen as meaningless. Thus, children

belong to the kinsmen and community and not only to the parents. The extended family which comprises of the kinsmen of both parents provides a safety net for the children to grow into responsible adult. The family views children as young people who need help from adults in growing up to maturity by learning from the experiences of adults in the family (Bourdillon, 2007). For this reason, raising of children in the extended family is perceived as the responsibility of the whole family and belongs to the extended family.

Care for children is shared among the kin whereby the senior adult relative takes responsibility for the children's needs (Bourdillon, 2007). Children most of the times live with other relatives apart from their parents when they need the children services.

2.7 Fosterage System in Ghana

Child fostering practices in West Africa is quite common between families for some time now. According to Goody (1982: 23), fostering is defined as the "relocation or transfer of children from their biological parents or natal homes to other homes where they are raised and cared for by foster parents". She further argues that the African extended family system has the responsibility to raise children who are also kin. According to Goody (1982), West African countries tend to practice child fostering as part of their socialization into the community thus it is acceptable practice and culturally approved by the society.

This is to say that the child belongs to the whole community not only the parents and therefore individuals from the family should help support each other (Verhoef, 2005). Fostering usually occurs among kinship and can be extended to others who are not kin when no member of the kin is ready to take the fostering role for the children (Craig, 2010). Thus, some non-relatives or non-kin can provide better opportunity such as schooling, vocational training or apprenticeship when the kin are unable to provide for the children.

This is to argue that biological parents by virtue of giving birth to the children benefits from fostering arrangement since the social parents do nurture and train the children and help them acquire some skills necessary for independent future lives. However, these biological parents may receive some incentives in terms of money or material things from the arrangement. Due to poverty, most parents would rather give out their children to much wealthy people just for their children to have better upbringing and much opportunity (Craig, 2010; Goody, 1982).

Children can be fostered at a younger age for example age three to seventeen depending on the reason for such arrangement. For instance, in the case of bareness or infertility, children

are usually fostered at a young age, so the foster parents form a bond with the child. Due to economic hardship and other positive incentives, most parents might not hesitate to foster out their children (Bledsoe & Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985).

Moreover, African households tend to have little savings as well as highly unstable income hence there is not enough to share (Kielland & Tovo, 2006). Thus, the little money saved is shared with the extended family either in monetary or material terms. The extended family system has served provide for children during times of crises such as death, sickness, HIV/AIDS pandemic and other crises (Ansell & Young, 2004; Craig, 2010). Thus, HIV/AIDS orphans in southern Africa were helped a lot by the extended family who had to care for the children left behind by their parents due to the sickness (Ansell & Young, 2004).

The practice of child fosterage can be both voluntary and crisis-led fostering (Madhavan, 2004). Child fostering strengthens social and kinship ties through the benefits both parties enjoy. Also, some fosterage arrangements are not the result of economic hardship, but rather other reasons such as better formal and vocational education (Eloundou-Enyegue & Stokes, 2002). For instance, when children are sent to grandparents as a form of companionship amid others. Children may also experience foster care from people other than their relatives, arranged between the parents of the child and the foster caregivers. These arrangements involve transactions between the two parties without the child's knowledge. Children involved receive food and shelter in exchange for services (Bourdillon, 2007). Others receive formal or vocational training.

However, some children work so that the money will be sent to their parents back home. This arrangement benefits the children's parents since they receive something from the foster parents in exchange for the children services (Bledsoe & Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985). This is to say that children might learn skills or be educated for the future and foster parents will get help from the children in the domestic work or their businesses to flourish.

According to Bourdillon (2007), due to deaths and sickness of a parent or both parents, children are divided among the family members to offer care for them. However, poor and struggling parents also send their wards to other relatives that are rich and capable of caring for the children. Also, some people follow traditions by sending children to live with either grandparents or other family members as part of traditional system of socialisation to strengthen the kinship ties. (Bourdillon, 2007). The least two reasons for sending a child to

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some non-kin are training and education though fostering tend to happen amongst kin (Madhavan, 2004).

Goody (1982) also indicated that the children fostered by extended family usually pay off the foster parents by providing labour for the training and nurturing. This process she refers to as the reciprocity of the guidance efforts in caring for the child. However, cultural traditions and practices have strong influences on child rearing and child development, concentrate on the roles of children in the family community and society (Karunan, 2005). Child fostering therefore, is part of the traditional practices in socialising children into adulthood (Eloundou-Enyegue & Stokes, 2002). Nonetheless, the children who are sent to live with their grandparents are a source of companionship and in return receive informal education on good morals and values (Eloundou-Enyegue & Stokes, 2002).

Most children benefit from staying with other people other than their parents since such fostering arrangement gives children the opportunity to attend school, learn a trade, vocational and skills training, better life, apprenticeship with an artisan, protection, developing social skills and better opportunities in finding a husband (in cases of girls) (Craig, 2010; Eloundou-Enyegue & Stokes, 2002; Goody, 1982; Kielland & Tovo, 2006) This is to say that such children will live a more prosperous life in the future, than those living with biological parents that are poor or struggling to care for their children. The parents left behind are assured a trade or apprenticeship and a better life for their children. This eases the economic pressure on them whilst at the same time receive remuneration for the children's services (Craig, 2010).

Parents and families assess which fostering arrangement is beneficial for the children (Bledsoe & Isiugo-Abanihe, 1985). Child fostering must be understood in the context of the norms that are deemed fundamental in a particular area (Alber, 2003). Recently, these fostering arrangements have assumed a new dimension as society keeps changing. Fosterage is being exploited by people as children are at the receiving end of the exploits. There have been recruiters who negotiate with the biological parents and send their children to work in non-kin homes where they go into various forms of domestic servitude and apprenticeships.

Most parents are assured that the children would be allowed to acquire vocational training or formal training but in reality, it does not materialise, but such children end up without any training for the future. Here, they are in limbo and are between foster hood, employment or

servitude (Craig, 2010). Many children go through exploitations such as long hours of work, inadequate sleep, verbal abuses among others (Bourdillon, 2007). To sum up, children might be exploited under the guise of fosterage especially when the non-kin are being referred to as aunties and uncles hence making it difficult for other people to offer help to these children.

2.8 Policies and Interventions on Protecting Children

The country has policies concerning children's work, education, health, and wellbeing. Some major policies that the country has adopted to protect children's wellbeing are the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), The Children's Act (1998) and Anti-trafficking laws such as Human Trafficking Act in 2005 (Act 694).

2.8.1 The 1992 Constitution of Ghana

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana is the overall laws in Ghana that constitute the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the citizens. However, there are some additional set of laws governing children's welfare and their wellbeing. This constitution ensures protection from slavery and abuse, accessible education, affordable health care and protection from forced labour of children. For instance, article 16 of the Constitution states that:

(I) No person shall be held in slavery or servitude. (2) No person shall be required to perform forced labour" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992: 14).

Though article 16 ensures that forced labour and slavery should be eliminated, in reality things are different. Though this law is outlined in the constitution, it does not really take effect in practice since others involved in forced labour are due to poverty, unemployment, the continuation of old cultural values among others. Therefore, this law might not have any effect on children involved in forced labour.

In addition, the constitution outlines children's right to education. Formal education is very important to children's upbringing as it equips them with the necessary tools and skills to help them survive in the world. The constitution entails how to provide good educational facilities for children thereby making education accessible for all children.

Article 25. *(l) "All persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realization of that right. (a) basic*

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education shall be free, compulsory and available to all; (b) secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular, by the progressive introduction of free education" (Constitution of Ghana, 1992: 24).

The educational rights of children outlined in the constitution ensure that children in Ghana have access to basic education. The Government of Ghana has provided free exercise books, uniforms in some schools, canceled school fees and introduced school feeding programmes. However, this law has not been applicable to all children in the country. Some of the research participants were attending school whilst others were not. This law does not have a strong impact on the children I did fieldwork with since most schools in the area lack furniture, infrastructures and sometimes lack of qualified teachers.

Petty fees and levies such as Parents Teachers Association fees, extra classes fees, exercise books and exams printing fees are collected from parents and guardians making some of the children drop out of school since some cannot afford those petty fees. Those children who attended school did not go to school regularly. Academically, those children were not doing well in school thereby making some of them not enjoying school work. Nevertheless, this law has forced most parents and guardians to enroll their children in school despite the challenges they go through to cater for their children.

In addition, Article 28 outlines the protection laws governing children's lives in areas of their upbringing, health, work and all aspects of their lives. These laws ensure that parents and family performs their responsibility in the upbringing of their children thereby making sure that they are protected from any physical torture or abuse (Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

Article 28. *(c) parents undertake their natural right and obligation of care, maintenance and upbringing of their children in co-operation with such institutions as Parliament may, by law, prescribe in such manner that in all cases the interest of the children are met (d) children and young person's receive special protection against exposure to physical and moral hazards' and (e) the protection and advancement of the; family as the unit of society are safeguarded in promotion of the interest of children. (2) Every child has the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his health,*

education or development. (3) A child shall not be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Constitution of Ghana, 1992: 25).

This law works with institutions such as the Ghana Police Service, Social Welfare and Ministry of Women and Children to ensure that children are protected from all kinds of abuse, torture and practices that endanger them. The social welfare ensures that parents take responsibilities for their children. The police ensure that people found abusing children are fined and persecuted thus, serving as a deterrent to others who indulge in abusing and endangering children. However, the ministry also ensures that the interest and wellbeing of children are seen to. Although this law exists in the country there are challenges in implementing it. Consequently, these institutions have not been well equipped with the essential things that are needed for implementing the laws.

2.8.2 The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Ghana became the first country to ratify the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in February 1990 (CRC, 2014). The country has made efforts to bring its domestic legislation to conform to the convention. The convention has 54 articles that cover all aspects of children's life. The convention spells out the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that all children are entitled to everywhere in the world (Alderson, 2008). It also explains how adults and governments must work together to make sure all children can enjoy all their rights.

The government of Ghana has over the years tried putting down regulations to promote the rights of children in the country. Some of the articles are very specific to the children aspects of life including education, work, health, freedom of speech and protection. The following are some articles in the UNCRC that are vital to the research.

Article 12. 1. *"States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. 2. For this purpose, the child shall, in particular, be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law"* (UNCRC, 1989)

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This article is very important for children who undertook this research since it affects them. The article entails the right of children to be heard by expressing their views freely in all aspects of their lives. According to the article, children should not be prevented to share their thoughts and ideas. Importance must be placed on what they express and must be given the necessary attention.

There is this popular adage that "children should be seen but not heard" which has left children voiceless in areas of their welfare, rights and development (CRC, 2014). According to Article 21.1(a) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana, all persons have the right to freedom of speech and expression (Constitution of Ghana, 1992). Though Ghana was first to ratify UNCRC, it still has a long way to go in terms of making it work effectively (CRC, 2014).

The formation of children parliament in Ghana proposed by the Government of Ghana has not been effective since it is situated in the capital cities and therefore children in the research area are left out. However, most children are not aware that such parliament law exists and therefore leaving no opportunity for them to be heard. Though all children in Ghana have the right to be heard and express their views it is limited due to cultural and religious practices which make this law ineffective. It does little to help children in the aspect of being heard. On the ground children in the research area lack the capacity to be heard due to the nature of the family and the traditions in the society.

Nonetheless, UNCRC Article 28 spells out the education rights of children and measures to put in place to encourage every child to be educated. Formal education in the research area is poor since most of them do not attend formal school. The 1992 constitution of Ghana also has article 25 law which ensures that all children get equal access to formal education and has put much in place to make it successful though there are some challenges which comes with it.

Bourdillon (2011), added to the fact that free compulsory education is rarely cost-free in practice. The government of Ghana has introduced the Free Basic Compulsory Education where schooling is free thereby making sure all children have access to formal education. This free education comes with Capitation Grant[2] and School Feeding Program which helps to encourage children to attend school thereby lessening the financial burdens on parents.

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[2] Capitation Grant is the money that the central government transfers through the District Education office to basic schools based on the number of pupils in each school. The purpose of capitation grant is to ensure free education in basic schools.

However, most children in the research area work rather than attending school since it is their source of livelihood. Below is Article 28 in the UNCRC that contains children's right to free basic school education and access to secondary schools.

Article 28. *1. "States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular: (a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all; (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need; (c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means; (d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children; (e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates".* (UNCRC, 1989).

Article 32 talks about the protection of children from exploitation when it comes to working children. Furthermore, any work that poses as a threat to children's health and their developmental well-being should not be encouraged. Ghana community recognizes working children, therefore, ensures that the work is not harmful to them and does not interfere with their studies (Imoh, 2012). This law also spells out the working hours for working children.

Article 32. *1."States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. 2."States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular: (a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum age for admission to employment; (b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment; (c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article (UNCRC, 1989).*

In reality, this law is less applicable in the research area. Most of the children are working more hours and are not in school due to work. Some of the working activities pose a threat to children's lives in terms of health, physical and emotional wellbeing.

2.8.3 The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)

ACRWC which was adopted in 1990 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union (AU), recognized the need to take appropriate measures to promote and protect the rights and welfare of the African Child.[3] The ACRWC is divided into two parts comprising of 48 articles. Part one of the convention contains 31 articles which deals with the rights, freedoms and duties of the child whilst Part two of the convention contains 18 articles which deals with States' obligations to adopt laws to enforce the provisions of the Charter (ACRWC, 1999).

However, most African children live in critical situations with circumstances pertaining to the African continent such as their socio-economic, cultural, traditional and developmental circumstances, natural disasters, armed conflicts, exploitation and hunger factors and on account of the child's physical and mental immaturity (ACRWC, 1999). The part one of the chapters however, cut across indiscrimination, education, freedom of expression, child labour, abuse, sexual exploitation, trafficking and abduction, armed conflicts, adoption and the best interest of the child among others. These rights were specific for African continent because of the challenges it is encountering (ACRWC, 1999). This is also part of the policies being used in Ghana to protect and safeguard children and the less privileged. These laws have added to the existing laws in the country to help and safeguard children. These policies on children may have little effect on the lives of children in the researched area.

2.8.4 Human Trafficking Act in 2005 (Act 694)

This is an Act for the prevention, reduction, and punishment of human trafficking, however; it is also for the rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficked persons and for related matters concerning children. It came into force in 2005 by the president and parliament of Ghana. It contains prohibition and offenses relating to Trafficking, Complaints and Arrest, Rescue,

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[3] Source: https://www.unicef.org/esaro/children_youth_5930.html accessed on in October 2016.

Rehabilitation and Reintegration, Human Trafficking Fund, Human Trafficking Management Board and Miscellaneous (Human Trafficking Act, 2005).

This Act is also one of the policies the government of Ghana has put in place to protect children in the country. The government has been able to enforce these policies by setting up taskforce who rescue children and arrest perpetrators who are involved in the act of trafficking. There are shelters in the researched area where people can report cases of trafficked children.

2.8.5 The Children's Act 1998 (Act 560)

This is an Act which consolidates laws that relates to children by helping to provide the rights of the child, protection from child labour to matters of education. The Act includes non-discrimination, right to education, protection from torture, harmful and exploitative labour, parental duty and responsibility and right to an opinion (Children's Act, 1998). The government enforces this Act for the protection of children lives in Ghana. This law is being implemented and children in the research area are being affected by it. For instance, the staff of Social Welfare periodically carry out home visits to children reported to be indulged in exploitative labour and other similar cases by making sure the best interest of the child shall be paramount in any matter concerning the children.

2.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented the overview of Ghana and the research area where the research was conducted. It includes the geographical, cultural, socioeconomic, education, health and general lifestyle of the people in that geographical area. In addition, the laws and policies that protect children in all aspect of their lives were highlighted to serve the best interest of all children and young people in Ghana.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CONCEPTS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a presentation of the relevant theories and concepts that are considered pertinent to the research project. They include the Social Studies of Children and Childhood, agency, significant debates on children's work, as well as the "chore curriculum" by Lancy (2012). The empirical data can be understood better with the use of some concepts used in reference to the research questions and the aims of the project. Eventually, the chapter outlines the literature contribution to the debates on children's life and work.

3.2 The Social Studies of Children and Childhood

Childhood has been recognised as both social and generational phenomenon by sociologists in the field of the study (Alanen & Mayall, 2001). According to the researchers, sociological studies have strongly argued for the value of studying children in their own right and from their own perspective. Children, their relationships, cultures, knowledge, experiences and their life conditions have been identified to be among the vital areas that empirical studies about children must directly focus on. Studies into children's relationships and experiences of other generational groupings fall under the umbrella of the Social Studies of Children and Childhood. However, the purpose of the study is to explore children's views and experiences on the work they engage in and try to search for and understand the meaning from their point of view.

There are six tenets of the paradigm; the Social Studies of Children and Childhood. These tenets will be briefly mentioned since the study focuses directly on children (James & Prout, 1990). Although the study does not seek to critically examine these individual tenets in order to assess them, appreciating how they relate to children and childhood and more specifically to the study is relevant. The first among the tenets is that childhood can be understood as a social construction. It is a social construction in the sense that "the immaturity of children is a biological fact of life but the ways in which this immaturity is understood and made meaningful is a fact of culture" (Prout & James, 1990: 7). The researchers further argue that "it is these facts of culture which may vary, and which can be said to make of childhood a social institution and a social construction" (ibid: 7). Childhood therefore, should not be

viewed as a holistic concept but rather, a better understanding of it emanates from focusing the lens of research on the specific culture under study. Childhood must be contextualised and applied specifically to where studies about children and their lifeworld are done. Thus, childhood is as an aspect of human societies and, "as distinct from biological immaturity, is neither natural nor universal feature of the human groups but appears as a specific structural and cultural component of many societies" whilst the second tenet advocates that "childhood is a variable of social analysis in the sense that it can never be entirely divorced from other variables such as class, gender, or ethnicity" (Prout & James, 1990: 8).

Also, the third tenet reveals "children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspectives and concerns of adult" (ibid: 8). It suggests that researchers must not attempt to infuse their bias understanding of children experiences when they undertake empirical studies which deals with children. Otherwise, the exact meaning in children narratives would be lost. Rather, they must endeavour to search for meanings in what children present and their life stories. Studying children in their own right might also suggest the idea that such young humans understand their environment and the things that go around them.

The fourth tenet according to the researchers is that "children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live" (ibid: 8). This tenet highlights the argument that children are capable of charting the path of their lives, are affected by and affect the structures of society. The agency in children's lives is summed up in this particular tenet. The fifth and sixth tenets of the Sociology of Children and Childhood touch on "ethnography as a useful methodology for the study of childhood and the engagement in and response 'to the process of reconstructing childhood in society" respectively (ibid: 8). Thus, the researcher used ethnography which is very necessary when doing research with children since it allowed children to fully participate and provide a voice for the data.

In recent years, it has been widely preached by supporters of the Social Studies of Children and Childhood that empirical studies into children and their lives must soundly hinge on these tenets which serve as the foundation of the research. A revisit to the pillars of the Social Studies of Children and Childhood has highlighted the importance of taking seriously children narratives and placing the due weight on what they present. Since the study has a direct bearing on children, childhood and their everyday life experiences, an emphasis of the

tenet of the main theoretical framework is vital. The empirical data from the field will be analysed and the discussions built around this framework.

3.3 Agency

Agency is not only limited to micro-constructionist understanding of being a social actor but it being linked to the "powers" of those positioned as children to take charge in their everyday life (Alanen & Mayall, 2001). The source of children's agency is found in the social organisation of generational relation. According to Mayall, "one of the main characteristics of childhood offered by young people is its difference from parenthood" (Mayall, 2002: 45). This "never-to-be-repeated time" in children's lives exerts power in relation to parenthood and other relational categories (ibid: 45).

Children exhibit agency through resistance, refusal, argument and creativity in their everyday lives (Mayall, 2002). This section will look into agency as a theoretical perspective and how useful it is to the study. Working children must have a certain level of control in life in order to compete in an adult dominated world. This in a way brings forth their agency and raises pertinent questions such as how is children's agency highlighted in the work they do? Do working children have control over their lives? Delving into the concept of agency as a theoretical perspective will unravel the intricacies in children lives as the empirical data is analysed.

One of the theoretical concepts which will be crucial in the analysis of the empirical data from the field is agency. Children exploring their agency is seen when they engage in the fishing business, a type of work which could be considered 'adult work'. The ability for children to chart their course of live through many challenges demands that their agency comes to the forefront. Several empirical studies (Qvortrup, Corsaro, & Honig, 2009; Robson, Bell, & Klocker, 2007) have shown that children possess and exhibit agency in many different situations.

Robson et al. (2007: 135) argue that the "wider body of ongoing research on young people's everyday lives across the world...clearly demonstrate how the shift to viewing young people as individuals with the capacity to act and shape their own lives rather than seeing children as simply adults in training, passive and innocent dependents, or victims has become firmly established". These and many other studies have shed bright light on children's ability to navigate through adult dominated space.

In order to constructively connect this theoretical concept to the study, a definition of it would be appropriate. Agency is argued to be "an individual's own capacity, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their life worlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives" (Robson et al., 2007: 135). The researchers further argue that viewing children as individuals with agency implies that these young ones are "competent social beings, doers and thinkers" who are not passive recipient of adult's care (Prout & James, 1990: 8). Rather, they actively sift out the best and construct their lives through engagement with the environment they find themselves in.

As these working children migrate to these fishing communities, it is expected that their agency would surface as they engage in various activities. Young people's migration could therefore provide a lens through which to study their agency. Having briefly shown and discussed how the "discovery of children as agents" is supported by empirical studies, careful attention will be given to the analysis and discussion of the data from the fieldwork (ibid: 136). From this angle, the discussion would be done paying close attention to signs of children's agency as and when they might crop up in the data.

3.4 Debates on Children`s Work

Children's work has been part of some cultures around the world. Whilst it is argued that childhood is a "never-to-be-repeated time when children could enjoy the freedom", play and explore, others hold opposing view (Mayall, 2002: 45). Those with dissenting views argue that childhood is the formative period in children life's where they can be moulded into 'responsible' adults and therefore must be allowed to work. It is argued that work shapes children, prepares them for adult live and serves to augment the socialisation process. However, what do we mean by children's work? On the one hand, it is argued that children's work is 'child labour'. This suggests multiple meanings such as "all work of any kind performed by children", "all paid work", "work that exploits children", "work that interferes with schooling", and "economic participation by children" (Ennew, Myers, & Plateau, 2005: 27).

These terms are used based on the kind of work being done by the children. Children in the Global South are used to work at an early age. According to Bourdillon, work contributes "to

a child's development: children learn life skills through work; such learning can sometimes be more important than the learning provided by available schooling, which is often of poor quality and has limited relevance to their situation" (Bourdillon, 2011: 97). Therefore, work may mean anything from house chores to former sector employment since it may imply both be paid or unpaid activities (Ennew, Myers, & Plateau, 2005). Work should be understood across cultures since some see it as a vehicle for socialisation, independence and self-realisation (Ennew, Myers, & Plateau, 2005).

As already stated, there is a sharp dichotomy on the debate regarding work. The debate for or against work "is not as straightforward as many people assume" (Bourdillon, 2011: 97). It is further argued that whilst some children defend work as rewarding others regard it as unpleasant burden (Abebe, 2007; Ennew et al., 2005). A consideration of the current debates regarding children's work will inform the analyses of the empirical data. The discussions can also be situated on sound academic platform while at the same time highlight the trend and patterns in the discussion.

3.4.1 Work-Free Childhood Perspectives

One of the perspectives on children's work is the work-free childhood perspective. The concept has long advocated for ending child labour internationally. These advocacies have shaped international policies concerning children's work. Nevertheless, according to Abebe & Bessell (2007; 767), the World`s Children report in 2004 defined work-free childhood as "a time for children to be in school and at play, to grow strong and confident with the love and encouragement of their family and caring adult". They continue to argue that childhood is a precious time in which children should be free from fear, safe from violence and protected from work abuse and exploitative life. Work-free childhood is characterised by schooling of children hence childhood should be free from labour (Abebe & Bessell, 2011).

Childhood has been viewed as a period of dependence, vulnerability and more importantly learning (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Here, more weight is put on the parental responsibility in relation to the economic and moral aspects. Consequently, parents have the responsibilities of educating children formally so that children can be shaped into future adults in the society. Childhood is socially constructed in a variety of ways often based on the same observable physical fact that children are biologically immature human beings who are highly dependent on others for survival (Ennew et al., 2005; Prout & James, 1997). The globalised childhood in

modern society exclude children from engaging in work because of how they are categorised whilst perceiving work done by children as a sign of underdevelopment (Nieuwenhuys, 1996).

Moreover, International agencies and non-governmental organisations have their foundation on this perspective of a "proper childhood" whereby children should be cared for by responsible adults and have a safe and secure place to grow well. This ideal childhood is often argued to be the childhood of the "West" (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). The work free childhood has been argued to be the kind of childhood from the West which has been exported to the rest of the world without taking into consideration the diversity of cultures, geographical area and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country as well as social context of the global South (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Thus, making it difficult to practice this "proper childhood" in such areas.

Work-free childhood is characterised by schooling where it is believed that children develop into their full potentials in areas of economic security and health attachments (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Hence, parents are solely responsible for caring for children in areas of importance to the child. Practically, it is a period of schooling and playing. According to Abebe & Bessell (2011), this perspective's concentration on education is less about the needs, interests and human rights of children other than about the requirements of a particular economic and political agenda. Thus, modernity is being associated with world of childhood deprived of work since schooling is never perceived as work (Abebe & Bessell, 2011).

Hence, separating school from work creates tension between the economic needs of the family and an idealised understanding of the rights of the individual child (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). The empirical data will seek to extract meanings that working children assign to the work they do and understand whether or not work is relevant in their lives. The work-free childhood perspective will be very relevant in exploring such understandings.

3.4.2 Socio-Cultural Perspective

This perspective discusses children's work and its socio-cultural meaning following the growth of Social Studies of Children and Childhood, this perspective has gain recognition and advocates that children's work is inseparably associated with the social and cultural context in which it takes place (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Thus, it is argued that work should

be understood in the presence of different material and cultural conditions (Bourdillon, 2011; Nieuwenhuys, 1996). However, it should be viewed as a constantly changing process taking into consideration a series of factors which comprise of the age, capability, birth order and gender. Thus, preventing children from working has been criticised as Eurocentric and insensitive to the needs and context within which it takes place. According to Abebe and Bessell, (2011), this perspective recognises work as an initiation into adulthood. The researchers argue that, a push to recognise children's work does not suggest exploitative work. Rather children must be protected from abusive adults and exploitation (ibid).

The socio-cultural perspectives argue that children have the right to benefit from work whether paid and unpaid that are appropriate to their age (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Thus, the socio-economic perspective contend that work empower children. However, many researches have also shown that money gained from work is used to by variety of items from food to material things such as clothing and school items. Accordingly, Ansell (2005) concluded that children combine both school and work in the Global South even though formal education may not be their priority. However, children who work alongside schooling find friends skills and learn lessons on how to look after themselves that is not even taught in school (Ansell, 2005).

Children gain feelings of pride, worth and self-respect when they are able to work and help supplement the family income whereas parents believe work makes the children resilient as they develop (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Consequently, it is argued that children's work provides apprenticeships and skills that helps in socialising children into adulthood. However, they added that work empower children in the socio-cultural perspective.

This perspective is a recent discourse that position children's work within the global context of the policies which has transformed the lives of children. According to Abebe and Bessel (2011: 773), poverty, corruption, geopolitical conflicts, epidemics, unfair trade, war, debt, structural adjustment programs (SAPs), inappropriate policies and ineffective legislation are some of the economic and political changes affecting the lives of young people. It further confirms that the structural adjustment program brought about increased in cost of living from food to transport, education and redundancy of workers as well as decrease in wages of workers.

Consequently, macroeconomic policies imposed by the IMF and the World Bank in response to the Washington Consensus, whereby poor countries are forced to open their economies, are seen as having negative impacts on the lives of children in the global south (Kassa & Abebe, 2016). Thus, the effect on children's lives are obvious in the kind of work done by them. This in reality forces children to work and earn something to survive the economy of the country. Also, children have less opportunities available to them including the future they hope for which differs from those of the previous generation (Kassa & Abebe, 2016). In conclusion, children's work should be seen in the economic, political-historical context in the livelihoods of children.

This perspective will also be relevant in analyses and discussion of the empirical data. Children's work would be discussed in relation to the socio-cultural context that they find themselves in.

3.5 Chore Curriculum

Children are anticipated to help the family in various ways at home or at the family businesses. Lancy (2012: 24), explain chore as "any task that all children must master by roughly agreed upon age and carry out willingly and efficiently". Thus the term 'curriculum' as used in chore curriculum reveal an apparent regularity to the process whereby children learn, master, attach themselves to and carry out their work (Lancy, 2012). Hence the chore curriculum is any chore performed by children who have leant and master their work based on their ages and gender over a period. The core curriculum is used in schools and more formal than the chore curriculum.

Chore curriculum involves children learning a task by imitating the adult over a period and carrying the tasks out themselves at their homes to help the family. Some domestic works done by children at home include various chores under the guidance of adults. Children help in the house and have responsibilities to perform for the family hence imitating the older ones in the family. The chore curriculum is associated with the child's level of skills and age therefore it helps children to move from the state of dependency to a self-sufficient and thus contribute to the domestic economy (Lancy, 2012). Work performed by children include fetching water, washing clothes and dishes, sweeping, caring for younger children, cooking as well as cutting firewood (Bourdillon, 2007).

Consequently, these works done by children at home are perceived as traditional chores rather than work in itself. Thus, in some cultures these works done by children at home is part of the socialisation process and a good way to make the child fit into the society. Similarly, the chore curriculum is informal unlike the core curriculum in schools which is formal, structured and imposed on students. The chore curriculum, is evident in the interaction of children's need to fit in and emulate the older people, developing sensorimotor and cognitive capacity, division of labour in the family and the tasks itself (Lancy, 2012). Children contribute in a variety of ways to the family's livelihood by working to earn money. Some activities include babysitting, running errands, taking care of animals, doing other minor tasks for either money, food or shelter (Craig, 2010).

3.6 Summary

The chapter discusses the theories pertaining to children starting with the Social Studies of Children and Childhood which was used as a lens to perceived children work as well as their abilities. It elaborated on children's Agency, work and debates of work. It finally outlines the concept of chore curriculum children performs in their daily lives.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief description of the research methodology and the specific methods that were employed in the conduct of this research on children's work. The chapter begins with identifying the sources of data collection, the setting of the research, methodology used, sampling methods employed, how participants were recruited, characteristics of participants (children and adults) and data collection methods used. The chapter also includes ethical consideration such as voluntary, reciprocity, power relations, confidentiality, protection, privacy, respecting cultural traditions knowledge and customs. The chapter outlines sources of data as well as fieldwork challenges encountered during research. It also enumerates the limitations of the study, data interpretations and analysis.

4.2 Sources of Data Collection

I made use of a range of qualitative research methods including primary and secondary data. The primary data research consisted of interviews, ranking exercise, recall exercise, observation, and drawings with children. Family/community members were Interviews and taken through ranking exercise whereas NGO staffs were interviewed. The secondary data will consist of reports, newspaper articles, published works, project work, policy documents and other relevant materials.

Materials used for the collection of the data was available in the form of pens, pencils, erasers, sheet of papers, audio recorder, notepad, observation sheets, laptop and consent forms. The sheets of papers were used by participants to draw, rank, recall and write their numbers for anonymity. This is to protect them as stated in the consent form. Qualitative methods have been employed to analyse the data obtained from the data collection. The data collection took place from June 15th to August 24th, 2015 in Yeji, Ghana.

4.3 Sampling Method/Participants

I used snowball sampling and purposive sampling method to gain information about the subject matter. Snowball sampling method is a necessary and adequate approach to this study because the participants were difficult to recruit. Snowball sampling is used when the

population is difficult to locate (Bryman, 2015). The children I started with however led to the recruitment of other research participants since they knew where to find them. The family and community members were also hard to recruit therefore the first community member participant led to the recruitment of other participants as well.

Purposive sampling method was used to recruit NGOs staff while I used the snowball sampling to recruit the children and the family\community members. Purposive sampling is used to select participants so as to achieve the aim of the research (Bryman, 2015). The participants who were involved in the research include children, parents/community members and NGO staff working with childcare issues. The children recruited were both sexes. Because of the sensitivity of the research and the community awareness of people interfering in their business and private life, recruiting these children was very difficult, as of the children had been cautioned not to talk to strangers or give out any information to an outsider, and for this reason getting access to the children was not easy.

When conducting research with children of a different culture from that of the researcher, there is some difficulty that arises (S Punch, 2004). According to Punch (2004), the social, cultural and economic differences can be minimised if the researcher has lived in the community for an extended period and understand the lifestyle of the people in the community. In this particular study, I the researcher was seen by the people as an outsider because the culture and the lifestyle of the people are different from the researcher's own. at the same time, I was an insider because I am from the same country. Getting access to the community was a problem and therefore had to collaborate with an NGO friend who worked in the area, followed him when he did home visits of some families in the community. It was through these visits that I got closer to children and family/community members.

The first child participants led me to the other child participants and same with the parents/community members. At the end, ten children, five family\community members, and three NGO staff were recruited. Four out of the children were females and six were males ranging from age eight to thirteen. Getting access and building rapport with participants was a problem because of the negative public image associated with outsiders investigating their lives and bringing it to the public. They were not ready to help, and my NGO friend helped me to build rapport with them to gain their confidence and trust before l could start recruiting

informants and start the data collection. By building rapport and a relationship with the family and children, l had to be buying their fish from them.

The data collection took place in separate parts of the town. First at the shore of the river and then the market centre but the observation was taken on three locations including the homes, market and the river shore. Some of the children participants were available either at the market or at the banks of the river. The female children were into the selling of fish and baits whiles the male children were either on the river fishing, diving, mending fishing nets, unloading catches, preparing baits, and sorting, boat building, processing as well as selling fish.

Because they have not attained the age of eighteen years they were staying with their parents and guardians. I had to seek informed consent from these gatekeepers to be able to carry on the research process (Ennew, 2009). Most gatekeepers refused me to get access to their wards and l had to retreat because of the ethical code of voluntary participation. According to Ennew et al, (2009), it is necessary to seek permission from parents and guardians because of the special position of children both from them as well as from the children. I realized the most children were confident while some were shy when the parents agreed for them to participate in the research. Children are deemed as adults when they attain eighteen years and have the ability to decide for themselves.

Most of the children were from fishing communities before they came to Yeji, therefore, they are used to fishing. For the parents, through my NGO friend's home visits, I was able to seek informed consent from them recruiting five participants comprising of both sexes. Three out of the five family/community members were people who had migrated to the place and have lived there for some years now. The NGO staff gave their permission to be involved in the research process by signing the consent forms. Nevertheless, l had no problem recruiting the staff since they were thinking of funding opportunities for their organizations. The research methods used to collect data was qualitative from interviews, ranking exercise, focus group discussion, drawing, recalling exercise and observation.

4.4 Child Participants

The table below contains the child participants who were involved in the research. Their names have been changed to maintain privacy and confidentiality. It also includes their age,

hometown, who they are staying with, whether they are schooling or not and finally the research site where they work. For their ages, some were not sure whether that was their age since some were guessing[4] then. The guardians included foster parents and some elder siblings. The ages with asterisk means the children were not sure of their ages.

Table 1 Child Informants

Child Participants	Gender	Age	Schooling	Hometown	Living with	Research site
Ama	Female	12	No (drop-out)	Winneba	Parents[5]	Lakeshore /market
Kofi	Male	*9	No (drop-out)	Yeji	Parents	Lakeshore
Kwaku	Male	12	Yes	Winneba	Grandmother	Lakeshore
Esi	Female	13	Yes	Yeji	Guardians[6]	Lakeshore
Kwame	Male	*10	Yes	Winneba	Parents	Lakeshore
Yaa	Female	8	No (drop-out)	Yeji	Guardians	Market
Abena	Female	*10	No	Yeji	Parents	Market
Atta	Male	12	Yes	Kete-krakye	Parents	Lakeshore/market
Francis	Male	*13	No (Drop out)	Adakope	Guardians	Lakeshore
Dan	Male	14	No (Drop out)	Senya-Breku	Guardian	Lakeshore

[4] In some cases, parents have no formal education and they cannot keep record of the date of birth of their children. The process of obtaining birth certificate in Ghana is complex and expensive to those parents. Besides, birth certificate is not a pressing need for poor parents.

[5] These are biological parents (either single or both parents).

[6] Guardians include extended family members, "master" or family friends.

4.4.1 Parent/Community Members

The names of the parent/community members were replaced by pseudonyms to keep them confidential. Most of them did not want to undertake the research but some allowed their children to take part. The table all those who participated in the research. These parent/community members interviewed where having one or more children under their supervision and guidance. Some of them had family relations with the children and others did not have such relations. Some children were their nephews and nieces as well as younger siblings. Some of them were immigrants living at the study town. Others had some of their children living with guardians.

Table 2 Parent/Community members

Name	Gender	Hometown	Research site	Occupation
Nana	Male	Winneba	Lakeshore	Fisherman
Mad. Naa	Female	Yeji	Market	Trader
Madam Akos	Female	Kete-krakye	Lakeshore	Fishmonger
Papaa	Male	Winneba	Lakeshore	Fisherman
Brother John	Male	Yeji	Lakeshore	Fisherman and farmer

4.4.2 Staffs working in two Non-Governmental Organisations in Yeji

The names of the NGO staffs and their organisations were replaced with pseudonyms to protect their identity. Table 3 shows the staff of the two NGO involved in the research

Table 3 NGOs Staff

Name	Gender	Occupation/NGO
Johnson	Male	NGO-1
Alberta	Female	NGO-1
Antonia	Female	NGO-2
Koomson	Male	NGO-2

The names used for the participants are not their real names but have been used for the purpose of the study to protect their identity.

4.5 Child Focused Methods

These were the various methods used to collect information from the informants to produce data for the research such as observation, interviews, ranking exercise, recalling, drawing and focus group discussion. Choosing appropriate method will help bring out the right data needed to complete the research.

4.5.1 Observation

Ethnography has been stated as useful for research in this research field (Social Studies of Children and Childhood). Ennew et al (2009) made the emphasis that the basis of a good research is observation which can be structured or unstructured. Observation was employed during the data collection to pick up information to validate the information already obtained and also learn about and get familiar with field and informants. This was unstructured observation which took place in the market centre, homes and the river banks in Yeji. This kind of observation takes place at any time and at everywhere thereby taking notice of everything around the research sites.

The researcher observed children's body language, gestures, speeches, play, their home and working environment as well as their daily activities. Moreover, I observed how children carry out their duties/responsibilities at the research sites. Observation was done five times a week ranging consisting of seven hours. Some hours were continuous whiles some were four hours in the morning and three hours in the evening. This arrangement was convenient since some of the children attend school and some too are busy at work hence. This was done continuously for four weeks before I started using the other research methods.

The parents/family members were also being observed on how they live with their children or children under their care and the kind of activities they go through during the day. The researcher also observes the interaction of children participants in their immediate environment. This helped the researcher to understand these research participants in their own natural environment thus, bringing out the informants' experiences that might not be captured using the other research method**s.**

4.5.2 Interviews

Interviews were employed to attain information from the children, NGO staff, and the family /community members. Interview as stated by Ennew et al (2009: 36), is "conversation with a purpose". Therefore, it is gaining insights and understanding about a phenomenon. Generally, interviews are used in qualitative research for finding out information or gaining understanding or insights into opinions, experiences, attitudes, processes, and behaviours (Rowley, 2012). I employed the semi-structured interview because of its flexibility and adaption of questions to accommodate the interviewee in the process (Bryman, 2015). Each participant was interviewed separately at different times. Thus, some were interviewed at home whiles others at the market and the lakeshore.

The interview for the children explored issues such as migration, education, play, family, work, school and way of life of the children. The thematic focus for the parents were about migration, children's work, family finances and cultural expectations of the family in the community. The NGO interview focused on mobility and laws protecting children and their work. At first most of them felt anxious and tensed up. But by looking at them although some of them confessed to being anxious, I calmed them by telling them that this is just a conversation and the information will be published but will not bear their names.

On the other hand, questions that participant felt shy to talk about were reframed for them to be able to answer them. I made sure they were relaxed and not anxious thereby making them feel comfortable to respond and continue the conversation. These were made possible when the researcher engaged the children in an informal conversation about their likes and what makes them happy which include the researcher as well over some snacks. These were possible after I had told them my code of ethics and read out my consent form to them. After hearing about the ethics and the informed consent, they became aware that they can withdraw at any time.

The relationship between the researched participants and me was not equal and therefore I made sure that I do not over impose my powers on them. This motivated them to engage themselves in the conversation. I probed into some answers whiles making sure those who are diverting from the questions are brought back on track. Using the audio recorder, I recorded the conversation whiles I jotted down some important physical expressions. At first children were feeling uneasy to talk but after a while they relaxed and continued the

conversation. In all eighteen people were interviewed consisting of ten children, five family/community members, and three NGO working staffs.

The NGO staffs were interviewed in their institution or shelters whiles the family members were interviewed both at homes and at their workplaces. However, the children were interviewed at their workplace, playground and at their homes. The interviews of children that occurred at their homes had some difficulties because of interruptions of other family members who were eavesdropping as well as some physical noise from the family and neighbours who were watching and wondering what is happening because I was new in their community.

To overcome it, I, however, took a little stroll around the neighbourhood with the children individually to get them to fully participate in it. Those whom I could not take a little walk with I had to postpone some questions which they feel reluctant to answer and asked them later when I met some of them in their playground or when they are making errands for their housekeepers. This made it difficult for most children to open to the conversation. Some preferred to be interviewed at their playground and workplace. Nevertheless, those children interviewed at their workplace also had the same problems since their guardians and parents want to know what their children are talking about with the researcher.

Moreover, the shortest interview lasted for seven minutes whiles the longest lasted for fifteen minutes. This occurred because I have done an observation on them for a month and knew much about them. Nonetheless, the guardians and parents were not ready to let their wards spend much time with me because they keep telling me that "time is money" therefore since I am not paying them they can't afford them to spend much time with me. The problem I noticed was the place suitable for the interview to take place since the family members want to be at arm's length to be sure their wards are safe since I am not from the town.

These bring about the outsider debates that though I have been living there for more than a month they still see me as not part of them. I, therefore, used the predominant language used in the country since all of them understood it in that location. I employed the "Twi`" language which according to the Ghana Statistical Service (2010) is the second widely spoken language apart from the English language which is the official language to get information from the interviewees.

4.5.3 Ranking Exercise

Ranking is a method used to find out about peoples priorities and preferences (Ennew, 2009). Ranking was used to recognize participants priorities on the topic of mobility. According to Ennew et al (2009), ranking involves using words, objects, cards or visual images to things around them to prioritize their needs but I used words to help research participants to prioritize what is of more importance to the theme raised. Before I started the method, I had to read out the code of ethics governing the research and make them understand the reason for the research after they have given their consent to it. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) was used to gather information on the views and lives of the research participants, therefore, making me a facilitator.

Children and family/community members were made to rank the reasons for migration and rank them in order of importance. The children were engaged in the discussion while I wrote down their preference on paper and pasted it for them in an empty classroom. This was because most of them were out of school and few were schooling hence they could not write. After, I helped them arrange their preferences according to their importance. This was interesting and a challenge to them since they had to come to a compromise to select the most important reason. I had to explain to them that all the reasons listed is important but some are more important than others and so they must work together to rank it according to the order of importance. These activities took about thirty minutes each to complete a session. These were the same words they raised in the local language which has been transferred into the English language.
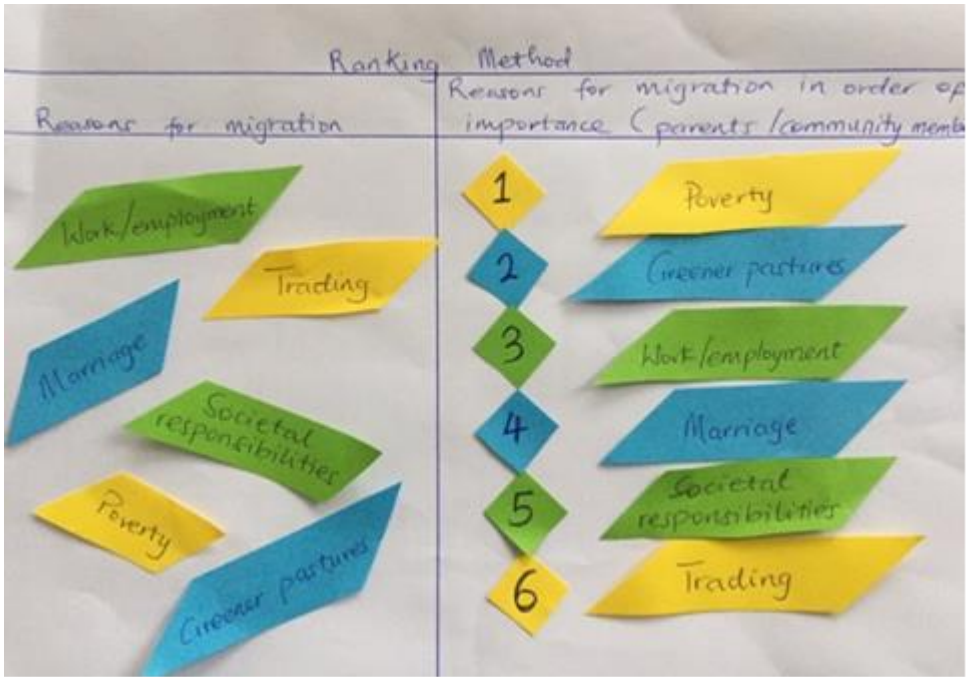
Figure 1 Parents/community members ranking exercise

Table 1 is the parent/community members ranking exercise on the cause of migration where the listed the reasons were arranged in order of importance.
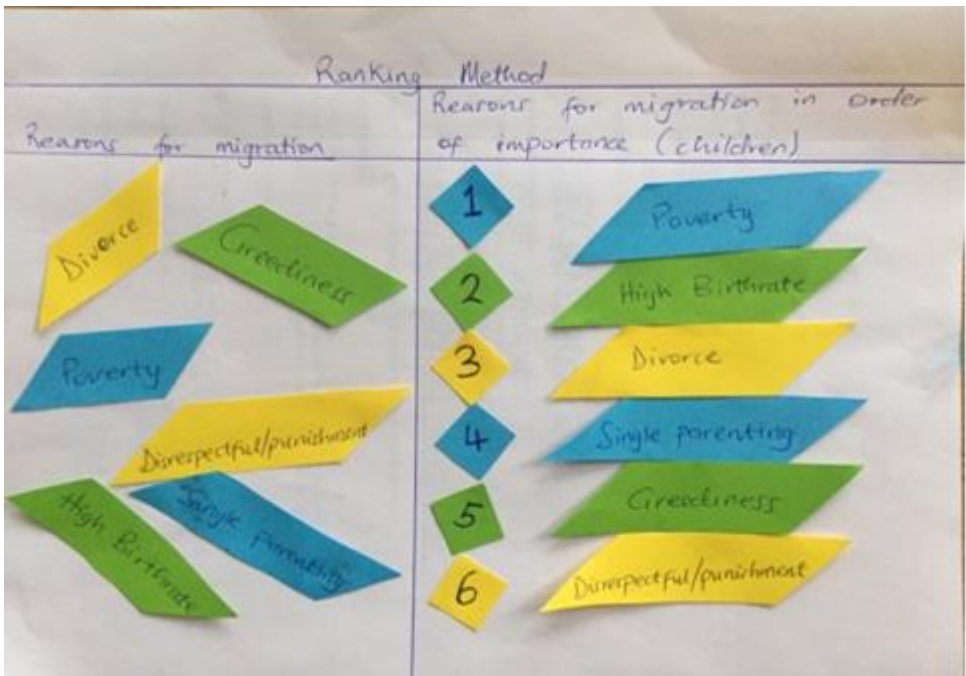

Figure 2 Children ranking exercise

Table 2 is the ranking exercise for the children on reasons for migration. The listed reasons were arranged in order of importance. The list from both children and parent/community members will be discussed in the analysis chapter.

The ranking exercise was done with the family/community members because most of them were illiterates and could not write. For the parents and community members, there was not much problem deciding which one of the listed reasons was most important by ranking them. These were all carried out in "Twi" language.

The role I played was to act as a facilitator during both sessions since my role was to listen, trust, support and allow them to express their own views during the sessions. I let them have their way and decide what they want to say. According to Ennew et al (2009), PRA is based on human rights which claim that research should respect the views, ideas, and understanding of research participants'. My role helped them feel confident in themselves since they were in control in deciding what they wanted to do.

4.5.4 Recalling and Drawing Exercise

The recall and ranking exercise was used for only children involved in the research. According to Ennew et al (2009), recalling involves research children participants remembering past events using a table or a chart. It is a useful tool in exploring children's past daily activities. It usually involves writing, drawing, use of symbols and objects to represent their opinion and ideas. I used drawings to explore children past events. This was done by using materials like eraser, pencils, and papers. The children were given sheets of paper separately to fill the boxes with drawings of their lives before migration and after migration. I had to explain to children and guide them on what to draw in the first box because of their education level.[7]

As a facilitator, I guided them to draw themselves or how their lives were before migration in the first box then their lives after migration in the second box. Using the drawings helped the children because it is simple and fun since there was no standard for measurement. Children were able to control what they wanted to portray on the paper since drawings are fun to work with. After the drawings, children were made to explain what they have drawn by talking and

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[7] There were two columns and children were to draw the past events in the first column and the present events in the second column.

discussing about it. Initially, some felt they could not draw well but l reassured them that there is no bad drawing and every drawing is unique but what is necessary is how they can explain it.

Drawings were used by the children provide information during the research. Drawings according to Ennew et al (2009), is a visual method used to explore the ways children see the world by using images to portray it on paper. It, however, helps the research participants to explore the theme without answering questions directly. Children were given pieces of papers, pencils, and erasers to draw their home village and the current town they are in now. Children drew individually and were given time to finish it. Most children were able to meet and discuss the drawings and what it portrays on the sheets.

The children were amazed at what they could draw since each drawing was unique. Drawings give children opportunities to think about what to portray and give children more control over their form of expression (Punch, 2002). (Samantha Punch, 2002). Children who were shy during the interview because of the face to face interaction felt more comfortable with the drawing exercise since they have control over what they were drawing. Children had fun and were engaged during the whole process. I, therefore, played the role of a friend as mentioned by Tatek( ) so children will feel confident in themselves and carry out the activities without any sense of fear.

Drawings were used to explore issues such as family and abuse brought by the researcher. After the drawings, there were discussions on what they drew. Some children that felt abused were not ready to talk about it but talked about their family they had in their hometown and their guardians they are living with presently. They wanted to tell me the abused part alone without the others. Others too were happy to talk about their drawings and everything in it.

Some three children came after the session and talked about their physical and emotional abuse they go through in the hands of their guardians. I had to reassure them that everything will be fine as I would talk to the appropriate people or institution involved in children issues. Here I was in a fix as to report it to the Social Welfare or see if I can fix it. Therefore, I made an investigation to double check if these assertions were true. My code of ethics was restraining me as to what to do.

4.5.5 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion was used by children to explore the rationale of migration in a social and cultural context. According to Ennew et al (2009), focus group discussion is a discussion on a specific theme or topic. Bryman (2015), viewed focus group as a form of group interview whereby, several participants discuss topics or themes which is familiar to participants. It is the best tool for exploring in depth ideas, opinions and knowledge about a topic or a theme (Bryman, 2015). A group of children comprising of three girls and five boys, took part in the focus group discussion.

At the time of starting, two children were not present because they had gone to work. The discussion took place at the shore a bit away from the crowd so that distractions were reduced. We all sat on the ground so that each one could see each person face. I then introduced the theme of poverty and mobility for them to talk about it. I acted as a facilitator to guide the session during the discussions period which lasted for an hour since I wanted everyone to air their views. I took notes on the major points being raised and recorded their conversations as well. The table below is a summary of the research methods used on the categories of people recruited for the research. It also includes the strengths and weakness associated with the use of the selected research methods.

4.6 Overview of the methods used for researched participants

Table 4 Methodology used

Methods	People	Issues discussed	Strengths	Weakness
Interviews	Children, parents/community members, NGO staff	Children: the purpose of migration. Parents/Guardian: importance of migration. NGO staff: views on children mobility.	-Easy and fast way to obtain important information since recording of the interview added more information to the results. -Researcher could record non-verbal information from participant. -Distorting participant information was reduced.	-Couldn't interview participants for long because of their busy work schedules. There were distractions from the workplace as well as their homes which made the children a bit uneasy. -It wasn't very suitable for private issues since most of them were reluctant to open up.
Ranking	Children, Parents/community members	Reasons for migration	-Ranking helps the research participants to prioritise their needs in order of importance. -Its fast, enjoyable and less expensive method to use since it needs sheet of papers and pencil.	-It consumes time when participants are deliberating on which among the list are very important than others. -Lack of supervision can lead to diversion of the topic in question.

			-It is suitable for all age groups since reading and writing skills are not the basic requirements.	
Recalling	Children	Children's lives before migration and after migration	-It is good for obtaining children's experiences. -Children have control on what they are recalling thereby enhancing their creative skills in recording. -A good information extraction tool to obtain information on children routines and activities. -Allow for specification on events that is of importance to the study. -It is simple and easy to initiate.	-It not suitable for very large group of participants. -It is not suitable for all groups of persons. For instance, visual impaired and physical challenged persons. -Not suitable for recording many past events because it might contain intentional gaps in information provided due to forgetfulness. -May not be applicable to all age groups due to the skill and ability level in drawing, writing or by telling the time.
Observation	Children, Parents/community members	Daily lives of children within the community.	-It is easy, simple and it does not need expensive materials in order to undertake.	-Attention of the researcher might be diverted if he has no clear focus.

			-Vital information is obtained without interviewing research participant. -It is easy and can take place anywhere.	-Obtaining true meaning behind certain behaviours can be quite difficult since the researcher do not have personal interactions with the research participants.
Drawings	Children	The difference between their home village and current abode.	-It is inexpensive, fun and easy for children to use. -It reduces power imbalance between the adult researcher and the children. -Gives children more confidence and control on what to portray. -Suitable for the children involved especially the shy ones. -It helps children to explore the subject matter without having to answer directly to questions being asked.	-It is time consuming as it is difficult to analyse all the results. -Recording the interpretations for individual drawings is difficult to ascertain. -It is a hindrance to children who do not have artistic ability to draw. -It not suitable for all age groups of children and it difficult to analyse large groups of children's drawings.
	Children	Explore poverty and the rational of mobility in a social or cultural	-Diverse opinions of research participants are voiced out. -Research participants are empowered since different opinions are shared and	It is time consuming. -It is not suitable for difficult and sensitive topics. -Diverting from the topic can be

		context.	they dictate the pace of the conversation.	high as well as dominant participant in group discussion.
			-It is engaging and easy to prepare.	-It is difficult to analyse a large groups information.
			-Encourages discussion since it builds on topics and lead to exploration of the topic.[8]	

[8]This information was taken from SWOC analysis done by Mphil Childhood Studies Students 2015/2016 academic year

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is "a set of moral rules of conduct" which helps to protect researched participants during research process (Morrow & Richards, 1996). According to Punch (2003) researching children are the same as with adults since we see them as "beings" instead of "becomings". Moreover, they should be treated with care and respect. I employed ethics that would help me attain valid data for the project. Ethics are rules that governed the process of undertaking research. It included being attentive to voluntary and informed consent, power relation, respect for culture confidentiality and safety and protection of participant. These ethical considerations helped in the smooth flow of the data collection. It helped to lessen any inconveniences during the process. There has been increased attention given to hearing the views and voices of children and young people (Alderson & Morrow, 2011; Hill, 2005).

4.7.1 Safety and Protection of the Research Participant

The focus of the research was mainly based on children although the parents and NGO staff were involved. I was sensitive and respected children safety in terms of protection of researched participant against any form of harm whether physical, emotional or psychological since sought permission from their gatekeepers. According to the UNCRC Article 19, children have the rights to be protected from physical or mental abuse, violence, and exploitation in all areas of the child's life. According to Ennew et al (2009), rights and interests of children must be protected during the research process and any potential risks that pose a problem should be worth taking.

The Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) is an organization in Norway which certify that any research done from Norway does protect the research participants. The research proposal was sent to them and they gave their approval to undertake the research. In the event that as a researcher I took that into consideration to protect the child against any form of harm by including it in my consent form. Research participants should be protected from the risk of significant harm, both during the research process and as a consequence of the research (Morrow & Richards, 1996).

Granted this, the research questions were taken into consideration in terms of effects that will affect participants most especially children. For instance, I made sure children participants were not forced to say or do anything that they do not want in relation to the research. On the other hand, some research questions were modified to handle the children's emotion at some

point in time. Much less, I made sure the time given me by their gatekeepers to use for their wards was adhered to it so to avoid them getting angry at their wards.

4.7.2 Voluntary Participation and Reciprocity

Participants voluntarily participated in the research and were not forced or coerced into it. They were not induced or forced to take part in it against their will. In the consent forms (see appendix), it stated that at any point in the research and any of them feels to drop out they can do that. This made the children confident as it looked flexible for them and older participants to involve themselves in the research process. Obtaining agreement from parents and other adults are necessary and seen as the first point of contact to get access to children during the research (Hill, 2005). Therefore, informed consent forms from both the gatekeepers and children to participate in the research were briefed on the research aims, topic, methods and the use of the data. Children need to be told what the research is about, the time to be used, who would receive the results, confidentiality involved and if there would be feedback after the research (Hill, 2005)

Ennew et al (2009), mentioned that researched participants should understand the aim of the research before they agreed to involve themselves in it. Written consent forms were used to seek their permission for the research. Though most of them were illiterate, I employed written consent and explained to them the details of it. This included how long the research will take place and the activities involved in it. I chose the written consent over the oral one because it serves as an evidence for the research and, I had submitted some to the Ghana police in that region. Therefore, in case of any eventualities, it serves as an evidence of what the research is about since I was not from that region.

Nevertheless, the advantages of using the written consent are that one can refer to it for any clearance or if any participants want to know his or her rights concerning the research.   One ethical dilemma was that some children agreed to participate in the research but the gatekeepers would not allow it. I was told they take decisions for the child and so if they consent to it they must be included in the research so they can correct the child and make sure the child is saying the truth. I had to explain to them that it cannot be possible since there is confidentiality aspect of the consent forms and children might not open up to me when the guardians are with them during the data collection period.

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I had to turn them down since I wanted to get a valid and reliable data. Getting consent from the gatekeepers is not always an easy task because these Gatekeepers think after the research they will gain some income from it (Abebe, 2009). Thus, expecting something in return for the research done with them or their wards.

During the data collection, most children were working, therefore, I made provisions for refreshments during some of the data collection processes. These children were also compensated for the time spent in the data collection process with food. I noticed that these children looked hungry anytime they come around to perform the task in the data collection process. Providing food helped them be actively involved in the research. There has been debates about reciprocity when it comes to research on children. Thus, it is argued that there is no clear agreement in the literature on whether children should be paid for partaking in research or what appropriate rewards are necessary (Powell, Fitzgerald, Taylor, & Graham, 2012).

Some researchers argue that payments of rewards to research participant should not be encouraged since it is seen as bribery or inducement, and others also saw it as fair recompense (Hill, 2005). Also, payment and incentives are influenced by cultural and customs of the research area. For instance, in Majority world countries, research takes away children from productive work that contribute to the economic well-being of the family, thus payment covers for the time spent (Powell et al., 2012).

Abebe (2009), emphasized that children's lives in the majority countries such as African countries differ greatly from those in the minority countries on the basis of economic imperatives where children provide labour to help support the family. Therefore, the issue of remuneration is complex in the majority world. Due to the economic conditions at hand, I sided with Abebe (2009) that use of the refreshments serves as a compensation for the time spent with me. Thus, I realized that the use of the refreshment helps the children to fully cooperate and participate in the research. According to Punch (2002), the prospect of rewards is good for gaining children's cooperation after she observed young people during one of her researches hence, it worked for me.

4.7.3 Respect for Privacy and ensure Confidentiality

Confidentiality and privacy in research are vital for a successful data collection. However, respecting researched participant rights is important in research. The new Social Studies Children and Childhood views children as active participants whose voices must be heard and should not be seen as "becommings" but rather "beings" (Prout & James, 1997). Therefore, listening to the voices of children involves keeping their identity anonymous to protect them. According to Morrow and Martin (1996), children should be entitled to the same kind of privacy and confidentiality as compared to adults' research subjects.

The names obtained were changed to anonymize the identity of researched participants. However, data collected from them were not disclosed to the gatekeepers because it was confidential and had to protect the participant which is part of my ethical considerations. These knowledges helped children to build trust in me thereby participating in the research fully. I encountered some ethical dilemmas in relation to confidentiality and privacy of my children participants. For instance, there were cases of abuse, exploitation and child labour.

For example, Ama the twelve-year-old school dropout lives with her parents in Yeji but they migrated from Winneba and they are into fishing. She is made to look after the younger siblings at home then helps the mother to carry fresh and grill the fishes for sale in the market. She barely has time for play or school. Besides, another child participant named Francis was given out to the guardians to help them in their work for some years to defray some debts incurred by the parents. There were some traces of physical abuses, neglect as well as high school drop-out rate. These children plight were perturbing that I was in a fix as to whether to report them to the appropriate authorities or keep quiet about it and leave it as it is.

To help the situation, I had to consult my friend from the NGO who led me to the research participants since that NGO deals with helping children found in conditions such as trafficking, abuse, child labour and family reunion. He took it upon himself to talk to the parents and guardians of these children after I had finished the fieldwork since he had the details from me. Thus, the NGOs also collaborate with the police and the social welfare to help rescue children who are being put into bondage due to poverty, trafficking or by other means.

There are substantial ethical dilemmas related to confidentiality and privacy raised in the literature concerning research with children. There are difficulties in ensuring confidentiality in research which is compounded by the inferior social status of children and how childhood has been conceptualized in the society (Abebe, 2009). Most gatekeepers wanted to sit in the interviews to be aware of what the child was talking about which is not acceptable. Also, the places where the research took place (homes, market and the shore) gave small room for privacy since most gatekeepers want to be near the children to look out for them since I was not from there.

Privacy considerations in research include ensuring participants' privacy through anonymity and confidentiality by having a safe and physical location that is secluded during research. Nonetheless, I could not always get a private physical place for the children when they had to perform a task. Ironically, the parents and community members rather made sure the research with them was undertaken in a private physical location. Most often, the setting in which research with children takes place is at school or home and in both of these locations, confidentiality can be compromised, through difficulties finding private space and parents' curiosity and concern for the child (Powell et al., 2012).

4.7.4 Power Relations between researchers and research participants

Ennew et al (2009), admonishes that power inequalities between researchers and participants should be reduced as far as possible. A power relation is very important when conducting research because it helps you assume a position in the research process. The power imbalance between the researched and the researcher is important because it may impact on the reliability and validity of the data collected. According to Hill (2005), ability and power are the main relevant differences between adult and children. Therefore, an adult has power due to the generational relationship (child-parent relationship) between the adult and children since adults take up the responsibility of the children (Mayall, 2002). Therefore, issues of unequal power relations will one way or the other interfere on the research process

As a researcher, I could not agree more with Abebe (2009) that negotiating unequal power relations is a central aspect of ethical research. Hence, it is important to recognize the power differentials between adults and children during research with them. I tried to minimise the power relation by using language at the understanding level of the researched participants especially children to be able to participate fully the data collection process. Child-centred

researched methods such as drawings, recall, and ranking were used in the data collection for children to have control over the research process.

The researcher aimed to avoid being bias during the whole data collection process in other to get valid data. Furthermore, the researcher assumed 'adult child model' by James et al. (1998) in the various stages of the data collection process. The 'adult child model' role which has been advocated by James et al. (1998), treat children as mature and competent persons who can construct their world around them; this approach/role was taken during the entire research and made the children more comfortable and confident to undertake the research with me. Hence, from the Social Studies of Children and Childhood background, I placed value on their views and response during the data collection period because I see them as persons who are competent in all their doings.

4.7.5 Respect Cultural Traditions Knowledge and Customs

Every community in Ghana has its own cultural traditions and customs kept by the inhabitants and it is expected to be obeyed and respected. In this community, greetings and courtesy is very important in the community. According to Ennew et al (2009), researchers must adhere to the dressing code and behaviour of the community where the research is taking place. As a researcher, l was ready to learn about their local food, status role, intergenerational relations, norms and understanding of childhood as well as customs in the community.

4.8 Limitations and Challenges of the Study

The use of qualitative research method employed helped to get the experiences from the research participants especially children with the use of interviews, recalls, ranking, drawings and focus group discussions. The limitation of this researched revealed that, the results of the study was restricted to the few people employed to take part in the research thereby not being able to generalise the results to everyone in the district. According to Bryman (2015), when data is collected on a small number of individuals in a locality, it is impossible to generalise to all cases within the location. In addition, the time used to undertake the research was short and hence it didn't give enough data due to time constraint which occurred within two months.

Also, if the duration given for the data collection was long then a large population would be employed to undertake the research and the results could have been used to generalise the locality. A longer time spending with the participants could have benefitted the study. Nevertheless, this is one of the few research studies that seek to investigate perspectives and experiences of children directly by getting first-hand information on their experiences rather than getting them from second sources about migration and work. The aims of qualitative research is not necessarily about generalizations but about a deep and thorough understanding of experiences and life situations of a particular group of children.

The first challenged encountered was getting access to the children and the family was difficult because they saw me as an outsider. It took the intervention of an NGO staff who works in the area to help explain to them the meaning of the research. After building rapport and informing them of the anonymity of the information and research participants, and the voluntary nature of the research as well as safety and protection of the research participant they gave me some time to think over it especially the gatekeepers of children.

It took some weeks before anyone agreed because they wanted to be sure I was not a journalist who would go and publish their personal stuffs in the media. However, some of them were ready to give me access in exchange of money or gifts. This was a difficult situation since my ethical strategy was not to entice them with anything or persuade them but to allow them to voluntary participate in it. When I told them that I cannot do that by explaining to them the reasons, it did not go well with most of them and they refused to take part with their wards

Furthermore, finding a place to conduct the research was also a problem because the parents were most at times at their workplace either at the market or on the shore. Some parents and guardians were not able to give free time for their wards because that time will not be paid by me and so I had to undertake the research process whiles they are working or the least time the children or parents are free. I had to sometimes take them from the crowd to interview them so that the distractions will be reduced.

Furthermore, distractions from onlookers were so obvious and the participants were a bit uneasy to fully participate in the research. Also because of the sensitivity of some of the questions, I had to relocate children to a safe quiet place like the school block just three

minutes' walk from the shore but with limited time to finish the research because I have been given timeframe to finish it daily so that the children can attend to their duties.

Finally, there were some ethical dilemmas that I experienced on the field that was not pleasant. That was the issue of physical and emotional abuse of some of the child participants. I was caught between making necessary reports to the appropriate quarters or going by my code of ethics and consent form.

4.9 Data Interpretation and Analysis

The recorded data from the interviews and focus group discussion which was audio taped was transcribed from the Twi language to English language and put on paper. Moreover, the transcriptions were divided into groups of three comprising of the children, community/family members, and NGO persons. Their responses were transcribed accordingly to match their respective persons based on the themes selected. The other data collected such as drawings, ranking, recalling, observation and the transcribed data will be analyzed based on the themes selected. All things considered, children's experiences and responses are paramount to the study since the study is about children's lives although some gatekeepers and NGO staff were consulted.

Eventually, the overall data collected will be analyzed qualitatively to describe children and mobility in the research area since the research is qualitative in nature. The data analysis will unveil how the laws in Ghana concerning Ghanaian children and their wellbeing are being put into practice as well as adding the information to the available literature. The analysis will also focus on the role of UNCRC. Both Social Studies of Children and Childhood and the UNCRC can be argued to be advocating a certain childhood ideal or normative view on childhood experience which focus on individual, right bearer and autonomous.

The data analysis and interpretation are geared towards giving children a voice which has been advocated by renowned researchers. Consequently, the Social Studies of Children and Childhood advocates for the recognition of children's agency who are capable of constructing their own world and seeing them as 'beings' instead of 'becomings' (Alanen & Mayall, 2001; James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998; Prout & James, 1997; Qvortrup et al., 2009).

4.10 Summary of Chapter

The methodology chapter started with the sources of data collection then proceeded to research participants and their characteristics as well as sampling methods for the research. This chapter brought to the fore how the research participants were recruited, and the various data collection methods employed to obtain information. Similarly, ethical considerations such as confidentiality, protection, reciprocity, privacy and voluntary were discussed in the chapter. In addition, the chapter outlined the challenges encountered during the research period and notwithstanding the limitations of the study. To conclude, the chapter also presented the data obtained and how it would be interpreted and analyzed in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS - MIGRATION AND FOSTERAGE

5.1 Introduction

Migration is a very common practice in the Ghanaian society due to many reasons from socio-economic to cultural reasons. Child migration which usually results in child fostering and work among the typical Ghanaian family is common practice and approved upon by the larger society because of the type of family system dominant in Ghana which is the extended family system (Imoh, 2012). This chapter discusses fosterage and the extended family system. It also discusses the perspectives on migration through ranking exercise, focus group discussion and interviews by both the children and the parents/community members.

The map below shows the study town and the towns where the informants migrated from. It also includes the Lake Volta. It shows the regions of the country. It gives a clear overview of the distance from the study towns to the town where the informants migrated from. Also, it reveals that these towns are fishing towns since they all lie along the sea or the Lake.
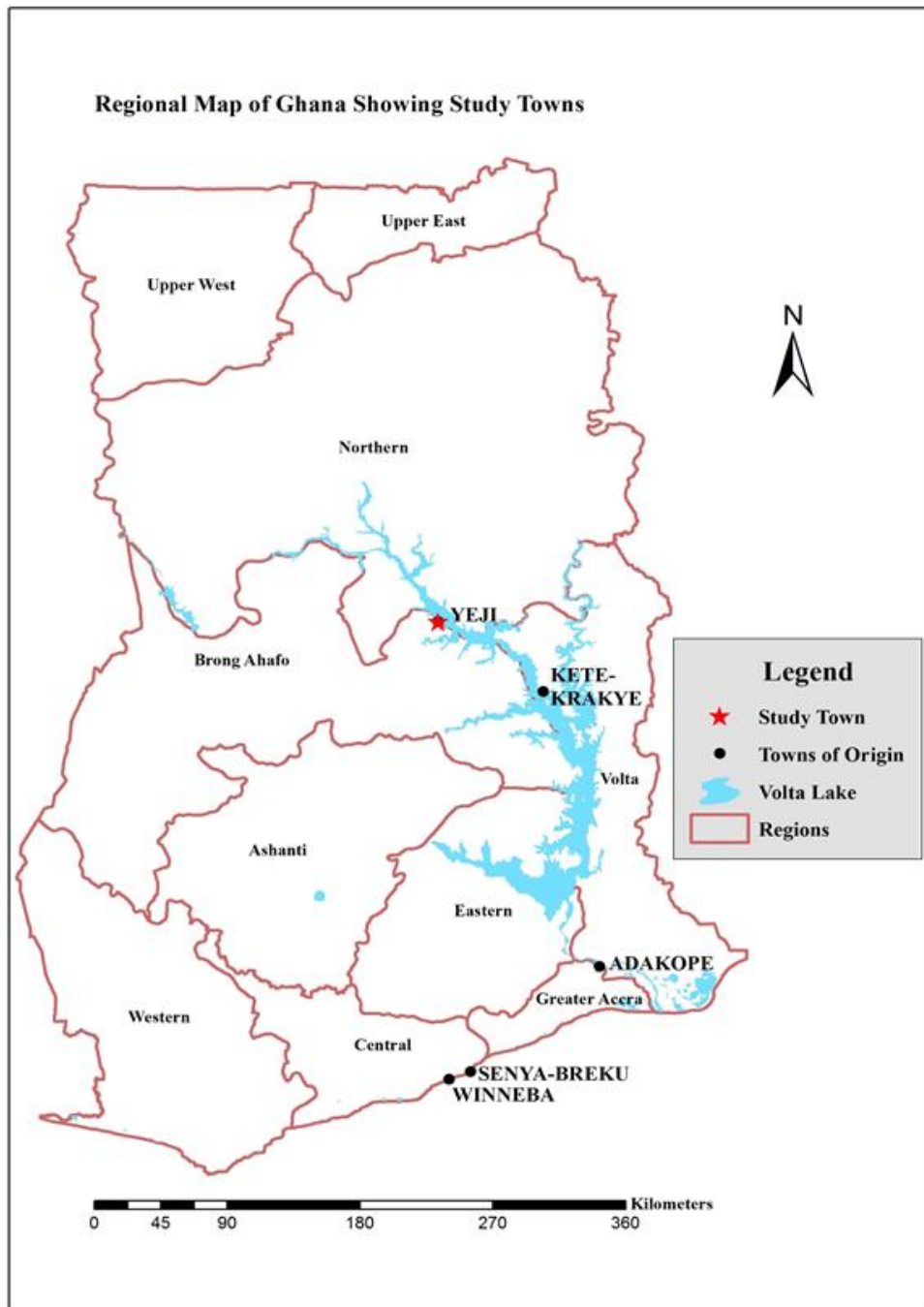
Figure 3 The map of Ghana

5.2 Fostering /family system:

One of the objectives set out in this study is to explore young people's narratives on their migration. However, a brief look at the family system that these children find themselves in would provide valuable insight into some of the reasons why they decide to migrate. The

fieldwork was conducted in Yeji and its surroundings villages mostly where the fishing activities are practiced. The family setup in those areas is mostly the extended family type. This is where parents and children live with other close relatives such uncles, aunties, grandfathers and grandmothers. The raising of children is not the sole responsibility of the parents. Extended family members actively took part in the child's training.

In their annual report children's migration in these communities, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) revealed that extended family members often play a significant role in children's lives and are actively involved in the upkeep and socialization of children (International Organisation for Migration, 2013). Economic pressures on adult caregivers as well as other factors that trigger migration force families and other individuals to migrate within and without the country. In Ghana, children grow up with strong cultural traditions and connected to kinship ties governing their birth (Twum-Danso, 2009). With extended family strings attached to children, they are expected to fulfil certain responsibilities towards these significant others. Hence, childcare is a communal responsibility not the sole right of the child's parents (Twum-Danso, 2009). Hence, everybody is involved in the socialisation of children in the community.

The IOM (2013) argues that traditionally, informal fosterage has been used as a protection mechanism or "safety net" for children from poor families. Economically dependent extended family members are expected to come to the aid of these unfortunate young ones to provide support in many valuable ways. It might range from monthly remittance to actively caring for the child's education. It must be emphasized that though care for children is not limited to parents, they still have the legal right as parents. Children may be sent away to live with any of their extended family members or friends of parents. These children are expected to work for their fostering caregivers in return (Imoh, 2012).

Furthermore, as my informants narrate their story, children who are sent to live with others other than their parents provide valuable information into the child migration. Kwaku who was one of my informant and aged 12 says that he lives with his grandmother and uncles who are all engaged in fishing. He says;

"I live with my grandmother and my uncles. My mother is in Winneba and I was brought here because she cannot afford to take care of me nor send me to school. I do my house chores as

expected of me and join my uncles to fish. I am happy here just that the fishing work is tedious" (Kwaku, 12).

The above responses from my informant provide a picture of the family system he lives in. Parents would not hesitate to send their children away to live with family members when they sense that economic pressure is seriously mounting on them. This might serve as a safety net that catches the vulnerable and prevent them from falling, a sign of abject poverty. As the data indicates, the boy is now living with his extended family members because his parent could not afford the necessities of life. These extended family members might not see the child leaving with them as a nuisance. Perhaps it could be seen as contribution in bringing up and preparing the child for adult life. This might provide a sort social satisfaction for those helping. Since caring for children in these communities is seen as communal, extended family members might readily aid others in need. In so doing, they tend to fulfil their communal obligation.

The response also suggests something striking. The informant *says "I was brought here because she (his mother) cannot afford to take care of me"*. Could it be that the children who are sent away to live with other extended family members often come from single parent families where the women are left to handle the responsibilities? Or possibly the fathers themselves have also migrated? Though the data does not go beyond what could be seen, many relevant questions do arise as already seen. Moreover, the informant claims he is happy where he now lives suggesting that the missing provisions in his life while living with the mother are now present. His happiness might also suggest that living away from one's biological parents is not a cause for sadness. Since these communities practice the extended family system of living, children would expect to live with any of their extended relatives if the need be.

The data also indicates the responsibilities expected of the child. The payment for enjoying a 'happy life' is to join his uncles to go for fishing. A child of 12 years might need to push himself a bit harder in order to meet the heavy demand of the fishing business. As indicated in the data, the child concedes that though 'happy' at where he is now living, the task of fishing is demanding and 'tedious'. However, the child does not resent nor rebel against his fostering caregivers. This must call for his energy to be used at work in order to meet such a challenge. As the situation demands, the informant responds in an agile way displaying

resilience and persistence. This is a clear demonstration of children agency and their resilience.

Thus, the responsibility of child fostering is being carried out through the kinship system where other relatives help in training the children instead of their biological parents due to several reasons. Caring for children in Ghana has traditionally been through the kinship fosterage. Most people at one point in time stayed with the other relatives or guardians when growing up. According to Kwaku, he sees migration as a way of getting care from other family members when parents are not in good financial position to take care of their children which include learning trade or skills for the future. Since Kwaku needs someone to care for him, his mother thought her mother (that is Kweku's grandmother) and his uncles can take care of him till he is old and mature to take care of himself. However, during socialisation, children are encouraged to learn how to earn money and participate in cash earning activity at an early age so that life will be better for them (Abebe, 2013).

Other informants revealed that they live with people who are not part of their extended family members. These ones may come from the same town of those nearby. Francis, a 13-year old boy states; *"I have lived with my guardians for the past two years. The man is a friend of my family and I stay with their family including his children" (Francis, 13).*

Fostering thus includes those who may not have blood ties with the children. As the informant indicates, his biological family and the one he lives with are only friends. This might suggest that parents could give out their children to friends who show interest in having these kids. It shows that child upbringing is not limited to the immediate parents or even the extended family. Instead, willing responsible members of the community could fill in the gap. Fosterage might also come about because of couple's inability to have their own children.

Instead of following the legal process for adaptation, these childless couple might offer to care for other children. This assumption is cemented by what another informant Yaa who is only 8 years old, living with the guardian said *"I live with my mother's friend here because she does not have a child and my mother says she will take care of me if I come to stay with her" (Yaa, 8).* This informal process might compensate for childless couples while providing assistance for the needy child. It turns out to be a "win win" situation each party benefiting in

a way. To Yaa, child migration affords her the opportunity to experience other part of the country which otherwise could be hard to visit.

However, it is not all the informants who view this type of family setup to be beneficial. Francis, another informant indicates something contrary to what the previous informants have stated. He conceives child migration to be a punishment. This he said since he claims he was brought to stay with his guardians because the mother was finding it difficult to control him. He further said; *"My mother brought me here because she said I am a bad and stubborn boy" (Francis, 13)*. The informant brings out an important aspect of child migration which otherwise might not be known. The practice might serve as behaviour control mechanism. It could be used to check children who resist adult control. In order to curb the situation, parents might lend the child out to a friend or any member of the extended family to correct the behaviour. Thus, child migration is used as strain children who make the attempt to disrupt social order. He resents the idea and prefers being with his other siblings. However, adult control prevails over children in this situation.

Esi, says; *"I live with my elder sister and the husband" (Esi, 13)*. When the concept of family is mentioned, this informant conceptualizes to include all other relatives of the extended family apart from the biological parents (Verhoef, 2005). Therefore, the construction of the family varies according to the social and cultural practices of the community. Children especially those in the rural area are socialised early to help both parents or guardians go about their work without any hinderances (Abebe, 2013). For example, Ama is able to take care of the younger siblings as well as cook the family meals whiles the parents are at work.

5.3 Reasons for Migration – Ranking Exercise

The ranking exercise than by both children and the family and community members on reasons for migration revealed important issues in the society. Below is the list of reasons for children and family/community reasons for migration in order of importance.
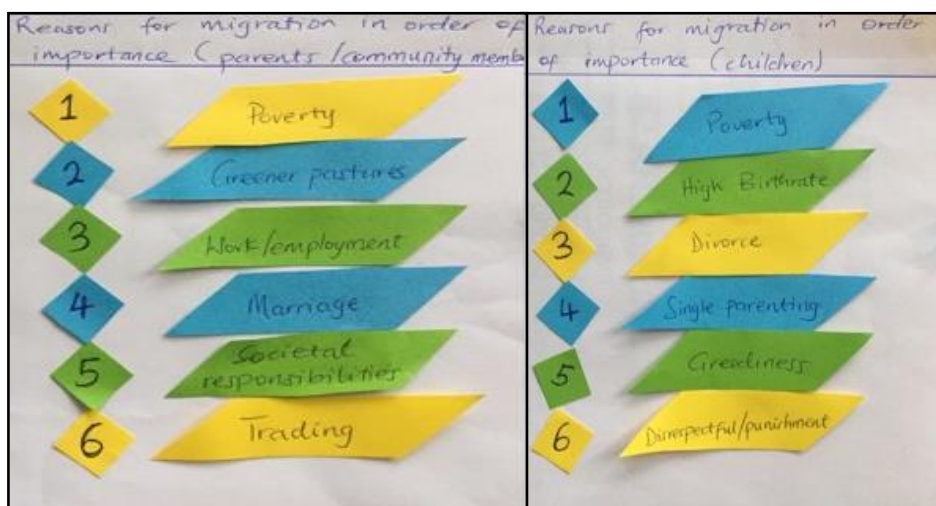
Figure 4 Ranking Exercise for both children and parent/community members on migration

As seen in figure 4 above is list of the causes of migration from the children and the

Based on the list, it can be identified that both parties have different reasons for reasons of migration. Below elaborate the reasons for migration which often results in fosterage and work.

5.3.1 Children's Perspectives on causes of Migration

There were many reasons for families and other children migrating to the study area. The majority of the responses collected during the interview and ranking exercises by both children and parents/community members include categories such as: opportunities in areas of economic welfare, poverty, educational facilities, health service, marriage, divorce, high birth rate, trading activities and socialization. Some single parents' inability to cater for their children due to the economic hardship as well as high number of child dependency could also force them to send some of these children to other relatives to stay with them. This action helps relieved parents of the financial burdens.

The main reason for children working is poverty since it is a daily reality, evident in the society in which they find themselves (Abebe, 2009; Bourdillon, 2007). As Kwaku reveals in his narrative, he said *"My mom brought me here because she say the hardship is too much" (Kwaku, 12)*. Thus, he is being sent to the grandmother and uncles to live with them due to the hardship he is going through together with the other children. The main cause of his migration is due to financial problem hence he cannot be enrolled in school by the mother.

Moreover, the data also reveals that the mother is a single parent who cannot afford to cater for him. Thus, the mother's burden will be lifted from the basic needs to other needs such as health and school needs of Kwaku.

Also Esi said *"My parents brought me to stay here so I can work to help support them raise my younger siblings" (Esi, 13)*. These bore down to the financial hardship the parents are going through due to high birth rate, hence not being in a good position to cater for the child. People migrate due to poverty, job opportunities, inequalities and some escaping from hardships (Kassa & Abebe, 2016).

As mentioned earlier, Francis added that *"My mother brought me here because they said I am a bad and stubborn boy" (Francis, 13)*. According to the data collected, Francis was sent away from the parents because the mother felt he was being led to bad company in which he would learn bad habits which the community frowns upon. Therefore, she felt it is better he is being trained by people who can nurture him well to be responsible adults since the father is dead.

In this situation, due to sickness and death of one parent, the other is not able to fully help care and train the children well as expected of them hence those children who are adventurous are being sent to be trained by people other than the parents (Bourdillon, 2007). Some children were here because the parents cannot control them and thinks the guardian is better to raise them up the right way. Single parenting resulting from the death of the other partner, negligence of duty by the other partner, or unknown partners also accounts for the migration of children. In the rural areas, in circumstances where men are dead or absent from paid work, it leave reproductive burdens on the other partner or families to shoulder them due to the fewer resources available (Abebe, 2013).

However, some children said migration was a source of punishment from the parents so they send them away to live with family friends. Francis lamented that *"I was brought to stay with my uncle because my mum says I am stubborn and my uncle is the only one in position to control me since he is stern"*. He continues that *"here you don't have much freedom and I play less as compared to when I was living with my mother" (Francis, 13)*. Here the since his freedom has been ceased or reduced he feels that is a punishment to him. Some children also lamented that they have lost their friends at home and have to make new friends again.

In addition, divorce also contributes to migration whereas the parents are separated, the financial burden might be heavy hence forcing the other parent to change the parenting style. Atta *"My mother had a fight between her and my step dad, so I was sent to live with a distant family member here" (Atta,12).* Most of the people migrated due to poverty and low income resulting from lack of jobs, high standard of living, single parenthood, high birth rate and divorce.

There is large family size due to lack of family planning methods according to the child informants, hence they are not able to take care of all the children. One child said, *"I was brought here to stay with my guardian because my mum who is alone cannot take good care of me. My other siblings are also staying with other family members" (Dan, 14)*. This indicates that the family size is large whereas the parents are not economically stable.

5.3.2 Parents/Community member Perspectives on causes of Migration

According to the family/community members poverty was ranked the main reason for migration of children. They highlighted that due to lack of money to care for their young ones, they are forced to either send their child to a relative, guardian or a friend to care for the child. They further addressed the poverty issue as a result of unemployment and not having regular source of income to help cater for the family. An informant said, "as a single parent the standard of living is high hence one is not able to care for the children that is why parents will send some of them to stay with other relative elsewhere" (Madam Naa). Hence, high standard of living causes parents who are not having adequate income to feel the toll of hardship on them.

Also, second on the list was migrating to seek greener pastures for better future for the children. The informants continue that they migrate along with children to seek greener pastures in areas of apprenticeship, trading, formal education or improve social amenities. They concluded that when there are more opportunities in other towns most parents will not hesitate to send their children there to live and seize some opportunities in terms of good schools, other vocational education, health facilities and others.

Moreover, employment was third on the list as a reason for migration. As stated above, children are mostly sent to live with family members or other people to learn a trade or apprenticeship so that they can take care of themselves and make a living in the future. Most

disadvantage parents are worried about what the future holds for their children especially when they are not going through formal training. Hence, they feel learning a trade is another alternative to not getting formal training. One community member argues that, one of his children is in Accra learning Auto mechanic and staying with his brother. "Though I wish to stay with my son but I cannot because I want him to finish apprenticeship, so he can open up his shop soon" (Brother John). Accordingly, his future will be secured and will be able to help the family.

Marriage was another cause of migration for both family or children alone. This is to say that, some parents marry and have to leave with the children to their new home or the parents marries and they are sent to live with other relatives so the parent will enjoy the new marriage. Societal responsibilities like communal labour fees, funeral dues or welfare and other aspects expected of the person living in the community. Doing business and trading was the fifth cause of migration. This is to say that parents and children usually migrate just to find a good town to do business and earn income. Children are being sent there for them to learn a trade to help supplement the family income.

5.4 Perspectives on Migration, Fosterage and Work

Parents and community members were also involved in the research and their perspectives on children's migration and work were solicited. Most of the parents were confident and readily ready to participate in the interview and the ranking exercises proposed. According to the parents, migration is a normal way of life around their vicinity. Almost one or two of their children are staying with other people to either learn a trade or school. They confirmed that they also migrated to stay with some extended family members when they were children thus, it is generational. One woman said, *"I stayed with my grandmother till I married since she was alone then and she needed someone to help her around" (Madam Naa)*.

Thus, she does not see anything wrong with sending your child to a member of the family to live with. According to her, she is from Yeji, but her daughter is staying with a relative in Accra learning "welding" profession there. However, she concluded that she can only send her child to live with a relative but not outside the family. When asked why she will do that, she added that if the child can get better opportunities as in work or better school, her burden of caring for him will be reduced. She concluded that those children who go into

apprenticeship are able to work and send money to their parents to help supplement the family expenditure. Thus, it is very beneficial when they can work and help in the family.

Another man also affirmed that he migrated when he was young because he lost his father and when the mother remarried, she could not take him with her so sent him to his uncles and that was where he lived till he married. He is a fisherman and views migration as a culture that has been there for ages around the area. He sees migration as an instrument that brings the best in people because there are various obstacles, but it will harden you to face the world. He said, *"I have been through a lot pains but as the saying goes "no pain no gain" and in the end I survived though it was not easy" (Nana)*. He added that children involved in work used their money on their family then use the rest for themselves. This is used to purchase things like toothpaste, and toothbrush, washing and bathing soap, underwear and clothes. To him migration lifts some financial burden on some parents hence those having financial difficulties are relieved from it. He concluded that migration and work has made him more resilient to situations around him.

Another community member views migration and work as a generation occurrence in the family. Consequently, migration of children is culturally accepted by the family and society they find themselves. He emphasised that work includes basic house chores such as washing of dishes and clothes, cleaning, fetching water, sweeping and cooking. However, helping parents or guardians in their work such as fishing, farming or selling is culturally accepted since it gives a "good name tag" to the child. For instance, he added that *"I did migrate with my family and I had to help in my family work since we did not have enough money to feed ourselves" (Brother John)*. He continued that though not all kind of work is suitable for children, with reference to their age. He made an emphasis that he used to work long hours and had less rest when he was engaged in the family's work in selling of farm produce both at home and at the market. Though it made him resilient, he feels he over worked himself. According to him, all his children are living with him and they help him in his fishing work and farming business. Although he could not attend school, all his children are attending school and they offer help after school hours.

The parents and community members involved in the research all confirmed that migration and work help the wellbeing of the children thus brings out the best in children in term being hardworking. They confirmed that though it has negative aspect of it but they feel the positive outweighs the negatives.

Also, since parents and guardians were semi-illiterate hence they do not understand the purpose of schooling. Some parents and community members who were into fishing when interviewed about education, saw it as a waste of time since some school's lack basic infrastructure to carry on studies and there are limited jobs after the formal education. This is the idea underpinning them to send their children to school. Also, they made mentioned the cost involved in educating their children in school which they cannot afford it.

When interviewed on the aspect of children's form of punishment when they offend their parents or guardians, many issues arose. To begin with, they said the bible have a scripture which says "spare the rod and spoil the child" hence it is right to beat the child with a cane but must be done with care. That is to say beating with care thus beating should be moderate. Beating with care helps to teach children right from wrong hence must be performed in the best interest of the child (Frankenberg, Holmqvist, & Rubenson, 2010). They consented to be flogged when they were children any time the offends their adults. Some also added to it that, they are denied food or other privileges whenever they do not do what is expected of them.

Therefore canning, or other forms of punishment help to strengthen the child and mend their ways to be accepted in the community. That is to say that, there are code of ethics in the community and children must be able to live up to it. No parent or family want to hear that their child has misbehave in public by disrespecting adults, fighting, exchanging words with adults, stealing, telling lies or being lazy. According to Brother John, the society in which they live cherish hardworking children who brings honour to the family hence any act of the child to refuse correction will lead to punishment by the parents or guardians.

Madam Akos a fishmonger who is living with the deceased brother's daughter said migration for the niece was good since it has afforded her a new family and she is learning a trade under her supervision. Also, she concluded that she needs to be groomed to fit into the society so that she can live an independent life. Moreover, she admits that children might fault but the ability of the caregiver to corrects them is paramount. Hence meting out punishment to them to help correct a bad behaviour is accepted since it prevents them from joining bad company of friends. She added that every family wants a good name and thus no family wants the family name to be tannish in the community. She said "a good name is better than riches" an adage that is supports good name over riches. Thus, she will not allow the family name to be destroyed.

Financially, she said the niece has been helping her in the house and help sell her fish at the market after she return from school. The proceeds from the work is what she uses to cater for her needs. Moreover, she has opened a bank account for her so that she can save some money to further her education or learn a trade in the future. When asked of the support from the State concerning helping children, she responded that there is nothing like that and everything lies on the parents so when the parents of children dies, the extended family is the next available family to fall unto. According to the parents and the community members children's work is paramount to their wellbeing since the society upholds hardworking children who can work to help the parent in their jobs.

5.5 Summary

The chapter deliberated on the fosterage and family system evident in Ghana and the research area. It also discussed the perspectives of children and the family/community members on migration, fosterage and work. It also analysed the causes of migration from both children and family/community members.

CHAPTER SIX

CHILDREN'S WORK AND PARTICIPATION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter set the stage for the analysis of children's work and participation as well as identifying the chore curriculum in the research area. Furthermore, it discusses the benefits derived from fishing work as well as the children's own narratives on self-worth. In addition, challenges encountered by children in their work will be discussed. Resilience on how children handle the many challenges that they face in their daily work thereby showcasing their agency will be paramount to the discussion.

6.2 Work and Participation

Childhood is characterised by play, rest and performing duties assigned to them. Children are expected to respect, perform their responsibilities as a reciprocity of the care being given them by their parents or guardians (Twum-Danso, 2009). Thus, children are expected to help their parents and guardians in their family business to help supplement the family income. These household activities in many forms present a unique way for children to exhibit what they have learned from adults. As Lancy (2012:24) puts it this 'chore curriculum' involves tasks which children have imitated and mastered over a period of time and try to do the same. Children are assigned house chores in relation to their age and gender. Most often than not, male children will be expected to imitate the works of males adult whereas female children mimic the what female adult do. Working children do these works regularly almost becoming a seemingly effortless endeavour. Yet, it shows how children despite their age limitations and strength demonstrate that they are capable and can chart their own life even through difficult circumstances. The following discussions of the empirical data will support the argument.

6.2.1 Children's Daily Activities

Children by virtue of their position in the family have their own responsibilities ranging from domestic chores to work that contribute to the family business. The data reveals that the children have chores which is their responsibility to the family. I have categorised the chores

into groups namely house chores, fishing work, processing and marketing of the fishes and inputs needed in the fishing industry.

House chores: To start with, the study revealed that almost all the children ran errands such as washing of clothes and dishes, sweeping, cooking, fetching water. For example, Atta said *"I sweep first thing in the morning then go fetch water for the house after I go to the shore and prepare to go fishing. On the days we don't go fishing, I helped to mend the fishing nets on the shore" (Atta, 12).*

Also, Esi also recounts that *"I fetch water, fill the barrel then I sweep the compound then after, I wash the dishes then I bath for school. But when I closed from school, I help my sister to prepare the fishes and sell them at the market. I sometimes sell two basins of fishes all by myself then I come home to cook for the family" (Esi, 13).* In addition to these chores, she takes care of her younger ones at home as well. These minor tasks performed at home can be classified as the "chore curriculum" thus are the basic domestic tasks every child performs to help the family (Lancy, 2012). Chore curriculum also refers to the process where children learn, master and carry out their chores as expected of them. Children from this area perform various house chores such as fetching of water, searching and gathering fire woods, washing dishes, cleaning the compounds and running other errands (Agbenya, 2009).

Children learn by imitating the adult over some period of time to master the skills. For instance, Esi started processing fishes and selling at a younger age with supervision from the sister and she can do it without any help from the sister. In conclusion, children in Ghana are expected to perform some responsibilities within their homes as it is part of socialisation preparing children be hardworking and responsible adult.

6.2.2 Fishing Work

When it comes to fishing work, there is more to it than just casting of net and pulling on board. The following also occurs; thus paddling the canoe, fetching water from the boat, casting and pulling nets and diving into the water. According to the informants, they wake up as early as 2:00 to 3:00 at dawn to go and cast the net on the lake. To start fishing, the boat should be paddled by the children to the area chosen to cast the net at dawn. Paddling involves strength so that the boat can reach its destination. Usually the girls especially fetch the water entering the boat through the paddling from the boat so to prevent sinking of the

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boat. The casting of the nets is usually done by the adults and older children. After the casting of the nets, they return to the shore to do other work such as mending of nets, preparing baits and other house chores. Some children also prepare to go to school.

Later in the day between two and three in the afternoon, they go back to pull the fishing nets that has been casted at dawn. Around this time most of the children who went to school have returned and can go to the lake to work. The school start from 7:00 am till 2:30 pm. Most of these children always arrive to school late around 8:30 am thereabout according to my observation. This lateness can be due to not finishing their chores early enough or oversleeping as a result of tiredness or not going to bed early. However, those who attend school return and join the others to go back to pull the net casted at dawn. Since pulling of the net is a collective effort to bring the fishes onboard the boat the children all join to pull it onboard. In the process of pulling the nets, some get entangled with the stumps in the Lake Volta which causes the net to get torn which allows some fishes to escape from the nets. Due to the trees in the water, the net usually gets trap in between the trees inside the water hence making the fishermen to dive into the water to entangle the net hence the use of children.

Thus, when the nets get trapped, then some children as usual are made to dive into the lake to disentangle the nets from the tree stumps inside to lake so that less harm is done to the nets or to avoid the fishes from escaping the nets into the lake. The children are taught how to dive by their parents or guardians they stay with or masters they are learning the fishing skills from and other experienced children. According to Francis, he was trained by the senior apprentice since they were already experienced. He said *"I was made to go under the water by holding my breath for some minutes before coming above the waters to catch air. It was not easy at first but as time went on I was able to stay long under the water through training"* *(Francis, 13).*

According to one child Atta, knowing how to swim and holding your breath under the water for long is a necessity for every fisherman. He continues that *"I have to dive into the water anytime the nets get trapped inside the water, so we can pull the net onboard"* *(Atta, 12).*

Finally, children climbed onboard after diving into the water to disentangle the nets from the stumps or any hinderance in the water. According to Francis, diving into the cold waters is not easy but that is the only way out. He recounts that he can swim which helps him to survive the water. The diving into the water to disentangle the nets is affirmed by Kukwaw

(2013), that in actual fish catch, children perform activities which include canoe paddling, draining the canoe of water, casting and pulling fishing nets, launching of boats for successful fishing. The girls usually drain the canoe of water and paddle as well. However, some dive when the need arises. According to Kwaku, *"I dive when its necessary because I have to help the other person in the Lake, so we can pull the nets on board, but I usually paddle the canoe and drain water coming into the canoe" (Kwaku, 12).* In summary, the fishing work usually casting and pulling of the nets, draining of the boat, diving to disentangle the nets in the water and paddling of the boat.

6.2.3 Processing and Marketing of the Fish

Moreover, when the fishermen come on shore, the children are needed to help transport the fishes to either the market or to the smokers to be processed. The fish are to be sorted, processed and sold to the public. According to one child, when they come ashore, he helps to pull the fishes out of the canoe into the basins to be sold. Furthermore, he needs to clean the canoe, transport the fishes and prepare them for selling. Here the girls are needed at this stage to transport and process the fishes. The processing of the fishes involves removal of scales and fins, followed by salting, frying and smoking of the fishes.

At this stage most of the left-over fishes that are not sold in the fresh state are processed so that it will not go bad since some do not have refrigerators or enough space in their refrigerator to store them. Ama said *"I smoke the fish and help sell them at the market after I give details of what was sold, and the money is given to my parents" (Ama, 12).* Another girl Esi also said *"I only smoke and sell the fishes at the market. This is my only work after I returned from school and I make sure I sell most of the fish" (Esi, 13).*

Another activity that the children are made to do is the selling of fish either to market women who purchase them at the banks of the Lake or at the market centres. Some children sell with their mothers at the market whilst others sell them alone and refill when they get finished. Apart from the market centres some sell from door to door of people's houses and through places like restaurant and shops as well. Chore curriculum is evident here as the children master their skills in marketing their fish.

The study revealed that children practice their agency through these activities. Most of these works are virtually adult work because of the risk involved. Children in the study perform

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their tasks as adult from cooking, taking care of the other siblings, fishing and selling on their own. These activities performed by the children confirms that children have competencies and must be seen "beings" instead of "becomings" as propagated by some sociologist (James & James, 2004; James et al., 1998).

6.3 Positive Effects of the Fishing Work

The study revealed that the proceeds from the fishing work has been able to cater for the children's educational expenses and supplementing the family income. Through migration, children develop their individual dispositions and contributes to poverty and material deprivation when they contribute to the family livelihood (Abebe, 2013). Adding to this, children participation in the family livelihood can be income generating activities, or household activating which include caring for young ones and elderly. Some of the children living with their guardians said they are able to send money to their biological parents and siblings as well as providing their own basic needs.

According to Francis *"I can send money to my mother every month to take care of my other siblings. At least my brothers will not go hungry" (Francis, 13*). He continues that he has learned how to mend fishing nets, prepare baits and fish as well. Therefore, he would be a good fisherman in the future on his own and cater for himself without depending on anybody. He also concluded that since he cannot go to school, fishing is his trade so he is learning it well so he can be like the master. He cannot go to school because his parents could not cater for him.

One child Kofi also said *"the money earned by my parents is being used in building a house in our hometown" (Kofi, 9)*. Most of the children interviewed confirmed to the fact that the money derived from the fishing work cater for their basic needs such as water for domestic use, medicals, clothing and contribute to their community in diverse ways. Abena said, *"my father is able to pay welfare dues and funeral dues as well as help other family member when the need arises, hence if he is not into fishing, he will not be able to do all that" (Abena, 10).* Welfare and funeral dues are monies paid to the bereaved family when they bury their dead relatives and performs the funeral ceremonies. This is obligatory in the sense that, if you refuse to pay when there is a funeral then the community members will not also pay their dues to you or your family when you or your family dies. Hence, it is a mandate for all the

members of the community. Some of the children including Esi also added to it that *"I am able to buy my basic things as well as catering for my school expenses" (Esi,13).*

Benefits of the fishing work is numerous thus according to Ama who is living with the father said *"My father is able to send some money to my mother to cater for my other siblings and the external family as well. He is also building a house, so we can move into when he finish and that we won't be renting again" (Ama,12).* She says she is happy to help make money to help the family. She continues that she is learning to be a fishmonger in the future. To her, migrating to this area has helped the family a lot she added that *"I and my brother help my dad in his work to provide for the family but in my village, we were peasant farmers and was difficult to survive there than now" (Ama,12).* This is because he gets money to bring home, at least so they will not go hungry. Thus, her father being a single father has to cater for her and the other children as well. Hence, she feels it is better here because she is getting enough to eat as well as enough to save a construct a house. She was happy the father took them to the research area since the father is able to get money from the work unlike when they were in Winneba (hometown).

Some of the children saw moving to Yeji as a blessing in disguise. For instance, since Kwame's family moved to the Yeji, he and the siblings are able to access school. He said *"they use the money to send me and my siblings to school and I am happy we came here because I can go to school and work as well".* He continues that anytime they go to their hometown for visit they are respected because all his siblings are going to school unlike their friends that were left behind. Being given respect as a child is the rewards that accompany their engagement in fishing. Hence, they all helped their parents in their work so that they can be fully cared for.

All the children when asked if they have learnt something that can help them in the future, they responded positive from processing fishes, preparing and selling of baits, mending fishing nets, selling fishes as well as fishing. Besides, children being involved in trading either baits or fishes helps them earn money whiles they acquire skills like dealing with customers, as well as developing child-adult relationships (Abebe, 2013). Eventually, there are benefits of fishing work which helps the individual and the family as well.

6.4 Challenges with Children's Work

Fishing work despite its advantages for the country, community and the children as well has its negative impact on the children. According to Imoh (2012), working children especially foster children may sometimes go through abuse and may be deprived of certain needs as a way of punishing them when they offend them. Furthermore, because of the increasing responsibilities and demands of parenthood, most parents are retreating from their duty leaving inadequately parented children on other family members or friends (Imoh, 2012). According to the children's own perspectives, some issues of abuse were brought up, both such as physical abuse and emotional abuse.

According to some of them, they are punished physically if they offend their parents or guardians. For example, one child, Atta, said *"I was beaten with a cane when I could not wake up early to join them for fishing. Also, I am sometimes denied food if I do something bad" (Atta,12)*. Another child also confirmed that she also goes through emotional abuse when she fails to sell most of the fishes. She lamented*, "if don't sell most of the fishes, I am sometimes insulted and might be denied money for school the next day" (Yaa,8)*. This makes her feel down and afraid when she has to return home from the market with most fishes not sold. She lamented that *"I have to go extra mile to make sure at least 70% of the fishes are sold or else my mum will say I went playing instead of selling" (Yaa,8)*.

There were several stories of abuses but there was nothing the children can do about it since the adults are superior than them being the breadwinner of the family. Francis added *that "I am denied food if I offend my master and made to do other jobs as punishment"*. So when asked how he sees migration, he explained that *"it more of work and sometimes punishment since one might do mistakes once a while" (Francis, 13)*. According to him there is not enough time to rest since there are more work to do after they have gone to cast the net on the lake. His biggest problem is not having enough time to sleep. The children use "master" as a title to address their guardian or head at work since there are other children under apprenticeship. This is a coded language at work whereby the owners of the boats and elders are called as such.

Responses from the informants revealed that being beaten with a cane, denied some needs of their dependants and verbal abuses are meted out them as form of punishment for children that faults at work. In conclusion, though there are some positive effects of the fishing work, there is also some negative effects it has on the children.

6.5 Resilience and Self-Worth

The informants seem to have been exposed to risks and have responded to adversities in their line of work. They might have come into contact with hunger, malnutrition, punishment and emotional abuse. However, these situations seem in some way to have made them stronger. Rather than give up hope and eventually throw in the towel a sign of total failure, these children push themselves against the odds of life and confidently look to the future with amazing strength. The data suggest that these present stressful life circumstances toughen the children and prepare them up for greater challenges in adult life. This clearly shows how these informants display resilience in the situation they find themselves in. Boyden and Mann (2005) argue that this is the ability to bounce back after going through difficult situations without losing much of the initial characteristics one possesses.

The data seem to indicate informants' great resilience as they are subjected to abuse of different kinds. An interesting question that crops up is that how are these children of relatively younger age able to withstand and deal with these seemingly intertwine and harsh situations? Evidently it emanates from their ability to negotiate through the complex curves in their lives. It relates to their capacity to identify the situation at hand and device corresponding measures to handle them. Here, their agency as young people comes to the fore. As Robson et al. (2007) argued, agency is "an individual's own capacity, competencies, and activities through which they navigate the contexts and positions of their life worlds, fulfilling many economic, social, and cultural expectations, while simultaneously charting individual/collective choices and possibilities for their daily and future lives" (Robson et al., 2007: 135). For these children to be able to handle their demanding daily tasks, they must be aware of the resources available to them. These children's 'own capacity and competencies' help them 'navigate the context and positions of their life world' (ibid). The 'life world' of these children is one that they would not have wished. Yet, they do not run away from the struggles but squarely face up the challenges.

Instead of bowing to the difficulties that they have to deal with, these children show great willingness to continue without giving up. These children have the qualities to handle the many unfortunate situations they find themselves in. As Kwaku suggested in his story, he meet the daily expectations from his guardians even though *"the fishing work is tedious" (Kwaku, 12)*. This informant demonstrates through his actions that there is no obstacle that he could not successfully overcome. What a positive display of children's agency.

Furthermore, Dan relates that *"I work more than when I was in my hometown" (Dan, 14)*. Thus, he thought he could not work that long hours when he came to Yeji at first. He continued that in the beginning it was difficult to wake up at dawn but as time went by he has gotten used to it. Hence whenever it clocks 3:00 am he is awake even during days he does not go fishing. She seems to have become used to the time she wakes up to go to work. Agency is not limited only to adults but rather, young people of much younger age display this ability.

Esi concluded that *"I have to go fishing even when I'm sick and cannot work but I know I won't be here forever"*. She continues that *"physical and verbal abuses are poured on me but I do not care because I know it's part of life and I will be my own madam when I am an adult" (Esi, 13)*. Thus, this is a temporary feeling and getting through it happily. This seems to be an excellent demonstration of children's agency and resilience on the part of this informant. She could be paralyzed by fear, intimidation and a sense of worthlessness; and she does not pay attention to these things even though she likely feels the pain. In fact, she fantasizes being 'her own boss' in the future, a mental attitude which seems to cushion and comfort her through her challenges. These children develop the robust mental inclination not to give up even in the worst situations. To conclude, children have many ways of responding to adversities in their lives and work place and clearly prove that children have agency. As Robson et al. (2007: 135) argue, "wider body of ongoing research on young people's everyday lives across the world...clearly demonstrate how the shift to viewing young people as individuals with the capacity to act and shape their own lives rather than seeing children as simply adults in training, passive and innocent dependents, or victims has become firmly established". This study and many others have shed bright light on children's ability to navigate through adult dominated space and somehow difficult situations whilst being positive. A clear demonstration of children's agency indeed!

From the children own perspectives, those who were contributing to the family's business and income feel a sense of pride among their peers. This is because they see themselves as responsible, obedient, hardworking and "good boy or girl" in the community. The community applauds children who help their parents in their work or who are ready to learn a skill by working to help the parents. The children say they feel self-worth when they send money to their parents or help their parents earn something for the family. Francis says *"I am respected because at this age I can take care of my family" (Francis, 13)*. He is learning the fishing business through apprenticeship and being paid as well whereas the money is sent to the

mother. Esi said *"I am loved by my mother"* because she can sell and contribute to the family income. When given her share, she saves and sends some to the mother.

In similar ways, Kwaku also added to it that *"I am respected because I work to support my family" (Kwaku, 12)*. Aside the others, Abena who lives with her parents said *"I am respected because I help my parent in their work which shows I am a good child" (Abena, 10)*. Thus, she takes pride from what she can contribute to the family in her own way. The community respects children who are hardworking and help their parents to take care of them since there is no social security system that care for the children. The parents bear all the cost from health, education food and everything. This might be a great burden on the citizens who do not earn much and might contribute to poverty and hardship in the family.

Working children experience self-reliance, self-respect and worth from members of the community because they can help to provide income for the family (Abebe, 2013). Thus, when children are productive in the family, they may expect rewards in the form of praise, food, shelter, school materials and inheritance when they become adults (Abebe, 2013). In summary, children feel good when they know they are helping the family in their own small way. It gives them a status in the family which motivates them to go on.

6.6 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter has discussed children's work and participation. The fishing work was elaborated, coupled with the positive effects of children's work and challenges involved from children's perspective. Also, situations which command children to develop resilience toward their work and the kind of self-worth they feel when thy can contribute to the family is highlighted in this chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NGO-DIVERGING PERSPECTIVES

7.1 Introduction

The understandings of childhood, children's work, fosterage and migration from the children and parent/community members differ from the NGOs working with children. Based on children's perspectives on migration, fosterage and work on the previous chapters, this chapter unveils the contradicting perspective from the NGOs working with children in the research area.

7.2 NGOs Perspectives on Children's Migration

There were some NGOs working in the area of child safety, trafficking, child labour and child abuse. Most were situated there because of the major fishing activities in the area. Mission of Hope International (MIHOSO International), City of Refuge Ministries (CORM), Partners in Community Development Programme (PACODEP), Touch A Life, Free the Slaves, Challenging Heights are the Non-Governmental Organisations operating in the area.

One NGO that was contacted was able to highlight some of the incidences happening in the area ranging from child labour, child abuse, poor health issues, poverty, women issues among others. Most of the NGOs have their basis on the UNCRC hence have the view of the work free childhood where children are right claimers as enshrined in the UNCRC. Thus, the institutions are funded by philanthropists and donors from abroad therefore the institutions have their own objectives and mission they adhere to concerning children.

These NGOs are committed to providing public health education, sanitation promotion, livelihood empowerment programs, consultancy services for hygiene and sustainable rural water projects. Some are also involved in evidenced based research, advocacy, training, sharing of resources, and the provision of security to target women and children. Some have developed social interventions of rescuing children out of child slavery and preventing them from being sold to others. Moreover, they ensure that the children are secured, protected and their rights are promoted. Some further provide economic empowerment and sustainable business for poor parents to be able to make ends meet so as to take care of their children.

From the perspective of the work free childhood practiced from the minority world to the majority world have their foundations from the UNCRC. For example, article 31 of the UNCRC states that:

1. "States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts" (UNCRC, 1989).

Thus, children have the right to participate in play, rest and leisure at all times. These are paramount to the child's wellbeing and development. Hence children should participate freely engage in recreational activities and must not be refrained from engaging in them. This article is one of the foundation of one of the NGOs in the area.

Most of the staff working at these NGOs are formally educated and most of them do not come from the fishing area. According to the staff working there, they see migration as a way of parents escaping responsibilities. They also understand migration as a change in caregiving whereas children engage in forced labour leading to abuses of children. Aside the forced labour, the parents and guardians are benefiting from them and most of them feels reluctant to provide all their children needs. The parents or guardians rather spend the proceeds from the work on other trivial things like organising extravagance funerals rites, marrying more wives, drinking alcohol and buying funeral clothes. The society places value on funeral rites because it is seen as a major rite of passage and must be celebrated.

They see children's migration as an offence or unlawful practice because children are being denied these rights to education. They added that children are vulnerable to hard conditions of work. Thus, there are laws that prohibit children's migration, but it is on paper but not practical in reality. They do not see children's migration as affecting children and their family in a more positive way but added that the parents are neglecting their responsibilities and leaving it on other people to bear. They made mention of some parents lending their children to other people to work and pay debts incurred by the family of the children.

They rescue children from their guardians popularly known as masters then they send them to their shelters. The children thought to be abused and under forced labour are being rescued with the help of the security forces and brought to the shelters provided by the NGO and the children are counselled and reintegrated back to the biological parents. Thus, those children

who are serving their guardians in repayment of debts or other causes of their family are sent back to their parents and the NGO pays the amount outstanding.

Moreover, the NGOs states their concern about the potential health threats of children's work. According to them the interest of the children comes first above the adults. They have noticed and have been aware that people sell their children or hire their children to some masters to fish just to pay their debt or to pay the family expenses at home. This the term as child labour because the child is being denied formal schooling, play, rest and good environment to grow up. The NGO are into sensitization program to parents in the community, advocacy programmes, arresting those people found to be indulging in the trafficking business. They see child migration as trafficking because transaction is involved where parents benefit from the transaction. One staff said, *"some parent lend their children out for some years and take some money either monthly or in bulk whiles the children work with the guardian".*

The state is responsible for the protection of the children in the country. In realising that children are cared for and protected, has been put in place interventions like the Children's Act 560, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Human Trafficking Act 2005 (Act 694), the African Chapter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) and the UNCRC. These laws and convention spells out the responsibilities and rights of the child and that of the state to the child. According to the NGOs spoken to, the State is having difficulty prosecuting persons involved in trafficking of children and those involved in forced child labour and abuses because of the complexity involved in the family system. According to some of the NGO staff, they together with the police forces arrested a man, but the family pleaded that they should release him since he is the breadwinner of the family.

These NGOs confirmed that the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) had influenced policies pertaining to children in the Global South and does emphasises the right to education. Article 28 and 29 of the UNCRC respectively entitle every child the right to education and calls on government to make primary school free and accessible for all children. Thus, school and work are presented as compatible in the Global South even though many children combine school with work since it is by means of work that they can afford school.

However most of the NGO staffs confirmed that the Government or the state is not doing much to help take care of the children despite the laws that has been put in place. One staff said *"poverty is the main reason why some parents cannot take good care of their children hence selling them into to others to work for them. Thus, when arrested one could see that they can barely feed themselves well"*. Thus, the social welfare system is strong enough to protect the children from exploitation. In conclusion, the NGOs has helped rescuing children who have been exploited and help given them a fresh start of their lives but have not denied that poverty is the main cause of children being trafficked.

7.3 Summary

The chapter discussed NGOs perspectives of children's migration and how they differ from the children and family/community members' perspectives on children migration. It outlines efforts being made to protect and help children in the fishing communities.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

The chapter gives the overall summary of the main findings that have been gathered through the research from the perspectives of children, family/community members as well as the NGOs working with children. The main findings of the research relate to how the research questions and objectives were achieved. In addition, the chapter also includes concluding remarks and makes some recommendations to address the issues that arose and might be vital for future research.

8.2 Summary of the Study

The study investigated children's perspectives on migration and work in Yeji the Pru district of the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. However, the perspectives of parent/community members and NGO staff were also sought for concerning children's migration, fosterage and work.

Thus, the study sought to find out how children understand the social and cultural reasons for their migration and work they engage in. It however examines the benefits and challenges of work as well as the fosterage/family system. The kind of work done by children were elaborated both the chore curriculum and the fishing work. And also how children develop resilience in their line of work.

The theoretical perspective supporting this study is the Social Studies of Children and Childhood and other related theoretical discussions on children's work. The Social Studies of Children and Childhood advocates for recognition of children's agency that asserts that children are socially competent beings and must be recognised as such. Thus, childhood is socially constructed and that much importance should be placed on them. Also, the actor-oriented perspective propagates the concept of agency as propounded in Childhood Studies which recognise children as competent beings and active participants in the construction of their world.

Moreover, debates on children's work was discussed alongside the global ideologies of childhood. Methodology used to collect the data included observation, interviews, focus group discussion, ranking exercise, recall exercise and drawings. It further outlined the

strengths and weakness of these methods employed for the study. Some ethical considerations such as voluntary participation and reciprocity, respecting privacy and ensuring confidentiality, power relations and respecting the cultural traditions and customs were employed whiles collecting the data. In addition, the study gave a clear description of the informants and their background and where they came from.

The study revealed a scope of Ghana with Lake Volta. It describes the setting which include the language and education, economy and social structure of the area. The fishing and the market community was also discussed. The towns these informants came from was shown on the map of Ghana to show the distance from the research area. Some policies and regulations concerning children in Ghana were discussed including international conventions such as UNCRC, ACRWC, The 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Children's Act and Human Trafficking Act.

8.3 Findings

The study identified that some of the children lived with their parents and extended family members whilst some were with non family members. Reasons for not living with their biological parents ranges from death, divorce, poverty, high number of children and lack of jobs opportunities.

Based on the study, most children view work as part of socialisation in the society, whilst others also see it as a securing one's future. When inquired why they see work as securing one's future, they pointed to lack of jobs in the country and high number of unemployment hence learning the fishing work is worth the risk. Thus, they can be their own "master" in the future. Some professes of having feelings of self-worth in contributing to help the family with the little proceeds that comes from the work. Others feels self-worth that comes with working since the society respect and appreciate a child that is hardworking. However, some children also saw work as tiring, dangerous and abusive.

Some of the children did understand the social and cultural reasons for migrating to the research area. Some pointed out that the family has some responsibilities towards the community hence it must be met. Some listed the reasons of migration as poverty, high birth rate, divorce, single parenthood and greediness from some parents. Though the parents reasons differ a bit from the children's own reasons for migration but most of them were the same.

Children did engage in chores both at home and at work. Most of them were able to take decisions during their work as to how to go about it. Both children and adults were seen performing the same tasks both at the shore and the market. In addition, the NGOs viewed migration as trafficking since there is a transaction between the parents/family and the foster parent. They were concern about the welfare and protection of the children. Hence children should not engage in work that will harm or exploit them. They made mentioned of rescuing some children in exploitative labour and arresting those involved to deter others from using exploiting the children.

It was observed that there is a rift between the parents/community members and the NGOs in the area since the community members see the NGOs as interfering in their personal business. Meanwhile the NGOs are not perturbed by the community members who sometimes intimidate them.

8.4 Concluding Remarks

Children have rights to participate in any activity that is developmentally appropriate and vital for their total development. However, since children have been represented as right claimers by the UNCRC, the customs and traditions of the some societies dictate otherwise. The traditions and customs in many global south countries demand reciprocity, respect and responsibility for children to claim their rights hence it's a "give and take" thing (Twum-Danso, 2009). Thus, children cannot claim rights when they have not performed any responsibilities in return.

Children lives are affected by the policies from the government as well as international conventions. Thus social, political and economic changes have affected traditional cultures such as the fosterage system and the extended family system whereby domestic work has now been commercialised at the expense of children's right. The efforts made by government to help provide and protect children is impeded by lack of funds to provide infrastructure, social amenities, security personnel as well as good social welfare policy for the citizens especially children. The UNCRC should take into consideration the traditions, customs and cultures of the country before it can be applicable.

The extended family has been the pillar to help cater for the young ones in times of crisis such as death of a parent, divorce, sickness among others. It has to decide how best to care for the children who had limited opportunities. Though some families give their children out

to other people in the name of apprenticeship, they assume that is the best decision since the children will be better off with those foster parents than where they were before.

It is evident from the study that some children are actively involved in the fishing work and majority of them are school dropouts whilst some are combining both. The cost of enrolling the children into schools involves pertinent cost which makes it difficult for the parents or guardians to afford hence forcing the children to help-out with the family business. These people are not rich enough to take care of the children's additional school cost though it is stipulated that children have right to education. Consequently, there are dilemmas and contradictions in the right discourses with regards to local livelihoods which is not universal (Kjørholt, 2013).

In summary, children's work is very important to their wellbeing and helps prepare them for the future. However, they should be protected, and the law should at least make basic education free for all children to attend school, so they can have basic education in addition to the work they do.

8.5 Recommendations

The following recommendations have been made based on the results of the study to help approach issues of children's migration and work in the research area. Thus, it must be understood from their perspectives and attach much importance to it.

To start with, government should strengthen the security and the public institutions overseeing the care of children with the necessary equipment and power to execute those who fall culprit to it. Thus, the law should sanction those who are found to abuse children, traffic children or exploit children in their work.

Also, the government should enforce the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) so that no other expenses will be paid by parents since most of them complain about other fees such as PTA dues, examination fees and others. Also, the School Feeding Program should be made available to all schools and not limited to some schools. This will encourage all children to be in school to get basic education.

The government should design a strong social welfare policy for children in in the country. This social welfare will cater for children who are rescued from exploitation or abuse, orphans without care and neglected children in the country. Hence the government should

liaise with the NGOs to help rescue and help empowering the parents of these children to have a livelihood to cater for the children.

The government should make efforts to create jobs for the people so that the poverty rate reduces since most of the reasons for migration and work is poverty resulting from lack of sustainable livelihood coupled with divorce and high birth rates. There should be an advocacy program on giving birth to number of children who can be catered for, hence the promotion of family planning methods to help prevent unwanted pregnancies.

In conclusion, children voices should be listened to and not taken for granted in order to understand them and involve them in decision making processes.

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APPENDICES

Consent form of Participation

I agree to participate in a research project led by Miss Vida Rose Asante from the University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim, Norway. The purpose of this document is to specify the terms of my participation in the project through being interviewed.

1. I have been given sufficient information about this research project. The purpose of my participation as an interviewee in this project has been explained to me and is clear.

2. My participation as an interviewee in this project is voluntary. There is no explicit or implicit coercion whatsoever to participate.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by a researcher from University of Science and Technology (NTNU). The interview will last approximately 30 minutes. I allow the researcher to take written notes during the interview. I also may allow the recording (by audio) of the interview. It is clear to me that in case I do not want the interview to be audio taped I am at any point of time fully entitled to withdraw from participation.

4. I have the right not to answer any of the questions. If I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to withdraw from the interview.

5. I have been given the explicit guarantees that, if I wish so, the researcher will not identify me by name or function in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

7. I have read and understood the points and statements of this form. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

8. My identity will be anonymous, and information or data provided by me will be anonymous by June 2017.

9. I have been given a copy of this consent form co-signed by the interviewer.

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____

Researcher's Signature   Date

FIELDWORK GUIDE

Interview Guide for Children

- Who do you live with?

- Where are your parents? What economic activities do they engage in?

- Where do your siblings live? Why

- What work does your parents and guardians do?

- Who provides your needs in terms of education, health and basic needs?

- What kinds of work do you engage in your daily routine?

- How important is work to your wellbeing?

- What are some of the challenges you face now?

- Why did u migrate to your present abode? Why did you come here?

- How do you see migration? How do you see your life here?

- When do you have your leisure time? Do you like it here? If yes or no, then why?

- Do you play or spend time with friends outside work context?

- Do you get paid for work done in the community?

- If yes, how do you use the money you earn from your work?

- If no, where does the money goes to?

- How does your work/money help yourself, family or siblings?

- How does the migration affect your education?

- How does the money from work affect your status in home/family?

- Do you acquire skills for the future that can help in sustain you financially?

- What is the difference between your life here and in the home village?

- Do you want to go back?

- ➢ Did you get what you expect in coming here?

- ➢ What's the thing you like most about? Why

Recall Method

Children participants will be used for this tool to find out about their lives before migration and after migration

Drawing

Pieces of papers will be given to children draw their home village and current town, accompanied by discussion.

Observation

This will focus on working children within the community as they carry out their activities.

Ranking

Children will rank the reasons for migration.

Interview Guide for Parents and communities

➢ Should children migrate?

➢ Did you migrate as a child?

➢ Does it have advantages? What are these?

➢ What are your views on children's migration?

➢ Where do you usually send your children to stay and with whom?

➢ What made you send your children to them?

➢ What work do you engage in?

➢ How do children financially contribute to the family?

➢ What are the cultural expectations of children in the society?

➢ How does the family benefit from the child's paid work?

➢ How does the child use the money from paid work?

➢ Do children support the family or siblings in some way with earnings from their work?

➢ What are the benefits of the child's migration to the family?

➢ How does the money from work affect the child's status in home/family?

➢ Did you migrate to stay and work as a child? How did that benefit or harm you and your wellbeing?

➢ What has migration got to do with the culture in the community?

➢ What will be the consequences for the child and the family if there is no mobility for children?

Ranking

Reasons for migration will be ranked by family and community members

Interview Guide for NGOs

➢ What is your view on children's migration?

➢ What do you think children engage in when they migrate to stay outside their community?

➢ Where money from children's work goes to?

➢ Do you see children's migration as an offence or unlawful practice? Why and how?

➢ What aspects of children's migration is a negative outcome?

➢ Are there laws that prohibit children's migration? If so what are they?

➢ Does children's migration affect children and the family in a positive way?

➢ What will be the consequences to children and their families if they are prevented from allowing their children to migrate?

➢ What measures have you put in place to curb the negative aspect of it?

➢ How do you term children's migration in your organisation and why?