

**NORWEGIAN UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY**

**THE PREVALENCE OF CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA. A
CASE STUDY OF THE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE
LAWS AND POLICIES TO COMBAT CHILD LABOUR
AND HOW THE SOCIETY UNDERSTAND CHILD
LABOUR**

BARN 3900, MASTER THESIS

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2021**

Abstract

The global ideology of a good childhood is for children not to engage in economic activities which is prevalent in developing countries. Child labour is a social phenomenon which is common in West Africa of which Ghana is of no exception. Child labour is a complex phenomenon which has generated many controversial argument all over the world. This interests many researchers to conduct a study on the occurrence of child labour in varied societies. Children who engage in economic activities do so for many reasons being for their survival, participation in cultural norms, exploitations, as a result of religious practices or a way to acquire indigenous skills and knowledge.

In Ghana, children's involvement in labour is an old practice in the various communities. According to research, child labouring can be a source of income for the children. Some children also engage in labour to supplement family income. In the Ghanaian society, child labour are sometimes related to social-cultural practices and means to transfer skills and knowledge to the child. Therefore, child labour is not seen as a defect in the upbringing of the child in some societies. The global call for the abolition of child labour has led to the Government of Ghana to formulate policies and legal framework to help curb its occurrence. Despite all these, children still engage in labour in various communities in Ghana.

This thesis is a case study conducted within the field of childhood studies which seeks to explore how indigenous people in Ghanaian perceive child labour according to research and some of the challenges in implementing policies and legal frameworks to curb it. The study further explores tensions and frictions that arise in attempt to mitigate child labour in Ghana; which are related to cultural, social, political aspects, national and international legislation. The study is a case study which relies solely on secondary data. All the findings are taken from various study and work conducted by researchers on child labour around the world and particularly, studies conducted in Ghana. Based on the findings of the study, some recommendations are made to help future researchers on the subject, and, also, to help policy and legal framework formulation and implementation.

Sammendrag

Sammendrag Den globale ideologien om en god barndom er at barn ikke skal engasjere seg i økonomiske aktiviteter som er utbredt i utviklingsland. Barnearbeid er et sosialt fenomen som er vanlig i Vest-Afrika hvor Ghana ikke er noe unntak. Barnearbeid er et kompleks fenomen som har skapt mange kontroversielle argumenter over hele verden. Dette interesserer mange forskere til å gjennomføre en studie om forekomsten av barnearbeid i variertesamfunn. Barn som engasjerer seg i økonomiske aktiviteter, gjør det av mange grunner for deres overlevelse, deltakelse i kulturelle normer, utnyttelse, som følge av religiøs praksis eller en måte å tilegne seg urfolks ferdigheter og kunnskap.

I Ghana er barns engasjement i arbeidslivet en gammel praksis i de ulike miljøene. Ifølge forskning kan barnearbeid være en inntektskilde for barna. Noen barn deltar også i arbeidskraft for å supplere familiens inntekt. I det ghanesiske samfunnet, barn arbeidskraft er noen ganger relatert til sosialkulturell praksis og midler til å overføre ferdigheter og kunnskap til barnet. Derfor blir ikke barnearbeid sett på som en mangel i oppdragelsen av barn i noen samfunn. Den globale oppfordringen til avskaffelse av barnearbeid har ført til Regjeringen i Ghana for å formulere retningslinjer og juridisk rammeverk for å bidra til å dempe forekomsten. Til tross for alt dette, engasjerer barn fortsatt arbeid i ulike samfunn i Ghana.

Denne oppgaven er en casestudie utført innenfor feltet barndomsstudier som søker å utforske hvordan urfolk i ghanesisk oppfatter barnearbeid i henhold til forskning og noen av utfordringene med å implementere politikk og juridiske rammer for å dempe det. Studien utforsker videre spenninger og gnisninger som oppstår i forsøk på å dempe barnearbeid i Ghana; som er knyttet til kulturelle, sosiale, politiske aspekter, nasjonal og internasjonal lovgivning. Studien er en casestudie som utelukkende er avhengig av sekundærdata. Alle funnene er tatt fra ulike studier og arbeid utført av forskere på barnearbeid rundt om i verden og spesielt studier utført i Ghana. Basert på funnene i studien, noen. Det gis anbefalinger for å hjelpe fremtidige forskere på emnet, og også for å hjelpe politikk og juridisk rammeutforming og implementering.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my lovely mum, Aba Amoah of blessed memory and my aunt, Cecilia Appiah, who lives in New Edubiase, Ghana.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I thank God almighty for his guidance and protection. I do appreciate the numerous assistants offered to me by my supervisor, Dr. Ida Marie Lysa. Her guidance, patience and advice helped me a lot to learn many things throughout the writing of this dissertation.

I am also grateful to Mr. & Mrs Kontoh and Benedicata Boateng who helped me in my stay in Norway. Their hospitality and care aided me, especially, during the pandemic situation. I also say thank you to my friend Øyvind Løkke Vie who has been my friend since I came to Norway. Another thank you to Abraham Kwame Richman for his role played in the editing of the work. Another vote of thanks go to Bright, Job, and my private study group members, Pamuditha, Alex Seger, Silvia and Mona. Thanks to all my class mate in Childhood Studies.

I will also not forget friends and family back home in Ghana whose advice and contribution played a vital role for me to achieve this height. I say thank you to the following people: Christopher Aquah, Mr & Mrs Boadu, Maa Joyce, Mr Eric Daning, Magdalene Asubonteng, Silas Adzumatse and Jeffery Baffoe Ampofo.

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List of acronyms

AU	Africa Union
ACRWC	Africa Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ASM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining
DFID	Department for International Development
CDW	Child Domestic Work
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
MESW	Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare
MMYE	Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children
GOG	Government of Ghana
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LEAP	Livelihoods Empowerment against Poverty
MGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
GNCC	Ghana National Commission on Children
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
LESN	Loopholes Economic Safety Net
MDG	Millennium Development Goals

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This study is conducted within the field of childhood studies to explore the prevalence of child labour in Ghanaian communities according research done on the phenomenon. The study contributes to the field a comprehensive way to understand the occurrence of child labour in Ghana, and how indigenous people of the communities perceive children's involvement in labour. The global ideology of perfect childhood debunks the involvement of children in economic activities which is prevalent in developing countries. Children in labour is a contested phenomenon all over the world, which has generated many arguments in the academic discourses, social environment and politics. Children around the world are engaged in varied forms of work of which they are paid and unpaid for. Abebe and Besell (2016) posit that child labour in Africa and Asia is not only a pervasive issue but also a much-contested phenomenon. Many children engage in labour for varied reasons being for their survival, participation in cultural norms, exploitation or because of religion. Child labour constitutes all tasks performed by children that are detrimental to their health and development (Kissi, 2018). Hence, "child labour" as defined by International Labour Organisation (ILO) comprises all children between 5–9 years of age engaged in economic activities and older children between 10–14 years who engage in economic activities for more than 14h per week (cited by Kissi, 2018). Per the definition by ILO, it does not actually specify the kind of work which is detrimental to the child's development. If the child labour is to be determined by just the number of hours children work, then we might not be able to ascertain what constitute child labour. There is certain type of work which takes short hours to be accomplished but it may be a complex task for even adults. The attempt by international organisations to place children out of work gained grounds through the UNCRC, 1989. The article 32 of the UNCRC states that

"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" (UNCRC, 1989).

The article does not make it apparent the type of economic activities that is impediment to the child's development. The article 32 goes further to state that: there should be implementation of legislation for age limit and hours for children to enter labour (UNCRC, 1989). The question is, is this achievable in all parts of the world? The livelihood of people varies across time and space and the attempt to halt one's means to life may put the person's life in danger.

In formulation and implementation of policies like these, the socio economic and cultural factors of the diverse world is often neglected, which makes some of these top-down approach to policies implementation fail. It may be difficult to judge whether child labour is good or not per the prevailing living conditions in different societies. Some society see children as part of

the society and their involvement in work forms part of their social life and could be considered good childhood.

The calls for abolition of child labour both internationally and locally has faced many challenges especially in developing countries. Ray (2003) made it clear that, notwithstanding universal agreement that child labour is undesirable, there is a wide disagreement on how to tackle it. The call has not been duly successful due to the prevailing conditions in countries where child labour is common. Abebe posited that, the socioeconomic realities of families and communities in most parts of the world necessitate children's involvement in diverse productive and reproductive activities (Abebe, 2016). The homogeneity of the children in the Global North and the Global South may be considered to be erroneous since the socio-economic realities of the children from these parts of the world differ. The vertical relationship that exists between the governments of the Global north and children may be entirely different from the kind of relationship the children of the Global South share with their respective governments. The care of the children in the global south is in the hands of the parents or the extended family with minimal government intervention (Abebe, 2016). So, if there are any economic difficulties in the household, the burden is shared among the members of the household of which children are of no exception. This is done according the maturity and capability of the children. A well-resourced households or affluent homes would not depend on children to contribute to household expenses (UNICEF, 2019). As shown in the UNICEF report: the world's poorest countries, slightly more than one in four children are engaged in child labor (UNICEF, 2019).

The reduction of social policies which help the lives of poor people and the implementation of neo-liberal economic reforms by government of developing states intensified poverty in various household. As indicated by Kielland and Tovo (2006), research depicts that the incidence of child labour in the informal sector has increased in countries that went through economic restructuring (cited by Abebe, 2016, p.9). Bakker (2007) also attested to it that privatisation of previously socialised institutions established for providing social services led to an increase in prices that have put basic services beyond the reach of many poor people (cited by Abebe, 2016, p.8). Children then bear the cost by providing services which help to supplement the budget of the household. This kind of situation can get the child to engage in economic activities.

Child labour is not seen as a problem or being identified as a defect in the upbringing of a good child in some parts of the world. Many societies embrace the child's activeness in various forms of work, especially the community-based ones. As opined by Bourdillon and Carothers (2019), parents and guardians see non-harmful work by even young children as integral to becoming responsible and constructive members of society, and for this reason, oppose policies that prohibit such work. That is, as the child remains integral parts of the family and the community at large, he or she is inseparable from their activities. This is also a way of ensuring social reciprocity and preservation of culture.

There has been a drastic reduction in child labour across the world since the year 2000; the current statistics is still unacceptable for international organisations and non-governmental organisations aim at alleviating child labour. For instance, child labour stood at 250 million in 2000, reduced to 208 million in 2004 and by 2010 it stood at 215 million (Alhassan and Abubakari, 2013). According to the latest global estimates, there are a total of 152 million

children in child labour and 25 million children and adults in forced labour in the world today (ILO, 2019). According to ILO report 2017, two-thirds of the estimated 150 million children in labour are unpaid contributors to family enterprises, the majority of which are agricultural (cited by, Bourdillon and Carothers, 2019). Sub-Sahara Africa has the largest proportion of child labourers of which Ghana is of no exception.

In Ghana, child labour is an old practice which is common in Ghanaian communities. In Ghana, 21.8% of children between the ages of five and seventeen years are engaged in child labour, and 14.2% are involved in hazardous forms of child labour (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). According to Department for international Development (DFID) (1998), children in Ghana are under pressure to contribute to family income, leading to 28% of children between the ages of 7 and 14 years engaging in remunerated economic activities (cited by, Kissi, 2018, p. 4). They are expected to contribute to the family income at an early age. In many instances, child labour is described as a socialisation process to prepare the child for adulthood, and to equip the child with skills for future adult roles. Kissi (2018), made it apparent in his writing that, the socialisation process is in the form of an informal "apprenticeship", during which basic work ethic and skills are taught. This kind of socialisation process is mostly manifested in agriculture; where children follow their family to farm to acquire basic skills in farming. This is common in the cocoa growing areas and the fishing communities. Light work for children in the farm with their family is not considered as child labour by many people, rather, a form of informal education.

Most children in rural areas are engaged in economic activities in the agricultural sector, whilst children in urban areas primarily work in trade, child domestic work (CDW), fishing, construction, and head porters (carrying goods on their heads) (Kissi, 2018). The work children do in the urban areas are impediment to the development and health of children. Many describe work such as head porters, mostly done by young girls in the urban areas and young boys in the big market centres as dangerous to their health. A study by Porter, Blaufuss and Acheampong (2011) found that all the trades children engaged in on the streets required them to carry loads on their head and this adversely affected their health (cited by, Hamenoo, Dwomoh and Gyekye, 2018). It is also a means for them to earn a living and even access education. Locally and internationally, countries and organisations have tried to eradicate all forms of child labour through legislative instrument; but it still exists in many societies. This is due to how complex it is to abolish child labour in many societies and cultures since there many conditions that admit children into it.

1.2. Problem Statement

Child labour has been a major issue of discussion all over the world, especially, countries in the global south. Children living in the developing countries are the most people who are engaged in active labour and various forms of work; of which majority are in the agriculture sector. Children's involvement in economic activities is common phenomenon in various parts of Ghana. One of the group of child labour is the head porters which in local parlance is 'kayaye'. Children also engage in petty trading along roadside and vantage points to sell assorted goods and services. Both the girls and boys are involved in labour which are linked to gender roles. There have been many laws, policies and programmes to minimise the prevalence of child labour in Ghana, yet this social phenomenon still prevails in the Ghanaian communities. These children engaged in economic activities for several reasons which

contradict with the attempt by institutions to ameliorate child labour without any proper alternative. This interests me to develop a case study based on myriad studies by scholars into how Ghanaians practise and understand child labour, and the challenges of implementing legal frameworks and policies to mitigate it.

1.3. The Aim of the Study

This is a case study aimed to find out from the various research done on child labour in Ghanaian communities, how child labour is practised and understood. Also, it aims to unearth the challenges in implementing legal frameworks, policies and programmes to ameliorate child labour. Furthermore, the study aims to explore the tension between the laws, policies, and programme to combat child labour and how the society understand child labour.

1.4. Research Questions

This study tries to provide answers to the following questions:

- How do Ghanaians practise and understand child labour according to research?
- What are some of the challenges in implementing legal frameworks and policies to mitigate child labour in Ghana?

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study is relevant because it unearths the persistence occurrence of children engagement in labour in Ghanaian communities, though there have been laws and policies to mitigate child labour. There have been many studies on child labour in Ghana on the causes and what the government and institutions have done to curb its occurrence. This study brings to light the tensions between the society of which the children are members of and the legal framework and policies by development actors based on studies done by scholars. Beyond the boundaries of Ghana, the study can be relevant to policy makers internationally as a reference point on how to formulate policies and laws which has global interest.

1.6. Methodological Approach

The methodological approach being used in this study is a case study which is based on secondary data. Various work done already on child labour in Ghana are used to answer the questions raised in this study. Different journals, books, articles, empirical researches, news writings and other researches are the secondary materials being used in all aspects of this thesis. The findings from the secondary data are analysed through socio-cultural practices aspects of child labour, socio-political and economic policies aspects of child labour and relating the concept of globalisation to child labour issues in Ghana. So, socio-cultural practices aspects of child labour in Ghana and socio-political and economic policies aspects of child labour in Ghana are used as tools to analyse how Ghanaians practised and understand child labour. The challenges of implementing the laws and policies to fight child labour are analysed by relating them to the concept of globalisation.

1.7. Theoretical Perspectives

Three theoretical perspectives from the field of childhood studies underpinned this study. The perspectives are social constructionism and socialisation, culture and cultural relativism and globalisation and tensions. Under the theory of social constructionism and socialisation, interpretive reproduction theory is also used as a way to supplement these theories. The interpretive reproduction by Corsaro aligns with socialisation and helps to give a conceptual

elaboration of the findings about how Ghanaians practice and understand child labour. This theory explains how children in collective way create their own peer culture. The child picks information from the adult world and interpret it to make meaning out. From this perspective, children are not passive in the society they live in; rather active in participating in the activities in the society. The child is a social actor who engage in the adult world in way that suites him or her. From this perspective, children enter a social nexus and, through interaction with others, establish social understandings that become fundamental social knowledge on which they build continually (Corsaro, 1992). This kind of social nexus is embedded in how society construct what childhood means and role children should play in societal duties. The social construction and meaning attached to childhood plays a major role here. The kind of social construct and meaning of the category of childhood may be in disagreement to the efforts to abolish child labour. Such efforts can be the demands of the agenda to globalise the world, and when the ideas from this concept are in variance with the perception of the local people, tensions and friction arises.

1.8. Organisation of the Study

This work is divided into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the overview of the study, the prevalence of child labour in Ghana and contains the following: problem statement, significance of the study, aim of the study, research questions, methodological approach, theoretical perspectives and the organisation of the study. The second chapter defines concepts, explores the economic activities in Ghana based on geographical locations, effects of child labour and presents various laws and policies implemented to fight child labour in Ghana.

The third chapter details the theoretical perspectives that underpin the study and the methodological approach through which the study was conducted. Also a description of the details of the sources used and the limitations of the study are in this chapter. The fourth chapter explores the findings from the secondary data and the analysis done which answers the first research question; how do Ghanaians understand and practice child labour according to research. The causes of child labour, socio-cultural practices aspects of child labour in Ghana and socio-political economic policies aspects of child labour in Ghana are in this chapter.

The fifth chapter presents the challenges of implementing laws and policies to fight child labour which gives answer to the second research question: what are some of the challenges in implementing laws and policies to mitigate child labour in the Ghanaian communities. The next section has thematic discussion of the challenges to illuminate the tensions between laws and policies and the society, relating globalisation to the challenges in implementing laws and policies and the conceptualisation of loopholes economic safety net. In the sixth chapter contains the summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The chapter two defines concepts of child, child labour, child's work and forced labour. The section further explores the prevalence of child labour in Ghana, the economic activities in Ghana based on geographical locations. The geographical locations are clustered into three belts. Namely, Northern Belt, middle belt and Southern Belt. Also, this section presents effects of child labour and various laws and policies implemented to fight child labour in Ghana.

2.2. Definition of Concepts

For this study, there is the need to define some concepts or terminologies that will be used frequently in the subsequent chapters. These concepts are defined by various scholars, the UNCRC and other international organisations such as ILO.

2.2.1. Child

An answer to the question who is a child is quite contested and relative. The social construction of childhood differs across time and space which gives diverse recognition to who is a child. As Armstrong (1994) termed, 'it is flexible, fluid and malleable depending on the purpose to be served' (cited by Tetteh, 2011, p.219). Social roles and cultural meaning ascribe to age in various cultural context determine and define childhood. Such cultural meanings ascribe some responsibilities expected to be performed by children to the society they live in. Chirwa (2000) suggests that there are many ways of determining who a child is which include chronological age as outlined by law (legal age), institutional affiliation and collective behavioural pattern, socially and culturally defined life phases such as the rites of passage, inheritance rights or order of parents' birth, physical and mental development and dependency on parental care (Tetteh, 2011, p. 219). These various ways of defining a child or childhood suggests that the terms are social constructions shaped by a particular culture, and/or socio-economic settings (Tetteh, 2011, p.219).

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana, United Nation Convention on Right of the Child (1989) and the African Charter on the Rights and the Welfare of the Child (1990) defined children as people between the ages of 0 to 18 years. This age definition of who is a child is accepted and used by government agencies, development agencies, societies, and the Non-Governmental Organisations around the globe. This age definition is used and adopted in this study.

2.2.2. Child labour

There are different definitions of what constitute child labour worldwide. No single definition is universally accepted due to the socio-economic and socio-cultural diversity in the world. Child Labour has been a controversial topic not only in recent times, and there is no agreed definition within the international domain, of what constitute child labour (Zenas, 2016, p.15). Weston (2005) regarded child labour as a social construct which differs by actors, history,

context and purpose (cited by Feigben, 2010, p.10). Local communities, NGO's, nations and international organisations have differing views on what constitute child labour. For instance, the phenomenon can be described as the potential harm it poses to children due to the kind of economic activities they engage in, it can also be described as all kinds of work including domestic work which is incoherent to the best interest of the child.

The article 32 of the UNCRC describes child labour as any economic activities impeding or hindering education and full development of a child. UNICEF posit that, child labour refers to work that violates children's human right (cited by, Zenas, 2016, p.15). It is any form of work which is performed by children and detrimental to their development and education. ILO's convention 138 describes child labour as the engagement of children or persons under the age of 15 years in harmful works or economic activities that have an effect on their well-being and hinders their education, development and future livelihoods. This specifically refers to any type of work performed by children that deprives them of their childhood and their dignity, which hampers their access to education and acquisition of skills and which is performed under conditions harmful to their health and development (Tetteh, 2011). It is any work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development (ILO, 2019). That is, any form of work which places the health and development of the child at risk. The 1998 Children's Act of Ghana also defines child labour as work that deprives children of their childhood potentials and dignity and that is harmful to their physical and mental development.

In spite of all these definitions, ILO's conventions 138 set minimum age of entry to any kind of economic activities or employment which its conditions are likely to jeopardize the health, safety and morals of young person's shall not be less than 18 years. Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS, 2006) considers a child to be involved in child labour if they were engaged in one hour of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week (for 5-11 year olds) and at least 14 hours of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week (12- 14 year olds) (cited by Tetteh, 2011, p. 220). Thus, children engaged in at least 4 hours of domestic work each day could be said to be engaged in domestic labour (Tetteh, 2011, p. 220).

With the deduction made from the above descriptions of child labour, it is adopted in this study that child labour is any form of work that jeopardise the social, emotional, physical and educational needs of any child. That is, any work that interferes with the attendance of their school, work that permanently keeps children out of school, work that keeps children for long hours and under harsh conditions is considered as child labour.

2.2.3. Child work

It may be difficult to distinguish between "child work" and "child labour". The distinction differs from nation to nation and among sectors within nations (Kissi, 2018). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) draws a distinction between child labour and child work in line with the child's age, intensity of work and the nature of industry in which the child is engaged (cited by Kissi, 2018). This type of work contributes to children's development and to the welfare of their families; provides them with skills, attitudes, and experience, and prepare them to be useful and productive members of society in their adult life (ILO, 2009). ILO defines child work as all productive activities carried out by children lasting up to 1-hour duration per day (ILO, 2009). The differentiation between child labour and child work (the

former being strenuous and the latter constituting normal chores that children engage in as part of their socialization (Tetteh, 2011). That is to say, child work can be classified as work children do that does not interfere with their physical development and education. So, house chores that the child engages in which are the daily routines and mostly structured by parents or guardians falls out of the discussion of child labour.

2.2.4. Forced labour

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions (1930) no. 29 Article 2 (1), 'all work or service that is exacted from any person under the menace of penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself [sic] voluntarily' (Dwyer, Lewis, Scullion and Waite, 2011, p.7). United Nations Economic and Social Council (2002) defined forced labour as where coercion, threat, force, or deception is used in the recruitment, transportation and harbouring of persons (cited by, Ruwanpura and Rai, 2004, p. 3). ILO (2005) gives six guidelines that identify elements of forced labour:

- Threats of actual physical or sexual violence.
- Restriction of movement of the worker or confinement to a very limited area.
- Debt bondage, where the worker works to pay off debt. The employer may provide food and accommodation at such inflated prices that it is extremely difficult for the worker to escape the debt.
- Withholding wages or refusing to pay the worker.
- Retention of passports and identity documents.
- Threat of denunciation to the authorities (cited by Dwyer, Lewis, Scullion and Waite, 2011, p.7).

From the above elements given by ILO, it can be said that, forced labour encompasses many facets and can be manifested in different forms. It can be started from a conducive environment which turns later into a tensed and coercion. Anderson and Rogaly (2005) argued that, 'it is important to understand forced labour as a process that may start with deception and move into more direct forms of coercion' (Dwyer, Lewis, Scullion and Waite, 2011, p.7).

2.3. Prevalence of Child Labour in Ghana

Ghana is in the western part of Africa in the Sub-Sahara which is not exempted from experiencing working children. ILO, (2008) reported that, about 10% of children (0.57 million) aged 5-17 are working in the labour market and do not attend school at all (cited by Okyere, 2012,). There are also many children who also combine school and work. The government of Ghana has initiated numerous attempts to eradicate child labour. For instance, in the 1998 Ghana Children's Act, the Labour Act (2003) and the National Gender and Children policy (2004); all have articles and sections which are against child labour. There have also been several social interventions such as Free Compulsory Basic Education (FCUBE), School Feeding Programme, Capitation Grants and Free National Health Insurance for basic school children targeted at attracting children to school and easing parents of some financial burden. Prior to these policies and interventions, the article 28 of 1992 constitution of Ghana stipulates it clearly: children must be protected from all forms of work detrimental to their health,

education and development. Upon all these interventions, children still engage in the labour market to meet their financial needs.

There are many different types of economic activities which children are involved in Ghana. Most of these works are in the informal sector where wages and salaries are very low. Child labour, especially in the informal sector is a common phenomenon in both urban and rural areas in Ghana (Alhassan and Abubakari, 2015). The jobs in the informal sector are mostly not well regulated by the government and no proper monitoring is conducted to check the welfare and safety of the employees (Alhassan and Abubakari, 2015). This put the health and safety of the children at risk. Ghana like other Sub Sahara Africa (SSA) countries, agriculture has been the major economic activities of the people, especially, in the rural areas. Ghana Statistical Service (2014), reported, 'the agricultural sector in Ghana is the largest employer as it employs 54.2 per cent of the total population, which also translates into 45.8% of households' (Koomson and Asongu, 2016, p. 104). Many children work in the agriculture sector to earn income for their livelihoods, while others also work on family farms as a support to the family workforce. Light work done by children to support family workforce are mostly not considered as child labour by the people. Despite the enormous contribution of the agriculture sector to the economy, it is faced with many challenges which have forced many households to diversify their source of income by engaging in non-farming economic activities to meet the expenses of the household. Many households demand the labour of children when diversifying their source of income, which leads to children working to surplus family income. Zdunnet and colleagues (2008) attested to it that, 'in Ghana, working children (child labourers) play a very vital role in working to contribute to household farm and non-farm incomes' (Koomson and Asongu, 2016, p. 104). This means children involvement in work is very crucial to their survival and that of their family.

Children in the urban areas engage in trading, child domestic work (CDW), construction and fishing. Trading, which is buying and selling of goods is another major source of employment to the people is mainly in the metropolitan areas, municipals, district capitals and towns. Trading attracts many people to commercial centres of which children are included. Children engage in buying and selling of goods, bottled and sachet water and food in market centres, roadside and other vantage areas. One common activity done by children is carrying of goods on their heads or head porters which in the local parlance is known as 'kayaye and paa o paa' (Hazlewood, 2015). This is common in the two biggest cities Accra and Kumasi. Child beggars are very common in the urban areas and big market centres. This also another form of child labour which puts the child through stress, shame and can even end up in exploitation. Adama stressed that beggars experience psychological abuse such as verbal aggression, harassment, public hostility and contempt as well as stigmatising and dehumanising responses (Fuseini and Daniel, 2018). It is socially and legally not appropriate and acceptable to beg, but it is also a means to one's livelihood. Many child beggars use earnings from begging to buy basic need such as food. Beggars are mostly found at life risking areas such as traffic junctions, heavy traffic highways, and bus terminals and sometimes they do run after cars which is very risky.

2.4. Geographical Composition of Economic Activities in Ghana

Ghana is a republic in West Africa located on the Gulf of Guinea. The country borders Togo to the east, Cote d'Ivoire to the West, Burkina Faso to the north and the Gulf of Guinea to the

south. The total land area of Ghana is 227, 540 square kilometres (Modernghana.com). In terms of religion, there are Christianity, Islam and other local religions. The total population of Ghana is 24.5 million (GSS, 2010). The state of Ghana is a democratic state with the president as the head of state and government, and multi-party system. Ghana comprises different people, culture, languages and varied landscapes which have direct ramifications on the livelihoods of the people. The country is located in a tropical climate zone with high and little varying temperatures and heavy rainfall. Yearly average temperature at the coast is 26 degrees and nearly 29 degrees inland (Large Norwegian Encyclopaedia, 2020). There are two rainy seasons in the southern part of Ghana from April to June (major rainy season) and September to November (minor rainy season). The northern part has one rainy season from May to August. The country is divided into 16 administrative regions. For clarity and simplicity, the regions are clustered into three zones in this study based on geographical locations and weather climate. The three zones are Northern Belt, Middle Belt and Southern Belt. The geographical locations and the weather climate define the economic activities of the people which invariably affect the lives of the children.

2.4.1. Northern Belt

The Northern Belt occupies a total land area of 97,702 square kilometres, which is the biggest region in Ghana (Modernghana.com, 2021). It shares boundaries with three neighbouring countries: Ivory Coast in the west, Burkina Faso in the North and Republic of Togo in the East. The northern Belt is much drier than the south parts of Ghana being located near the Sahel and Sahara. Due to dry climate, it has a single rainy season that begins in May and ends in October. The dry season starts in November and ends in March/April with the highest temperature occurring at the end of the season. The harsh climatic condition makes the cerebrospinal meningitis thrive, almost to the point of endemic proportions, and adversely affects economic activity in the region (Feigben, 2010, p. 34). The region is continually described as sparsely populated with the lowest population density in each of the censuses since 1957. The northern part of Ghana comprises 5 different regions: Northern, Upper West, Upper East, Savannah and North East regions. These regions are clustered as one under Northern Belt due to their similarities in culture, religion, economic activities and the geographical location.

According to the GSS (2010) census, the total population of the area is 4,375,129. The Northern Belt is considered as the least developed region with few urban areas and poor social amenities. In terms of education, the northern Ghana has high level of illiteracy rate among the other regions in Ghana (Feigben, 2010). Ghana Statistical Service (2014) estimated that there are 1,528,998 children in the Northern Belt; and out of this number, 563,843 are engaged in economic activities (Alhassan and Abubakari, 2015 p.30). Most of these children work in the agriculture sector. It is the main occupation of the people and it employs about 80 percent of the population (Feigben, 2010). Most of the farming are not done on commercial scale and the majority of the farmers are peasant. The common crops cultivated are millet, sorghum, groundnut, beans, maize, shea nut and cotton. Farming in the region is highly dependent on the rainfall pattern and a change in the rainfall pattern can create a lot of problems to people. This is due to no or lack of irrigation facilities. Northern Belt contributes immensely to the economy of Ghana in terms of food production, yet it is the poorest among the regions in Ghana (Feigben, 2010).

Child labour is not a new phenomenon in the Northern region; it existed during the colonial days (Van Hear, 1982). The development of the export production in the southern part of colonial Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1920's brought development of facilities such as railways and port in the South (Van Hear, 1982). This resulted in the increment of the production of gold and cocoa. Van Hear posited that, the Northern Belt was considered as the source of labour for development of the facilities in the south of Gold Coast. Despite some dissenting voices, the North was still administered as a labour reserve, and the roots of the North's underdevelopment may be traced to this period (Van Hear, 1982). In this development, children were heavily involved, and recruiters smuggled them under poor condition to the South. Van Hear elicited that "Children continued to run away from the North in the 1940s and 1950s and were prey to the touts, agents, 'collectors', lorry drivers and headmen of the flourishing illegal recruitment system that had grown up to supply the cocoa farmers with labour" (1982, p.503). Children are involved in various forms of farming activities, especially rice production which is also done on a commercial basis by rich peasants. Children are recruited as casual workers during planting and harvesting of the rice. One of the traditional customs in the Northern region is for children (boys) to be herdsman of livestock for their fathers. This is mostly considered as house chores but not child labour by the people.

2.4.2. The Middle Belt

The Middle Belt comprises Ashanti, Bono, Bono East, Ahafo, Western North, Eastern region and the Northern part of Central region. The Middle Belt lies in the temperate zone with double rainfall pattern and reserved forests. It is a tropical area with rain forest, mountains and plateaus which support crop production. It is the region with the highest rainfall pattern in Ghana and a large forest reserve. The climate conditions make agriculture favourable to the people and most of the cash crops like cocoa are cultivated in the area. The Middle Belt is endowed with numerous natural resources and a good climate which supports agriculture industry, and a major contributor to national development. The various mineral deposits in the region are bauxite, manganese, gold, ore, iron, and diamond (Modernghana.com, 2020). Agriculture remains the biggest economic activities of the population including farming, hunting, fishing and animal husbandry; and employs about 58% of the population in the region (Moderenghana.com). Production, mining, quarrying, transport, trading employs some section of the population (Modernghana.com, 2020).

Due to the low income returns from farming, the people engage in other non-farming activities to surplus the household income. The common activity is the small-scale mining (SSM) also known as 'galamsey'. Ghana living Standard Survey reported that, Ashanti region has in total 654 communities where mining is the major economic activities, with 504 hosting small-scale mining, and 364 communities hosting child labourers (Appiah and Wieland, 2016). ILO (1999) found out that most children ages 5 to 17 work on average of 31 hours per 7 days in activities that are classified as worst forms of child labour by the International Labour Organization in the region (Appiah & Wieland, 2016). There is a gradual transition from farming to SSM in the Middle Belt. Garforth and Hilson (2013) found out in their study that, Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM) replacing smallholders farming in the rural area at Akyem in the Eastern region. This kind of socio-economic transition is not happening only in the Akyem area, rather the whole of Ghana where there are mineral deposit like gold. The

reason is due to the insufficient income from farm produce. It has direct implication on the life of children in the area. Child trafficking in mining has been rampant in some areas in the Obuasi municipality. Social Support Foundation (2006) attest to child illegal mining trafficking, is on the increase in Obuasi municipality, children between the ages of seven 7 to 14 are being transported from the northern part of Ghana to Obuasi to assist in illegal mining (cited by, Ampomah and Gyan, 2014).

Many children engage in galamsey activities for their survival. Children in the rural settings stop schooling and engage in illegal mining and mostly cocoa farming due to lack of access to Junior high School (Modernghana.com, 2020). The region is very poor in terms of infrastructure and some children walk for 10km to access education. This frustration makes them rely on engaging in economic activity like galamsey at early age (Modernghana.com). Okyere (2012) opines that, children at the various mining sites are mostly engaged in waged labour which usually starts at 8am and ends at 4 or 5pm, with an hour break between mid-day and 1pm.

The next highest proportion of the economically active population is employed in wholesale and retail trade (Modernghana.com, 2020). Due to the large market centres in the region such as Kumasi and Techiman many children are involved in trading of goods and other services. Acheampong (2011), found out in her study the economic activities pupils engaged in were: hawking (55.0%); carrying of goods (15.0%); domestic work (10.0%); working as restaurant assistant (10.0%); barbering (5.0%), and stone cracking for road and building construction (5.0%) (P. 55). Head porters 'kayaye' business is common in the cities among women and girls mostly from the northern parts of Ghana. On present evidence, it appears that kayayes are disproportionately drawn from the north (Agarwal et.al, 1997). Kayaye girls are known for transporting goods on their head to bus terminals (troto stations). In this respect, kayayoos or female head-porters must be viewed as part of the transport structure of this country (Agarwal et al., 1997).

2.4.3. Southern Belt

The southern belt is a low land with grass land and a long coastal line which stretches from the west on the border with Cote d'Ivoire to the east on the border with Republic of Togo. Greater Accra, Central, Western and Volta are the regions in the Southern Belt. Southern Belt is predominantly rural setting with the exception of Greater Accra region which has the nation's capital, Accra and industrial city, Tema. Most industries and ports in Ghana are located in the Southern Belt. For instance, the Western region housed the oil and gas industry, wheat flour mills and the Takoradi harbour. In the report of GSS (2005), it was published the manufacturing industry has dominated the industrial sector in the Greater Accra region and remains one of the most important industrial activities in the region and the entire country, Ghana (Dziwornu, Kervankiran and Temurcin, 2017). The commercial nature of some parts like Sekondi-Takoradi, Accra, Tema, Ashiaman and Kasoa make it busy with many street vendors and a lot of traffic jam. Asiedu and Agyei-Mensah (2008), found in their study that, Accra provides an excellent platform for street vending activities in Ghana because of its strong concentration of daily markets, shops, banks, and public offices with the attendant heavy vehicular and pedestrian movement. Children are of no exception in these activities. The economic activities in the market centres attract people to buy and sell of which children are included. Donkoh, Abane and Donkoh (2011), attest to it that, the number of children

who engage in economic activities increase on major market days. Poverty is prevalent in some parts of the Southern Belt, for instance Central region. Poverty is prevalent in many households. A UNICEF report based on the 6th Ghana Living Standards Survey has indicated that the region is one of four regions whose poverty depth has risen since 2006 (Abane, 2017).

The highly commercial and trading activities in the Southern Belt attract both children and adults to migrate to the region, especially, to the Greater Accra region. One common economic activity is the kayaye petty business particularly by young girls (Agarwal et. al., 1997) Kayake business is viewed by the kayayoos as short term, the purpose of involvement being to achieve sufficient savings to convert to a more lucrative and less arduous occupation (Agarwal et. al., 1997).

Agricultural industry employs majority of the population in the region. Farming and fishing is the major source of income for the people. Some parts of the Southern belt, especially, Western and Volta regions are endowed with fertile land which supports crop production. Due to the long stretch of coast line along the Southern Belt, fish stands as one of the main occupation of the people living along the coast. In the Volta region, communities along the coast and the Volta River are mostly engaged in fishing (Duncan, 2004). Among the regions in Ghana, Volta region is seen as the epicentre of child trafficking in the fishing industry (Agbenya, 2009). Despite the poverty level in the community, it is interesting to know that it serves as a destination area for trafficked children from far and near who are mostly used by the fishers in their fishing activities (Agbenya, 2009). Mostly, migrant children who are mostly found on the streets in urban centres like Accra easily fall prey to traffickers who promise the children trade and job opportunities (Agbenya, 2009).

2.5. Effects of Child Labour

Children involvement in labour at an early age can affect their holistic development. Dogramaci (1981) reports that, 'labour at early ages can have dire effects on the child's development, both mentally and physically' (Acheampong, 2011, p.55). It can affect the educational, emotional, physical, psychological and the health of children.

One of the effects of child labour is how it can interfere with the education of children. Since both labour and school demand the time of children, they need to forgo one in order to benefit from the other. If a parent cannot afford to spend on the child, the child might need to work to earn income to cater for him or herself and even to supplement family income. A study by ILO (2011) shows that, children dropped out of school and start fishing because their parents are not able to cater for the basic needs, while some attribute it to pressure for the child to supplement family/household income (Abgbesi, 2016, p. 10). This can affect school attendance which invariably affects the academic performance of the child. According to Gibbons et al (2003) 'child labour is associated with higher repetition and dropout rates in school' (Feigben, 2010, p. 17). One of the development needs of human in this contemporary world is education which leads to knowledge acquisition, skills acquisition and capacity building. A child can be denied of these if his or her educational needs are interrupted when she feeds for herself throughout her childhood and further to drop out of school. A study by Donkoh and colleagues (2011) reported that, some children skip school in order to get time to work which helps them to cater for their younger siblings. The study further reported that,

some children work before going to school and some work after school. Those who work before going to school complained of lateness to school, and fear of being punished, they skip school. Others who work after school also remarked of no time to learn at home and do their homework.

The prevalence of child labour can deny the child of acquiring training and skills which can perpetuate poverty. In this globalised and contemporary world of today, highly skilled and knowledgeable personnel are what people are thriving for. If a child spend most of his time in places like market selling, it can be difficult for that child to acquire the necessary skills needed to compete in this globalised world and earn higher income in future. As Donkoh and colleagues (2011) agreed, out-of-school children and drop-outs are likely to face difficulties in skill development for future use (p. 189). Their study on 'The Plight of Working Children' revealed that, the desire of some of the working children was to learn trades such as tailoring, hairdressing or to pursue professions such as teaching and nursing. However, with some of these children in full-time work at the market, their dreams of future careers are less likely to be achieved (Donkoh, Abane and Donkoh, 2011, p. 189). The financial status of the children demands them to work to cater for themselves which negatively affects their quests to have vocational and other forms of training. Child labour not only prevents children from acquiring the skills and education they need for a better future, it also perpetuates poverty and affects national economies through losses in competitiveness, productivity and potential income (Feigben, 2010, p. 17).

Labour at an early age of the child can have a severe consequence on the health of the child. Children are seen as being feeble to strenuous work which demands long hours to completion. Children are not used to long hours of strenuous monotonous work. Their bodies suffer the effects of fatigue and exhaustion much more quickly than those of adults (Acheampong, 2011, p. 24). The lives of children in this situation will be worst when it is coupled with malnutrition. This assertion was concurred by ILO (2004): "large number of children involved in child labour are already suffering from malnutrition, which lowers their resistance to disease even further and makes them all the more vulnerable to untimely deaths" (cited by Acheampong, 2011, p. 24).

2.6. Laws and Policies to Mitigate Child Labour in Ghana

Over the years, Ghana has enacted acts and ratified international conventions to protect children and eradicate child labour. It has implemented legislative reforms, developed interventions for specific sectors such as cocoa production and has mainstreamed child labour concerns into policy approaches such as Poverty Reduction Strategies (Zdunnek, 1998). The Government of Ghana has also implemented policies and programmes to reduce poverty and help reduce children engagement in economic activities. Upon all these legalities and policies and programmes, the phenomenon still exists; and many children and even adults see the need for the children to work for economic gains.

2.6.1. Laws to Mitigate Child Labour in Ghana

The UNCRC is an international document and policies which are geared towards the protection of children all over the world. Ghana was the first country to sign and ratify the UNCRC, (1989) (Adjei, 2015, p.26). This convention is a legal document bounding the members of

the United Nations (UN) who have signed and ratified the document. It spells out the rights of children and the dignified life that children over the world deserve.

The article 32 of the UNCRC makes it apparent children should be protected from economic exploitation and performing work which is hazardous to their physical development, health, and education. The section 2 goes further what states parties should do with regards to setting age limit for entry into economic activities, provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment and offenders of this article be punishable by law. Article 27 and 28 buttress UN mission of every child having a dignified standard of living which will be ensured by state parties: as well as state parties providing free and compulsory basic education for all children based on equal opportunity. The UNCRC has been hailed by many stakeholders for recognising children living under economic hardship and giving them the chance to work in family enterprises and, also, protect them from economic exploitation (Myers, 1999). With Ghana signing to this convention and being able to ratify it, the state is obliged to protect the child in this manner.

Ghana is a member of the African Union (AU) and has signed and ratified the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). The ACRWC originated because the Member-States of the AU believe the CRC missed important socio-cultural and economic realities specific to Africa (Hazlewood, 2015). The ACRWC stipulate the rights children and responsibilities of the member states of AU towards the welfare and development of children. The article 15 states that, children should be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with their physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development. That is to say, the article does not speak against child involvement in work; rather, there should not be any form of economic activities that hinder the holistic development of the child.

The 1992 constitution of the Republic of Ghana came into effect on 7th January 1993. It is the supreme laws of the land and used to govern every aspects of the country. The constitution stipulates the rights of children and responsibility of the state to protect them from child labour and any form of slavery. The section 16 of the Constitution of Ghana guards children against forced labour and any slavery activity that will be meted out to any child. Furthermore, the section 28 spells the rights of children and safeguards against work that threatens their health, education, or development.

Upon signing and ratifying the UNCRC, ACRWC and the creation of the Ghanaian constitution made it necessary for the enacting of the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560). The Children's Act comprehensively sets out the rights of the child, parental duties, and protection of children (Hazlewood, 2015). The 1998 children's Act came into force in January 1999 and it is one of the separate legal documents established to protect children in Ghana. Section 12 provides that, no person shall subject a child to exploitative labour. Also, section 13 clause 1, prohibits any cultural practices that dehumanises or is injurious to the child's mental and physical well-being. Some people believe that the Children's Act has not been implemented successfully due to it not being consonant with the socio-economic structure and cultural settings in Ghana, and thus, it is a replica of Western policies (Liard, 2002). Given the continued close link between Ghana being a commonwealth country and a formal colony of Britain, the 1998 Children's Act reflects many provisions in the 1989 Children Act in the United Kingdom (Liard, 2002).

Another legal framework which protects child against child labour is the Labour Act 2003. The labour Act 2003 (Act, 651) protects children against hazardous work. Section 58 to 61 prohibit employment of people under the age of 18 years in hazardous work which puts their health, moral and physical development in danger.

2.6.2. Policies and Programmes to Reduce Child Labour in Ghana

Social policies and programmes are interventions propounded and implemented by government of a country or development actors to alleviate poverty and reduce economic hardship of the ordinary citizenry. Welfare policies are well established in the global north as compared to the global south. Due to the poor formation and implementation of such policies in developing countries, extreme poverty and economic hardship exist which results in issues like child labour and worst forms of child labour. Kral et al. (2011) pointed out that, many social interventions make minimal impact, or fail completely owing to the inability of policymakers to understand the cultural and community contexts (cited by, Kissi, 2018). There have been some number of social policies and programmes by the Government of Ghana aimed at protecting and safeguarding the well-being of children which include those in child labour.

Through the executive's powers of the President of Ghana, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs was established in 2001. The ministry is now renamed as the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MGCSP). Under MGCSP, the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) was established to ensure the welfare, proper implementation of policies geared towards the development and protection of children. GNCC is to oversee the welfare and development of children, and to coordinate services which would aim at promoting the rights of the child (Feigben, 2010).

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana makes provision for Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE). It requires every child of a school going age to be given compulsory primary education sponsored by the Government of Ghana. This came into reality in 2004 where the government introduced the capitation grants to eliminate all forms of fees incurred at the basic level. This is a way of removing financial barrier which makes many parents not to take their children to school. Also, this policy is also aimed at eliminating children's involvement in economic activities which interfere with their education. The capitation grant covers administrative cost of the schools and any income the school may have lost. Though the policy of free tuition in basic schools as outlined by the FCUBE, some local educational administrators still charge students some form of levies as a means of raising funds to cover school-related expenses (Bekoe, 2013). Despite the introduction of the FCUBE policy, Ghana has seen a slow growth in enrolment of children in schools. Acheampong (2009) asserts to it that, the slow growth in enrolment of children in schools may be influenced by the fact that the FCUBE policy did little to eliminate or significantly reduce much of the schooling costs to poor households.

Good feeding and good school meal help to address the malnutrition of children, educational enrolment and ensures hygiene. In this regard, the Government of Ghana (GoG) through the MGCSP established the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) in 2005 to provide meal to every child in selected schools in poor communities. GSFP is a social protection intervention in the context of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAAD) pillar III and in response to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (MGCSP, 2015). The

objective of the policy is to provide meals to disadvantage children who are working instead of going to school to get back school. This is an incentive to motivate parents to get their wards enrolled in school and, to make children stay in school.

Poverty is seen as a major determinant of child labour. The financial situation in a household defines the means of livelihood of its members of which children are of no exception. The GoG has come up with many poverty alleviation strategies and one of them is Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty (LEAP). LEAP started on a pilot basis in selected poor communities in 2008 to provide financial assistance and other social support to members of a household who are facing financial constraints. "LEAP is a social cash transfer program which provides cash and health insurance to extremely poor households across Ghana to alleviate short-term poverty and encourage long-term human capital development" (Akoto et al. 2013, p. 1). "LEAP eligibility is based on poverty and having a household member in at least one of three demographic categories: households with orphan or vulnerable child, elderly poor, or person with extreme disability unable to work" (Akoto et al. 2013, p. 1.). This policy is a poverty alleviation programme to combat social issues like child labour. To qualify for the LEAP programme, all the household children of school age should be enrolled in schools and that no child should be trafficked or is engaged in any of the worst forms of labour (Feigben, 2010).

It can be observed from the literature that, child labour has been in existence in Ghana for a long time. The phenomena of engaging children in economic activities is not a new practice among the Ghanaians as the literature shows. Children get involved in the various economic activities in Ghana in different sectors. The geographical location and the dominant economic activities in a given society determine the kind of job or work the people engage in.

2.7. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter contained the context in which the study was situated in Ghana. The first part presented definitions of concepts. The concepts are child, child labour, child work and forced labour. The definitions of the concepts detailed who is a child in Ghana according to the constitution of Ghana, UNCRC AND ACRWC, what is meant by child labour, the explanation of what work constitute child's work and what is described as forced labour. The next part of the chapter presented the prevalence of child labour in Ghana, background information of the country, Ghana, the geographical composition of economic activities in Ghana which was clustered in this study into three belts, namely: Northern Belts, Middle Belt and Southern Belt.

Also, this chapter detailed the effects of child labour and the various laws which Ghana have implemented to combat child labour. The various laws are: the article 28 of the constitution of Ghana, 1998 Children's Act, ACRWC and UNCRC. All these laws are to safeguard the children against child labour in Ghana. Furthermore, different policies implemented to combat child labour was presented this chapter. Some of the policies are: LEAP, GNCC, FCUBE, and GSFP.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is into two sections. The first section contains the theoretical framework under which the study was taken. The study falls within the field of childhood studies so theoretical perspectives that are related to the field are used. The findings and analysis of this study are placed in three theoretical perspectives. The perspectives are social constructionism and socialisation, culture and cultural relativism and globalisation and tension. The next part of this chapter presents the methodological approach used in the study. A case study is the methodological approach used in the study. The detail discussion of the various sources used and the limitation of the study is presented in this section.

3.2. Section 1

3.2.1. Theoretical Perspectives

Childhood studies as a research field has over the years studied into the lives of children and young people in varied cultures and societies. These theories are embedded in childhood studies which help to conceptualise and understand the meaning of childhood across time and space in different cultures. Child labour can be assessed through different theoretical perspectives due to it being a complex social phenomenon. As noted by Pierik and Houwerzijl (2006), contextualizing a social phenomenon requires consideration of social, legal, economic, and cultural issues (Hamenoo, Dwomoh and Gyekye, 2018). Three theoretical concepts are being used to underpin the studies. They are: social constructionism and socialisation, culture and cultural relativism and globalisation and tension.

3.2.1.2. Social Constructionism and Socialisation

One of the theoretical perspectives through which the social phenomenon of child labour will be based on in this study is social constructionism and socialisation. This theoretical perspective used in the study helps to explain how categories are constructed in varied cultural settings, which goes further to help the meaning of children involvement in economic activities in the Ghanaian community. 'Social constructionists look at how categories are constructed, how bodies of knowledge are built up and how childhood and adulthood are seen and understood in any given society' (Montgomery 2003, p.46). Child labour can be placed in the concept of social constructionism and to conceptualise how the Ghanaian community define the involvement of children in economic activities. Ghana as many other West Africa settings allow children to part-take in certain public spaces to inculcate societal values and norms in them. Social constructionism used in the study explains how child labour is embedded in the cultural and socialisation process of Ghanaians. In the Ghanaian communities, children engaging in labour can be seen as a socialisation process to help them acquire basic trade and vocational skills. This construction of childhood aligns with the socialisation theory propounded by William Corsaro: interpretive reproduction.

Interpretive reproduction focuses on identifying children as individual and their participation and contribution in societal activities are important. This theory is being used because it sees

children as individuals whose actions can be judged by listening to the views and opinions of the children to better understand their decision to participate any societal activity. The reasons for children to voluntarily participate in labour which connects with interpretive reproduction will be represented in this study based on research. From this perspective, Corsaro argued that, the whole time that children are developing individually, the collective process that they are part of are also changing. The social processes keep on changing that children themselves can take the decision to engage in social activities without any pressure from the adult world. These processes are collectively produced by children and adults in the many interwoven local cultures making the children's lives (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008). Corsaro argued that, socialisation is not only a matter of internalisation and adaptation but also a process of appropriation, reinvention, and reproduction. That is, children do not just adapt to the adult world, rather, they make meaning from the activities of the society, and reinvent in an appropriate way that suites their current status of childhood. The interpretive approach views development as reproductive rather than linear. From this perspective, children enter a social nexus and, through interaction with others, establish social understandings that become fundamental social knowledge on which they build continually (Corsaro, 1992).

Central to this view of socialisation is the appreciation of the importance of collective communal activity, how children negotiate, create, and share culture with adults and each other (Corsaro, 1997). To suggest a break away from the traditional socialisation, Corsaro propounded the theory of interpretive reproduction. Children have a unique way in which they create their culture by taking the available resources already existing in the adult culture which suites their concerns. Corsaro posits that, the term reproduction captures the idea that, children are not only internalising society and culture but are actively contributing to cultural reproduction and change. This also implies that; children are affected by the societal structures and cultures which construct the type of childhood they are at any period. Interpretive reproduction focuses on the child's capabilities to do something. That is the child's own will to engage in activities for his or her survival and life in general. For instance, a child can decide without pressure from anyone to engage in economic activities either for his or survival or to do it voluntarily.

For children to feel safe and secured in their society, they participate in the cultural routines of the said society. Cultural routines are relevant elements in interpretive reproduction. They provide the security and shared understanding of belonging to a social group. According to Corsaro, cultural routines serve as anchors that enable social actors to deal with ambiguities, the unexpected, and the problematic, while remaining comfortably within the friendly confines of everyday life. This makes the children to have the spirit of warmth, welcome and sense of belongingness within the social setup they find themselves. He further argues that over time, infants quickly move from limited to full participation in cultural routines.

Stern (1985) believes participation in cultural routines begins very early, almost from the minute children are born (Corsaro, 2017).

Corsaro categorised interpretive reproduction into three types of collective action.

- Children appropriation of information and knowledge from the adult world.
- Children's production and participation in a series of peer cultures.

- Children's contribution to the reproduction and extension of the adult culture.

The three types of action connote the cycle of children being knowledgeable about their society, how such knowledge co-exist within their peer group which they practice it and extends to the adults' worlds. The interaction happens both between children and adults, and among the children. How children shape the information they get from their society can have effect on adults' lives. It may change some aspects of adults' culture. These activities follow certain progression in that appropriation enables cultural production which contributes to reproduction and change (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008). There is no specific order through which these collective actions occur. It happens within a period of time. This theory is used in this study because it explains how children comprehend with their environment socially and culturally, and they can express their views which help to understand child labour and child work in certain societies.

3.2.1.2. Culture and Cultural Relativism

Culture is quite difficult term to define dues to its complex nature. Culture appears in varied meanings and at different locations. Oatey (2012, p.2), compiled the following definitions of culture in her work on "What is culture? A compilation of quotations":

Hofstede (1994), defined culture as 'the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.'

According to Matsumoto (1996), 'culture is the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next'.

'Spencer-Oatey (2008), 'culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour.'

'Lustig & Koester defined culture 'as a learned set of shared interpretations about beliefs, values, norms and social practices which affect behaviours of a relatively large group of people'.

Cole (2019), stated that, "culture is a term that refers to a large and diverse set of mostly intangible aspects of social life. According to sociologists, culture consists of the values, beliefs, systems of language, communication, and practices that people share in common and that can be used to define them as a collective".

From the above definitions of culture, it can be put that, culture is a way of life of group of people. It speaks of particular group of people their language, food, artefacts, work, beliefs system, values and what is considered morally right. Culture has impact on how people live their lives even when outside their society. Material objects which are common with a group of people can also be included in the explanation of culture. Culture has impact on how people, talk, greet, walk, relate with others and how they carry themselves in a society. Culture also includes the collective practices we participate in, such as religious ceremonies, the celebration of secular holidays, and attending sporting events (Cole, 2019). Culture helps the establishment of social order in a society. The structure of a society, functions, generational

order, rules and norms that govern a particular society and indigenous skills are part of the social order which is informed by the culture. Cole (2019) defined social order as the stability of society based on the collective agreement to rules and norms that allow us to cooperate, function as a society, and live together (ideally) in peace and harmony. How a society is structured culturally plays a great role in transmission of values like skills from generation to generation, which also go through modification over a period; due to dynamism of culture. Such will be manifested through members of the society of which children are part of. The type of activities both children and adults engage in are culturally related. This is what brings about the concept of cultural relativism.

As recorded by Alain Locke and developed as an analytic tool by Franz Boas cultural relativism creates a comprehension that there are many cultures in different societies, and each has its own beliefs, practices and values which is also dynamic over a period (cited by Misachi, 2017). That is, no culture is judged as best or wrong. According to Boas, it is the idea that the system of moral and ethics, which varies from one culture to another, are all equal, and that no system ranks above the other (cited by Misachi, 2017). He further posits that; a person's beliefs and practices should be understood based on his or her culture rather than against the criteria of another culture (Misachi, 2017). Bennett said that, 'we have no basis for judging other peoples and cultures, and certainly no basis for declaring some better than others, let alone 'good' or 'evil' ' (Brown, 2008). Cultural relativism is key in identifying the connection between a social setup and the practices and doings of an individual. Thus, any judgment on what is true or wrong depends on the society's rules, culture, and belief system. Therefore, any opinion on morality or ethics is dependent on a person's cultural perspective (Misachi, 2007). As Prasad argued, "relativists conceived of cultures as being part of a greater global paradigm that cannot be ordered in any sort of hierarchy, but merely juxtaposed by their similarities and differences with one another" (2007, p. 591). "According to them, no culture should be considered better or worse than another; rather it should be understood that they each have their unique identity and that they should be equally acknowledged for their self-worth" (Prasad, 2007, p. 591). This relates to the suspension of judgement until the beliefs or practices of a particular person or society is understood. That is, judgement regarding cultural diversity. This connotes the practice of anthropologists and ethnographers to suspend their notion or assumptions until they are done with their studies. Cultural relativism enlightens how diverse the lives of people around the globe are, and the meaning each cultural settings attach to their norms and practices.

3.2.1.3. Globalisation, Tension and Friction

Globalisation as a concept has been difficult to define precisely. The theory came to the limelight in 1990's. Globalisation as a concept and theory has been difficult to be defined. Positive definitions can take several forms, where globalization is viewed as a process, an organizing principle, an outcome, a conjuncture, or a project. In Stiglitz (2002) work, as a process, globalization is typically defined, in economic terms, as "the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across borders" (McMichael, 2003, p2). That is minimising the world into a small unit for a smooth transmission of technology, capital, and market systems, socio-economic policies and inter socio-cultural practices. Scholte (2000) stated, as an organizing principle, globalisation can be conceptualized as

'deterritorialisation' (McMichael, 2003). Globalisation could also be described as a way to break barriers among nation states for smooth inter-flow of economic and social activities.

Steger & Wahlrab (2007), provides some qualities of globalisation: first, the creation of new social network and the multiplication of existing connections that cut across traditional politics, economic, cultural and geographical boundaries. Second, the expansion and stretching of social relations, activities and connection. Third, intensification and acceleration of social exchanges and activities. Through multiple feeds into digital devices, people are able to view the world at wherever they are (Steger & Wahlrab, 2007, p. 7). For this qualities to be manifested, development actors through international organisation try to adopt policies and policies for the common aim to globalise the world. Globalisation has made it possible for a rapid social relation and consciousness of different cultures.

The idea is for the world to have common ideal way of doing things which corresponds to, p.2global ideology of what is good. In the quests to achieving this, there is the possibility of conflicting issues between the global ideology of what is good and the values and norms of the local people of a society. Such conflicting issues can create tensions which results in frictions in the implementation of policies and some laws.

Tension emerges when two forces oppose each other. This mostly happens when for instance, policies and legal framework to govern a state are in variance to the understanding of the local people. The Ghanaian society and the laws and policies are two opposing forces which have varied perception about the involvement of children in economic activities. When different social institutions which differ in structure, customs, traditions and objectives are to agree on a common goal, there is the tendency for tension to arise. In this study, what results in the understanding between the law and policies and the Ghanaian society regarding child labour are theorised based on the understanding of the Ghanaian community about child labour, their livelihood, political economy and culture vis-à-vis what the laws and policies entail.

Through globalisation and national policies, the lives of people and cultures are being transformed and taking shapes. The activities and livelihood of individuals are affected by the policies and programmes adopted by development actors both globally and nationally. This is happening through trade, networks, entertainment and other global forces. Tsing agreed to it that, all human cultures are shaped and transformed in long histories of regional to global networks of power, trade, and meaning (2005, p. 3). With this global forces circulating, people usually succumbed to it though there may be some form of tensions as it interferes with the culture and expectations of the local people. In the quest of global hegemony and conformity to global standards, government of states try to implement laws and policies propounded by global institution in order not to lag behind. The process of implementing such policies is likely to create tension with the local people which results in friction as to what the local community think is right and what the law and policies by development actors seem appropriate.

Culture being dynamic does not happen overnight, it goes through a process and over a period. Through the process, there may be disagreement as the dynamism sets in. To juxtapose this to the prevalence of child labour in the Ghanaian communities, laws and policies to mitigate the occurrence of children engaging in labour may create some form of tension. Such tension is not same as resistance. The friction that emerge through this social

phenomenon can lead to hegemony. As prescribed by Tsing (2005), hegemony is made as well as unmade with friction (p. 6). She further says that, friction is not about slowing things down. It rather helps two opposing sides to better understand each other in order for hegemony to be established.

Globalisation and tension used in this study is to define the friction that occurs between the laws and policies to curb child labour and the Ghanaian society; in relation to the culture and norms, means of livelihood of the people, how the concept of childhood is constructed and the socialisation process. The analytical use of globalisation and tension as one of the theories which underpin this study help to explain the law and policies to mitigate child labour, and Ghanaians' understanding of children's involvement in economic activities; which help to bring out what creates the friction. This will aid in critically analysing the reason local communities conflict with the policies and programmes to mitigate children's involvement in economic activities.

3.3. Section 2

3.3.1. Methodology

The study is a case study which relies on secondary data for its findings and analysis. The kind of secondary data used were journals, articles, news and research works conducted on child labour in Ghana. The reason for choosing these materials are how they are related to the study, and, also, they connect with the case study as a method used in the study. The reason for choosing case study is because of its versatility in application in different academic disciplines. Simons (2009) defined case study as 'an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a 'real life' context' (p.9). As described by Wynsberghe and Khan (2007), that case study is trans-disciplinary. According to them, case study being trans-disciplinary means: it has no particular disciplinary orientation; that is, it can be used in social science, science, applied science, business, fine arts, and humanities research, for example (Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007, pp. 80). This helps to understand how child labour is practised and understood in the context of Ghanaian communities. Cresswell, (2002) define case study as a problem to be studied, which will reveal an in-depth understanding of a "case" or bounded system, which involves understanding an event, activity, process, or one or more individuals (cited by Wynsberghe and Khan, 2007, p. 81). Wynsberghe and Khan elaborated on Cresswell's definition by saying: "case study appears to call for the researcher to start with a quandary that will invoke layers of understanding about the system in which the problem resides. The system becomes the case, and the researcher chooses an event, activity, or process within this system to illuminate it' (2007, p. 82).

From the explanation given by Wynsberghe and Khan on Cresswell's definition, the practise of child labour in the Ghanaian communities is the case to be studied based on secondary sources for better understanding of the prevalence of this social phenomenon. To better illuminate the case, social-cultural practices aspect of child labour, socio-political and economic policies and globalisation and tensions, that result in friction between the society and the laws and policies are used as an activity, process or characteristic to analyse the findings from secondary sources; on how Ghanaians practise and understand child labour. Socio-cultural practices, socio-political and economic and globalisation and tensions are the methodological tools used to analyse the case. The use of case study as a methodology in

research has its advantages and disadvantages. The following are some of the pros and cons of case study:

3.3.1.1. Advantages of Case Study

- Case study helps in furtherance discussion and analysis of factual issues about a phenomenon by researchers. That is, the nature of the approach in using case study in social research helps in extended analysis information and facts generated in the process. This is done when the researcher continuously discuss different facts from varied sources to ensure how genuine they are. The continuous analysis of facts about subject under discussion help a researcher to make appropriate recommendations and not to dwell on suppositions when concluding.
- Case study provides the platform for one to broaden his or her horizons on a particular subject in a specific situation. This helps in an expansion of one's knowledge about a phenomenon. In reference of this point to this study, different works and documents related to the topic of child labour are used, and the process has helped in providing a well-grounded knowledge about the subject. It makes the researcher to be well-versed on the subject matter, and to grasp the anatomy of the topic under discussion.
- The use of case study as a methodology provides a good understanding of a social phenomenon in a holistic manner. Simons (2009), agreed to it that, 'the primary purpose is to generate in-depth understanding of a specific topic (as in a thesis), programme, policy, institution or system to generate knowledge and/or inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action' (p.9). Since different methods and sources of data can be apply in case study, it helps the researcher to get an in-depth comprehension of the subject under study backed by facts or evidence. 'It is research-based, inclusive of different methods and is evidence-led' (Simons, 2009, p. 9). This also helps the researcher to be improved in his or her field of study, thereby developing him or her professionally. Flyvbjerg (2006) asserts that, 'case studies can contribute to the professional development of a researcher, as case study can provide concrete, context-dependent experience that increases their research skills' (Rabolj, 2013, p. 38).
- Case study helps to clarify the social phenomenon under study. The datasets are not predefined and the researcher has the latitude to resort different sources to illuminates the topic and provide insightful meanings in analysing. 'Case study researchers are not limited to readily quantified variables or pre-existing, well-defined datasets' (Rabolj, 2013, p. 37). The illumination the subject matter through analysis of facts serve as a springboard for future researchers to continue an in-depth investigation. This helps to alter ones opinion which contributes to expansion of readers' knowledge on a particular topic.
- Case study is an avenue to researching into contested phenomenon which has varied characteristics, and prevails in the social set-up of a society. 'Case studies can analyse qualitatively complex events and take into account numerous variables precisely because they do not require many cases or a limited number of variables' (Rabolj, 2013, p.27). It has the potential of analysing phenomenon which is complex in nature and has multiple layers. In juxtaposing this to this study, the phenomenon of child labour in Ghana consists of many complex variables which contribute to its prevalence. So, a deeper investigation and use of varied materials will help to grasp

the anatomy of this real life situation and presents a holistic view of the phenomenon; which broadens the horizon of readers.

- Case study has the potential of using different research methods. Varied methods such as focus group discussion, observations, interviews can be apply in case study. The researcher is not limited to use a specific methods in generating and analysing of information. It also gives researchers the choice whether to rely solely on secondary sources to generate data. As in this study, all data were generated form secondary sources.
- Case study can be a cheaper option to use in research. Data can be assess for free when using case study. This advantage applies to this study. All the materials used in the study were free to access with no cost.

3.3.1.2. Disadvantages of Case Study

- Data gathered in research through case study can take longer period to be analysed. Due to the large volume of data generated, the time period needed to elaborate, discuss, and analyse them will be much longer. The reason being that, there is enormous data to be browsed through and compare different materials from varied sources, in order to assess the reliability and validity of the information gathered. This is a way to affirm the accuracy of the data generated. In a situation where the case study relies on secondary data as in this study, it is necessary to browse through varied materials to assess the validity and reliability of the information at hand.
- The usage of case study in social research has the potentiality to make the researcher bias in data selection. The researcher has the power to select which data is good or necessary for his or her study to achieve expected results. In this case, the researcher has control over the results or outcome of the findings. In Rebolg's work, it was stated that, 'the case study contains a bias toward verification; that is, a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions' (2013, p.40). 'The alleged deficiency of the case study and other types of qualitative research is that they ostensibly allow more room for the researcher's subjective and arbitrary judgment' (Rebolg, 2013, p. 40).
- In a situation where the researcher is not present at the study area, the use of case study approach in research can be inefficient. This can create doubt in the validity and reliability of the information at hand. In this regard, 'case studies should then be followed by other subsequent case studies in order to reinforce the accuracy of the first study's findings' (Rebolg, 2013, p.40). In relation to this study, secondary data are used in all the sections so the validity and reliability of what the various documents and materials hold are difficult to be determined.
- Case study is mostly productive when used with small sample or participants. For instance, in method like focus group discussion, a smaller number of group of people helps the process to be efficient. A case requires an in-depth study of a phenomenon, so data generated from a sizeable group of people can be managed when analysing.

Both the advantages and disadvantages portray that, the effectiveness of using case study in research depends on the kind of phenomenon under study. With correct skills, being reflexive and taking analytical distance from the study by the

researcher, there is the possibility of reducing errors in the study when using case study.

3.3.2. Description of the Sources of Data Used

The study relies solely on different kind of secondary data. Books, articles, journals, empirical research, reports and other research done by different scholars are used in all sections of the study. Documents both from Ghana and other context were used. Sources from Ghana are mostly used to discuss specific issues related to Ghana, while sources from outside are used mainly to discuss the general overview of child labour globally. In the analysis of the findings, some sources which are from abroad are used to elaborate and discuss the prevalence of child labour in Ghana according to research.

3.3.2.1. Books

Some of the information used in the study was generated from books in the field of anthropology, sociology and other humanities which speak about child labour and related topics. Information for general approach to discussing child labour both internationally and locally was part taken from books which help in the discussion of various chapters, for instance the theory chapter.

3.3.2.2. Articles and Journals

Many articles are used in all aspects of the study. Facts, suggestions, information and opinions of scholars on child labour are used in the study. Some of the articles are from the study field of Childhood Studies which also help to describe and discuss the phenomenon better. Many articles are also taken from various educational website on the internet. Some of the articles for the analysis chapter are the same used for the background information in the context chapter.

Different journals are selected to help generate information for this study. Most of the journals were from websites which produce period publications about child labour in Ghana and other discussions specifically about the occurrence of child labour globally. Writings from the readings of Childhood Studies are efficiently used, especially, the introductory section and the analysis chapter. Due to the relevancy of the information in certain journals, the journals being used for the analysis chapter are used in the background information in the preceding chapters.

3.3.2.3. Empirical research and secondary Research

Qualitative research done by researchers on the topic in Ghana are mainly used to get the data for the findings. The literature selected which fall under this category presented both adults and children's voices in their findings. The study were conducted at different regions in Ghana. Almost a study from each region are represented in the findings. The studies were conducted in schools, market places, mining sites, homes of respondents and other parts of the study areas.

Not all the findings from studies being used were based on empirical data. Some researchers used secondary data in their studies, and information from the findings of those studies were used to help in the findings and analysis of this study.

3.3.2.4. Reports and Writings of Organisations

Reports from organisations which presents facts and related to the subject are used in giving figures and update about the phenomenon. Writings and texts published by some organisations on their various website are also used in the generation of data in the study.

In the process of searching for the sources, some of the documents were retrieved from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology data base, websites which have published researches or studies done on child labour, library and books. The contents of the documents used in the study were chosen based on how they fit to the aim of the study and help to answer the research questions. The documents are different in the approach used in their write-up and making, but the context and purpose are similar. In assessing how genuine and reliable the documents are, different documents which speak about the topic and context of the studies were compared.

The analytical process of the findings were done within how research talks about child labour in Ghana. I, being an insider, familiar and having knowledge about the phenomenon and context, analysed the findings with caution to maintain analytical distance. The process of analysis are in the conceptual frame and context of childhood studies to describe child labour in the Ghanaian context.

3.3.3. Limitations of the Study

Though the general overview and findings of this studies are based on different literatures, it does not justify it to generalise the conclusion. I am a third party to the responses in the various studies used. This put me in a difficult situation of how genuine those responses are or can be determined. The condition and verbal cues which made the respondents to give such reply are not known. In this regard, it is difficult to generalise the findings of the study.

Being an insider and familiar to the phenomenon, I selected the above theories to underpin the study because, they help to give a comprehensive understanding of how child labour manifests in Ghana. The theories were chosen due to the fact that they fall within the field of child childhood studies. This motivated me further to use case study as a methodological approach based secondary data to help analyse the findings.

3.3.4. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter presented the theoretical perspective underpinned the study. Three theoretical perspectives are used in this study. These are: social constructionism, socialisation and globalisation. Under social constructionism and socialisation, the theory of interpretive reproduction by Corsaro was presented to supplement them. The concept of globalisation used presented as a theory in this chapter and the study has the concept of tensions as another analytical approach to child labour.

The second section of the chapter has the methodology of the study. Case study is the methodology through which the study is done. The advantages and disadvantages

of case study and description of the sources of data used are contained in the chapter. The chapter ended with limitations of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW DO GHANAIS UNDERSTAND CHILD LABOUR

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents how child labour has been talked about in research in the Ghanaian communities. The chapter answers the research question 1: how do Ghanaians perceive child labour according to research. First section of this chapter is about the perception of Ghanaians about child labour. The findings to answer this question are done in four different sub-questions. 1. How do Ghanaian children understand labour? 2. How do adults perceive child labour? 3. How do Ghanaians relate child labour to education and employment? 4. According to research, what factors push children into labour? Also, causes of child labour is presented in this section. The second section analyses Ghanaians' understanding of child labour into two aspects: social-cultural aspect and socio-political economic policies aspect.

4.2. Section 1

4.2.1. How do Ghanaians Perceive Child Labour?

For better explanation and understanding of the perception of Ghanaians about child labour, four sub-questions are asked to help answer the research question one. 1. How do Ghanaian children understand labour? 2. How do adults perceive child labour? 3. How do Ghanaians relate child labour to education and employment? 4. What factors push children into labour?

4.2.1.1. How do children in Ghana understand child labour?

Child labour in Ghana has been represented in many researches and discussed in varied ways. According to research, child labour is a topic raised in schools and it is a means which can orient children on the subject. Three different studies conducted in Ghana on the topic confirm this assertion. In the study done by Adjei, she documented that, majority of her respondent who were children are fully aware of what child labour is. *"We have a child rights club in school and the patron teaches us about child labour at meetings"* (Adjei, 2015, p. 48). This was response from one of her respondents. Meaning the child is enlightened on the meaning of child labour through social clubs they associate with in the school. Through interaction and conversation with their peers, children come to realise work which is considered as child labour. Adjei documented further that, some children do have knowledge of the occurrence of child labour in their daily lives and it happens in diverse forms. This manifested in Adjei's further interrogation with the children in her study. Some of her respondents give these responses:

"using children to do work meant for adults such as ploughing cocoa farms without sending them to school", "making children work for financial gains or support for the family as well as making children carry heavy loads which are beyond their ability and depriving children the necessary educational needs through labour" (2015, p. 48).

This connotes that the daily activities children go through in their various communities inform them of whether they are being exploited or not. The daily routines can make children to know if they are experiencing child labour. Research has it that, the time children spend in

school and at work says a lot to them whether they are sacrificing their education for economic activities or not. This goes further to affect them on how they associate with their peers. This situation was evidenced by Ampomah and Gyan (2014) on how children feel in engaging in economic activities. Some of their respondents narrated:

"I cannot associate with my peers because of the activities I engage in". "The activity I engage in is harmful to my physical wellbeing and I do not go to school often", "I have health problems as a result of my involvement in this activity" (2014, p.76).

The same narration emanated from Agbesi's studies on child labour in fishing: *"I am not comfortable with fishing in the river, but I have nothing to do so I need to do it", "we are aware of child labour, but it is also a way to supplement the family" (Agbesi, 2015, p. 14).*

From the above narrations, the children who participated in the studies have a fair knowledge of what distract their educational and physical development. They create meaning of the kind of activities they engage in. This can make them feel uncomfortable and even have inferiority complex among their peers.

4.2.1.2. How do adults perceive child labour in Ghana?

Some studies conducted by researchers have it that, in the Ghanaian traditional society, parents, guardians and adults have a say in what way a child should be brought up. Often, parents take decisions on what their children should do. Appiah and Wieland (2016) attested to this assertion in their research on "Children Working in Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM). Children involvement in economic activities mostly depend on what their guardians decide. Appiah and Wieland (2016) concluded in their findings that; some parents take their children to ASM site for paid job. An unhealthy competition for resources, lack of alternative jobs for vulnerable households, and less or no social support for such households compel households to push children into mining jobs (Appiah & Wieland, 2016). Parents are just concentrating on finding ways and means of satisfying their biological or physiological needs here and now no matter how it is achieved (Agbenya 2009).

Socialisation as a result of socio-cultural practices has been remarked by researchers as one of the reasons adults and parents in the Ghanaian society make children work. Children's involvement in work is seen as embedded in the culture and the children must acquire it through participation. This is mostly rampant in the rural areas where the child is close with the family and the practice of family collectiveness is common. Many parents consider child work to be part of the socialisation process for children in local rural communities (Kissi 2018). It is part of the culture of many communities to socialise their children for them (children) to reproduce the values and activities in the future (ibid). Kisi's participants remarked the following narrations:

"I believe I have to bring my children in the way I was brought up. This is because my parents socialised me to learn work ethics and that has made me who I am today. I don't see that when my children work in my farm during weekends and vacations, that can be called child labour".

"Whatever work I assign to my children is not intended to harm them but to train them to have strong work ethics that will in turn help them to have a better future. Children who go

against cultural expectations by refusing to work are seen by society as deviants”. (Kissi, 2018, p.59).

Feigben’s study on child labour in the Bunpurugru-Yunyoo district testify how some parents cherished their children’s engagement in labour. According to him,

“Child labour is considered as a normal practice and indeed healthy to the proper upbringing of the child. Children working on family farms and with family enterprises are seen as part of the process by which they are trained towards adulthood” (2010, p.67).

From the narrations, the community attach the cultural meaning for a child’s engagement in labour. To them, it is a sign of good childhood for a child to start economic activities at early age which helps the child to acquire skills and ethics for future life. The process of socialisation is key in the rural setting of the Ghanaian community. Parents will engage their children in child labour because of the work socialisation process (Kisi, 2018). GSS (2003), stated that, *“traditionally and historically, children in the Ghanaian society learnt their trade by helping their parents and the communities to perform social and economic functions, such as placing girls as domestic helps and boys as additional farm labour”* (Cited by, Acheampong, 2011, p. 55). This helps the child to acquire self-help skills which many parents would think even the school cannot help the child to acquire. There is no deviance if a parent engages his or her child in venture that earns the family income, and it does not hurt the health condition of that child in any way. This is also a way the community describe a good childhood.

4.2.1.3. How do Ghanaians relate child labour to education and employment?

Research on education and employment in recent years has proven the reason many parents do not value education over their child’s involvement in labour. This is due to the high unemployment rates in Ghana, and many prefer their children to work than wasting money and time in school. Some parents believe putting their children into farm work is worthwhile because their children acquire skills that get them employed (Kissi, 2018). A parent narrated to Kissi:

“Why should I enrol my children in school if they’re going to be unemployed after finishing? For me, I believe it will make more sense to engage them in my farming for them to acquire some skills that will help them in their future lives” (2018, p. 59).

Other narrations by respondents to Nyavor confirm the disconnection between education and employment, and the cost that accompanied education are factors to get the child in labour. A farmer remarked:

“Some children complete school without any knowledge and skill in farming. They end up as armed robbers. That’s why my children have to learn farming as well.” (Nyavor, 2011, p. 50).

“In spite of the teachers’ poor performance, they still demand a lot of things from our children. Today bring money, tomorrow bring firewood” (Nyanvor, 2011, p. 63).

Odonkor (2007) posits that people’s discontent with the educational system due to high graduate unemployment, the low quality of education, and inaccessibility to good educational facilities and materials push most parents in the rural communities to engage their children in economic activities to the detriment of their education (cited by Ampomah and Gyan,

2014). Nyanvor (2011) also posited that, the perceived decreasing quality of education is a factor of continual engagement of children in Ghana's cocoa sector.

4.2.1.4. What factors push children into labour?

Children serving as a cheap source of labour is another motivating factor to engaging them in economic activities by parents and adults. The bargaining power of a child may not be strong to negotiate for fair salaries; so people may capitalise on this weakness to employ them in their enterprises. This assertion was testified by Eshun et al. (2018) through their work on "Human Rights Issues and Child Labour". Their research participants gave the following responses:

"Mr, it is not my wish to engage my children on the farm to clear land, harvest cocoa using sharp tools and to control mistletoe but that is the only way. I do not have the money to hire the services of labourers to work for me. Providing clothing for them and paying their school fees is sometimes a problem for me" (2018, p. 48).

"I am a farmer and I cultivate cocoa on commercial bases and food crops such as maize and cassava alongside for consumption by the family. The nature of the work I do demands more labourers which come at a cost. Though my two boys are 12 and 14 years old, they help me a lot on the farm" (2018, p. 49).

"We suspect that most of these children are involved in unpaid labour exchanges where neighbouring families help one another on their farms, but these unpaid workers may also be children who are paid in kind with meals or food" (2018, p. 49).

The parents' easy access to children makes them to employ the children in working on their farms, and that of others than hiring people which cost a lot. Children then become cheap source of labour and can even work on other people's farm for cheap exchange like food as indicated in one of the narrations above. Nyavor (2011), documented seventy-six per cent of his respondents said they depended heavily on their family labour (spouses and children) for carrying most of the activities on their cocoa farms. Adults at mining site employ children as a way of reducing operational costs (Appiah and Wieland 2016). The decision by employers to employ children at the mining site is based on easiness to control them and skills requirement (ibid).

Many conditions push children into labour either being forced by adults or the children engaging voluntarily. Studies in the field of child labour has documented varied factors that admit a child into economic activities. It can be as a result of socio-cultural practices, economic reasons or the wiliness of the child to work for him or her being part of the society; and work being one of the variables in the society. According to Yeyie (2020), most children he had an encounter with work to cater for their basic needs and go further to help their families. His child respondents gave him the following remarks:

"I have to work in other to get money to buy my educational needs since my parents are unable to provide them. We are 8 in number and my parents said they cannot provide all our needs. That is why I am working" (2020, P. 168).

'No one is taking care of me as both of my parents have passed away. I have to work to cater for both my house needs as well as educational needs. If I should stop these works, then it

means I would drop out of school which I don't want to. I would have to continue working to be able to attend the school" (Yeyie, 2020, p. 168).

Everyone has the right to live and do the needful and rightful thing for his or her survival. This is the picture the above narrations by the children portray. They need to meet their basic needs and cater for the educational cost; these propel them to work to earn income. The economic circumstances force them to show their agency by engaging in what others will see as reserve for older and mature people. In juxtaposing this to the interpretive reproduction theory by Corsaro, the children are creating meaning from what is happening in the society and adopt means through which they can participate to salvage their situation. Apart from the children working to cater for their needs, they also have the burden to support the younger ones in the family. This was affirmed by White (1996), she stated "children in developing countries contribute more time to household resources than they deplete as compared to their counterparts in developed countries" (cited by Acheampong, 2011, p. 51).

Some children work through the motivation by their parents, and some parents even force them to work; even though it will be against the children's wish. Parents are the heads of the households and they decide how the house should be governed. In this instance, the child will comply with the instruction of the parent if told to work. As reported by Agbesi (2016) in his findings that many children are motivated by their parents to do this work, and the motivation was monetary reward which helps them to buy their personal needs. Donkoh, Abane and Donkoh (2011) also agreed, generally, mothers instructed children to work. The testimonies below were documented by Donkoh, Abane and Donkoh (2011) from their research participants:

"My load is heavy and selling is a tiring task. I get tired whenever I sell. At times I fall when running to reach a customer. I wish I stopped but my mother insists I sell. She beats me if I refuse to sell" (p.186).

"My father has divorced my mother, and no one takes care of me" (p. 187).

"I sell because my mother says she does not have money to take care of all of us. My parents are divorced. I sell to help her take care of my siblings who are young, I am the eldest. I do not know if I will go back to school" (p. 188).

"I started selling at age 13 when in primary five after the death of my father; I do not get time to do my homework" (p. 188).

The above narrations were documented by Donkoh, Abane and Donkoh in their study on *"The Plight of the Working child"* (2011). The study was conducted in Mankessim in the Central region of Ghana. From the remarks by respondents, it can be said that single parenting is one of the factors that gets the child admitted into economic activities, especially if the parent is poor and there is no help from anywhere. Agbesi (2016) also remarked that, due to single parenting, many children are motivated to work to support the family. A study by Ampomah and Gyan (2014) testifies this assertion. According to one of their respondents who was a parent:

"I have six children and find it difficult meeting their needs, so he (the child) does this to help me take care of the family. The money I get from my pure water business is not enough. As

for their father, hmmm I don't even know where he is, so I single-handedly look after the children" (Ampomah and Gyan, 2014, p.75).

That is to say, the child's contribution is crucial to the survival of the family. A household which has a weak economic structure and headed by a single parent most often demands the labour of the eldest children to help meet basic needs. So, in situation like this, the child will be willing to engage in activities which will earn some source of revenue for him or herself. The circumstances the child finds him or herself justifies the need to work.

4.2.2. The Causes of Child Labour in Ghana

Various causes has been identified by researchers as the underlying factors that lead to child labour in the Ghanaian Communities. As agreed by Hayford (2004), the causes of child labour are complex and multi-dimensional requiring depth of analysis and context to assist inquirers understand the micro, meso and macro dimensions of the problem (p. 80). The top most factors include high level of poverty rate among parents, low quality of education, difficulties in accessing and uncertainty of finding a job after graduation, lack of sustainable livelihoods and alternative forms of livelihood, poor parental care, socio-cultural beliefs of the people, broken homes and death of parents (orphans) and lack of access to credit market (Hayford,2004). Among these causes of child labour, the emphasis will be placed on poverty, education and socio-cultural practices of the people in the Ghanaian communities. These three causes of child labour is being emphasised because, they were documented in many of the researches used in this study.

4.2.2.1. Poverty and child labour

Various studies connote that poverty is one of the main causes of child labour. Researchers and practitioners agree poverty is the main determinant of child labour supply, and that child labour significantly increases the income and the probability of survival of the family (Adjei, 2015, p. 24). Basu and Van (1998) also share same idea that the remote cause of child labour is parental poverty. ILO (2007) posited that relatively high cost of adult labour (which is becoming increasingly scarce because of the migration of adolescents and young men to the urban centres) and poverty are the main factors necessitating the increased use of child labour on cocoa farms in Ghana (cited by Nyavor, 2011, p. 22). The parents' inability to hire labour can result to them using their children as a cheap source of labour. Since parents and guardians have easy access to the children, there will be the possibility for them to get the children to work, rather seeking for labour outside. If the household wage is low and cannot meet its expenses, the able and mature children may have to contribute to supplement the insufficient income. As Galli (2001) put it, "contribution of children is most of the time critical since children are sent to work when parents' earnings are insufficient to guarantee the survival of the family, or are insecure so that child labour is used as a means of minimizing the impact of possible job loss, failed harvest and other shocks on the family's income stream" (Feigben, 2010, p. 13).

The parents of child labourers are often unemployed or underemployed, desperate for secure employment and income (Acheampong, 2011, p. 18). Parents in this kind of situation may be forced to engage their children in economic activities. Employers may also employ children because they can be a source of cheap labour which can also lead to exploitation. This can make the children be employed in menial jobs which are seen as a reserved for adults.

4.2.2.2. Low quality of education and uncertainty of finding a job after graduation

Low standard and decline in the quality of education has been identified as one of the causes that put children into economic activities such as cocoa farming, trading, head porters and others. Nyavor (2011) asserts that poor outcomes/results from the education system have been identified as a major push factor that promotes child labour in Ghana's cocoa-growing communities (P. 24). Poor quality basic education in the rural areas has made schooling unattractive for some of the cocoa farmers (ibid). The alternative for the child to working on the farm is attending school. When schools were not exhibiting a high degree of quality, the school was not seen as a reliable vehicle for preparing the child for adulthood (Hayford, 2004). Inadequate educational facilities and difficult to access education, especially, in the rural communities in Ghana push children into labour. It reduces the standard of education among the people and they are dissatisfied with the educational system. Odonkor (2007) claims "rural parents should rather be seen as people dissatisfied with the education system than as illiterates ignorant of the value of education". (Cited by, Feigben, 2010, p. 14). This kind of dissatisfaction leads to uncertainty whether their children will get job after graduation from school. In schools with rigorous teaching and learning taking place, and high levels of teacher attendance, parents are less likely to take their children out of school and use them on the farm than in communities where teachers were regularly absent from the school on market days and farming days (Hayford, 2004, p. 43).

"Everyone in the community sees the poor quality of education...Teachers are not willing to live in our community and we are always short of teachers in the schools; this makes educational quality a big question for us (a rural cocoa farmer cited in Casely-Hayford, 2004, p.42). "

Parents would not waste their children's lives in school where the quality is poor, inadequate facilities and insecure to get job after graduation. Parents will rather engage their wards in traditional trade or farming which provides the children with skills to build their future. Hayford agreed that, in communities where survival is important the question of ensuring the child is skilled enough to take care of him or herself within the family and community is extremely important (2004, p. 81).

4.2.2.3. Socio-cultural practices

The socio-cultural meaning and traditional construction of childhood has effect on the engagement of children in the Ghanaian communities. As typified by Nyavor (2011), in Ghana, socio-cultural factors such as ignorance and misconceptions, inadequacies of the education system, and institutional weaknesses in the application of child labour laws are also important causes (P. 23). For children to engage in activities like farming in the local communities is considered as normal by the people as a way of surviving strategy for the child. The practice of engaging children on the farm is a reality which cannot be ignored but was found to be a normal farming practice and at times a survival strategy (Hayford, 2004, p. 80). That is, it is a means through which farming skills will be inculcated in the child which help for the child to fend for him or herself in times of economic difficulties. This form of skills can be acquired not only in family farms but, also, other people's farms where the child works as labourer.

4.3. Section 2

This section analyses how Ghanaians perceive children's involvement in economic activities in socio-cultural aspects and socio-political and economic aspects. The section conceptualises these two aspects, and how they affect the livelihoods and the lives of children with regards to child labour.

4.3.1. Socio-Cultural Aspects of Child Labour in Ghana

The socio-cultural practices define the way of live of people in each society. To understand childhood in different societies, one needs not to ignore the cultural, beliefs, meaning of childhood, behaviour, moral standard, and expectations of the local people in creating meaning of children's involvement in work. This does not justify any practices or work which dehumanise the child. It is a way to indicate the diversity in theorising childhood and how children involvement in economic activities have cultural relevance and meaning in the Ghanaian societies. As indicated by Jenks (1982), there is no concept as "one essential child" (cited in Jenks, 2004). There are varied "theorising" children. In this regard, for one to assess child labour, it is necessary to ignore the comparing of global north child to the global south. The concept of social constructionism and the field of childhood studies applies in this instance. Social constructionism is the "recognition that societies differ in their cultural attitudes towards social phenomena and therefore no universal criteria can be applied to compare one cultural view with another" (James & James, 2012, p. 12). That is, categories are defined according to the meaning attach to them. The description of the social structure childhood is purported to be universal; this representation of childhood turns out to be specific and geographically distributed (Burman, 1994). It is accepted that children are human beings; but the conditions, geographical locations and cultural practices identify them differently. That is, whether the child has good childhood or not is figured out by social and cultural processes. As indicated by some parents in the findings discussed above, for a child to partake in labour is a form of socialisation and a good child upbringing. The definition of good childhood from these narrations depends on how the child has mastered the basic skills and values through labour such as local trading, farming and others. Socio-cultural aspects being used to analyse Ghanaians' perception about child labour moves in same direction as how social constructionists' study and define childhood. "Ideas about children change because they are dependent on their social, cultural and historical context. These ideas have consequences and the way in which a category is constructed affect how its members will be treated" (Montgomery 2003, p. 46).

Many societies involve children in work not because to abuse them, is a way of inculcating cultural practices and basic skill in the child. Children acquire many basic skills needed in his or her society by interacting with what goes on in their environment. Various constructions of children and childhoods are part of ongoing processes of cultural production and reproduction, acted out by agents at all ages, in diverse ways and in different context (Nilsen, 2008). Holland (2008) also hold the assertion exploration of cultural environment by children contributes to children's competence, their expectations, and their social experience. Work is also a way for the child to explore the environment. Therefore, what children mostly do in terms of labour are because of cultural action. This kind of cultural action is not fixed, rather, it changes over time and space which is also in relation to cultural dynamism. Ideas and beliefs about children are not fixed but are a product of the particular social and cultural

setting (Montgomery, 2003). Ideas about childhood also change over time and depend both on individual experience and wider socio-cultural beliefs (ibid).

In many instances, children also form their own ideas about themselves and how they can be part of their society. They feel as one of the social categories in their society and need not to be separated from it. Children can construct their own meaning of childhood and align it with what the society expect of them. The expectation of the society can be that children are supposed to or take part in some economic activities. This may get them to engage in labour depending on their age and mostly ability in order to feel part of the society. People who study childhood are increasingly seeing children as capable of creating their own culture, including that of childhood (Montgomery, 2003). The children's willingness to create their own culture is also a way to partake in the adult world. This can be seen in groups which the children form. They can form group to initiate an activity by gathering information from the adult world to suite their plights. For example, adult have the strength and financial muscles to establish businesses and all forms of trades. Children are mostly deficient when it comes to finances and strength to establish trade to the status of that of the adults. In their small way, they (group of children) can decide to start petty trading like selling toffees, biscuits, chocolate etc. The members of the group can decide for the unity and harmony what each member can sell. This kind of coherence is what Corsaro termed it as peer culture as part of the interpretive reproduction. That is, the children understand their society and they find an innovative way to participate in its activities. Children are not passive beings, they are agents in appropriating information from the society and interpret it in their own worlds. They make sense of their culture and participate in it. In attempting to make sense of adult word, children come to collectively produce their own peer worlds and cultures (Corsaro, 2017).

Children's engagement in labour is connected to the social and cultural context in which it manifests. Members of a particular society may feel that a call to eradicate children's involvement in economic activities which commensurate with their age and capability as Eurocentric and in variance to the context, needs of the children and the society at large. Bourdillion and Nieuwenhuys argue that children's involvement in labour needs to be understood in the light of different material and cultural conditions and seen as varying according to a range of individual factors, including the age, gender, capability, birth order and sibling composition of the child involved (cited by Abebe and Bessel, 2011, p. 770). Children are part of the family and work in the household production as a way of vocational training, education, and continuity of social processes. Mazrui suggests that children's participation in work is vital to support subsistence economies and ensure the continuity of certain cultural skills (cited by, Abebe and Besell, 2011).

The social and cultural context in which child labour manifests in Ghana can be connected to the concept of cultural relativism. Cultural relativism covers a wide range of human endeavours and practices. As formulated by Boas cultural relativism encompasses several axioms. One of the axioms is: culture is said to constitute a total social world that reproduces itself through enculturation, the process by which values, emotional dispositions, and embodied behaviours are transmitted from one generation to the next (Brown, 2008). This axiom by Boas fit perfectly into the process of socialisation. These values and practices are usually perceived by members of a society as uniquely satisfying and superior to all others (Brown, 2008). Juxtaposing this to children's involvement in work, a certain society might

justify such practice as a way of how the members acquire the basic skills of life. In the traditional setting of many communities, people master basic skills by observation, participation, and implementation. That is, it is not all knowledge and skills that need formal education. Culturally, members of family in diverse cultural settings have varied roles depending on gender and order of birth. Children being members of the family in the Ghanaian culture are also expected to perform some roles which correspond with their maturity. This is also a way for the children to fit well into their neighbourhoods in order not to be separated from it. As attested by Brown, understanding of such practice is related to enculturation and judgement must be done based on its own internal web of logic rather than through the application of universal yardstick.

The use of the cultural relativism as a theory to underpin this study does not justify any inhuman act meted out to children. It is not to support hazardous work that many children engage in for their survival. This is a way to stress a point that, attitudes, beliefs, and practices of a particular group of people cannot be changed overnight or automatically. If there is a need to effect a change, it should be done systematically. The reason for such change should be clear to the said society whether it will help the wellbeing and development of the individuals. Change of any social norm is a possibility, what is needed is to understand the way of life of the people before taking the course for such change.

4.3.2. Socio-Political Policies and Economic Aspects of Child Labour in Ghana

The political and economic policies implemented by the government of a country affect the social, financial and livelihoods of the people. Policies and programmes both internationally and locally by development actors have a direct consequence on the lives of the masses. The relationship between the government and the society determines how the members of the society live their lives and their means to livelihood. From the findings, children in the Ghanaian communities have a direct connection with their parents and parents bear the sole responsibility to cater for their children with no or minimal government intervention. Household where poverty is prevalent will face a challenge and may force children to work to supplement the family income. The material realities and economic policies do not exempt the children from the hardship the family will face. Abebe and Bessell (2011) state that: "Thus children's local work cannot be detached from material realities created by international and national economic policy but must be situated in intersecting geographical scales and contexts within the 'global space economy?'" (p. 773). The lives of people of a society cannot be understood only through socio-cultural dimension. Other factors like socio-political policies and the economy of the household affect the members of which children are of no exception. The lives of children and young people should not be constructed only through social and cultural dimensions; but also, the political economy forces that determine the age they enter labour market. Apart from the social and cultural factors, scholars have recently argued that children's work needs to be sufficiently grounded in particular ecological, economic and politico historical contexts (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). The political and economic factors affecting the lives of children are of different forms and vary across time and space. Some of these are poor legislation, ineffective legal framework, poor policies, corruption, implementation of capitalism and neoliberalism, economic structural adjustment programmes (ESAPs), and financial stability of various household.

Due to pressure from the global economic powers, many countries try to align with the common policies proposed by international bodies like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These kinds of policies may be in variant with the problems of the local people and in the end, they create problems for the citizens. An example of these economic policies is the ESAPs implemented by many developing countries to combat public debt. ESAPs were aligned with neo-liberalism economic orthodoxy of the 'Washington Consensus' a precondition for rescheduling developing countries' increasingly unserviceable debts (Abebe, 2016). These policies made developing countries to open their economies which have negative effects on the lives of the people. In their article, "*Child Labour in Africa, and Asia*", Abebe and Bessel (2011), pointed out that, the macroeconomic policies imposed by the IMF and the World Bank whereby poor countries are forced to open their economies, are seen as having devastating impacts on the lives of children, even in remote villages. Many countries privatise their state corporations, cut in public spending, and reduce public sector, reduction of subsidies and others. Basic social needs then become expensive which the ordinary citizens cannot afford. For example, in Bolivia, privatization of the state-run water company in 1999 led to rise in water bills of up to 50 % (Finnegan 2002, cited by, Abebe, 2016, p. 8). In Ghana, IMF and World Bank policies mandated a 95 % increase in consumer water fees in 2000 (Grusky 2001, cited by, Abebe, 2016). Reduction in subsidies on social services reduces the quality of lives of people, especially, the livelihoods of people in the rural areas.

High rate of unemployment as a result of the reducing of the public sector put pressure on the breadwinner of various households and this pressure affects to every member of the household. Many people lost their job, and this affects the means to their livelihood. As remarked by some parents in the findings that they are unemployed and they do not have any better job opportunity. This is very prevalent among the people in the rural settings in Ghana. High rate of unemployment in Ghana makes parents to put their children to work. In many traditional settings in Ghana and West Africa, women are mostly the shock absorbers as the fathers (men and breadwinners) may leave to better their lives elsewhere leaving the care of the home in the hands of the mothers (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Jennings argues that "the consequences of ESAPs include increasing women's unpaid work in both the home and the community" (cited by, Abebe and Bessell, 2011, p. 773). Women under this condition share the domestic chores with the children; and some children even engage in paid work outside home to supplement family income. For the heads of the household to hold on to the pressure in coherent manner, children and preferably girls take the responsibility of the housekeeping for their parents or guardians to get enough time to work. This burdens children with loads of domestic work which can affect their schooling.

With unemployment soaring in many countries, education is seen as not a key to providing jobs to graduates. In developing countries where unemployment rate is high, majority of the population get their daily income from the informal sector. As Grootaert et al. states it,

"In an economic environment where survival depends on work in the informal sector, many parents conclude that taking children out of school and putting them to work is the most sensible solution for survival and the education method which offers the best prospects for the future" (1995, p. 4).

This has effect on the supply of child labour as parents see it to be of no need to encourage the child to go to school. Bonnet (1993) argues that the failure of the education system in

Africa has led many parents to view work as the preferred option for their children (cited by Grootaert et al., 1995, p. 4). Education is no longer a road towards obtaining a diploma assuring a modern sector job (ibid). Parents in some of the rural communities in Ghana affirm to what Bonnet argued. Graduates unemployment in Ghana has made some parents to have no value in educating their wards. The findings showed that, some parents find it to be beneficial for their children to work in the farms, petty trading and other local businesses which equip them with skills to help them earn income in their societies.

The rate of fertility and size of a household affect child labour. Such effects depend on the size of the household and how it is stable economically. This situation prevailed in the findings where some adults attributed child labour in Ghana to large family size as one of the causes. In a situation where the family is large and the financial capability in the household is low, the labour force of older children is needed to supplement family income. Some parents with many children in their households are unable to cater for the basic needs of their children due to poverty and infirmity (Alhassan and Abubakari, 2015). The children may neglect school and engage in full time work. Lloyd's account on evidence of the relationship from developing countries suggests that larger household size reduces children's educational participation and progress in school and reduces parents' investment in schooling (cited by Grootaert et al., 1995). This shows that there is the likelihood of children working in larger and low-income earning families. According Lloyd, the magnitude of the effect of the size of the household is determined by some factors:

1. The level of socio-economic development (the effect of household size is stronger in urban or more developed areas). More developed areas turned to have larger population which makes cost of living in these areas quite high. Households with large family size and less income feel the pressure of economic hardship which has direct ramifications on the children. Larger family size with low income in urban areas in Ghana is likely to have their child fend for themselves in the labour market. This was manifested in the findings where Kissi's (2018) research on parents' perception of child labour in rural and urban areas in Ghana concluded that, child in the urban areas work as a result of poverty, and this is prevalent with household with large family size.
2. The level of social expenditure by the State (the effect of household size is weaker if state expenditures are high). Social interventions by the state determine the livelihoods of children from poor family background. The effect of the size of the household will not be felt much if there is a support from government and, also, policies and programmes which eases the burdens on parents. From the discussions and presentations above, it can be said that, the Government of Ghana do not spend much on social policies and due to this, poor families get their children to work to help supplement family income.
3. The family culture (the effect of household size is weaker where extended family systems exist, e.g., through the practice of child fostering). The extent to which members in the extended families help each other reduces the effect of family size on poor households.
(Grootaert et al., 1995, p. 3).

Cochrane et al. (1990) attested that the empirically observed magnitude of the effect of household size on child labour varies enormously from place to place, depending upon the

existing combination of factors (cited by Grootaert, 1995, p. 3). The varied factors determine the extent to which a child engages in work and this manifest differently in urban and rural settings. In the rural areas, land ownership and tenure system define how and where a child will be engaged in work. As Grootaert et al. put it, children in landless and marginal farm households generally engage in wage labour while those in households with larger farms engage in agricultural work. In a household whose sole dependant is the agriculture produce, failure like poor harvest or low-price of agriculture produce create a major shock among the members. The shock is severe in a large household, and when there is no proper financial security; children may be forced to work outside to sustain the financial status of the family. As Mendelievich stated, where the level of income is very low any interruption can be life-threatening, particularly in the absence of savings, liquid assets or ability to borrow (cited by, Grootaert et al., 1995). The interruption stated by Mendelievich can also be seen as the unforeseen shocks such like loss of job which sometimes happens in the family structure.

4.4. Chapter conclusion

The need of good life and proper care for children is a basic right which all children are endeavoured to have. This basic right and principles do not manifest in some situations due to varied reasons. Children in Ghana engage in labour as shown in the chapter above according to research due to some circumstances. The global ideology of work free childhood has different meaning in some communities in Ghana. The practice of child labour is attributed to different variables which give the phenomenon complex layers to approach.

The purpose of this chapter was to elaborate how do Ghanaians understand and practice child labour. The section one of the chapter answers the research question: how do Ghanaians perceive child labour according to research? Four sub-questions were presented under the research question one to help elaborate it further. 1. How do children in Ghana understand child labour? 2. How do adults perceive child labour? 3. How do Ghanaians relate child labour to education and employment? 4. What factors push children into child labour? The elaboration about Ghanaians understanding of child labour helped to present what causes child labour. Through this, three factors were discussed further since they were documented in most of the researches. The three causes are, poverty and child labour, low quality of education and uncertainty of finding a job after graduation and socio-cultural practices.

In the section two, two analytical approach were used to analyse how Ghanaians practice and understand child labour. Socio-cultural aspect and socio-political economic policies aspect. The aspects as, analytical approach help to understand the cultural meaning and the beliefs that the local people attach to child labour and the economic realities and policies by development actors which determine the livelihood of the people in Ghana.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTING LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND POLICIES TO MITIGATE CHILD LABOUR IN GHANAIAN COMMUNITIES

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the challenges in implementing the laws and policies to curb the prevalence of child labour in Ghana. The chapter answers the research question: what are some of the challenges in implementing laws and policies to mitigate child labour in Ghana? This chapter has two sections. The first part presents the challenges in implementing legal frameworks and policies to mitigate child labour. The second section analyses the challenges and tensions in four thematic approach. The themes are: cultural dominance of the society versus legal framework and policies, the economic and financial capability of the people, the concept of participation in the UNCRC versus the practise of child labour in Ghanaian communities and the perception of the people about education and its quality. Also, the section presents the relation of globalisation to challenges in implementing policies and laws to curb child labour.

5.2. Section 1

5.2.1. What are some of the Challenges in implementing Laws and Policies to Mitigate Child Labour?

In every society, the enforcement of law and order help every sector of the state to function properly. Before this can be achieved, there is the need for policies and programmes which support the lives of the ordinary citizens and ensure of their survival. As discussed in the previous chapter, Ghana has enacted laws and established policies to fight child labour, but all has not been fruitful in achieving its goals. There are many challenges which make the state to implement the laws in the local communities. The policies and programmes to support the people are also not yielding the expected results. Appiah and Wieland (2016) agreed to the fact that, many mining operators know the law regarding child labour, but they break the law, which can be due to the fact the laws are not enforced. Corruption and nepotism in the law enforcement agencies make it difficult for the laws to be implemented properly (Appiah and Wieland, 2016). A revelation through an interview by Appiah and Wieland was:

"Our big boss paid our way with the police and the chiefs, so we do not get any problems for our activities" (2016, P. 103).

Such operators go scot free irrespective of what they do. If institutions responsible for ensuring the laws fail to do so, the people will take the law into their own hands, since there is no one to prosecute them. This kind of attitudes make it difficult to implement the laws to fight child labour. There is the need for strong institutions to ensure and enforce the law.

Kuyini and Mahama (2009) put the challenges in implementing the 1998 Children's Act (Act 560) into two: structural and work process barriers. According to them, the structural barriers are the establishment of family tribunals or child panels and collaborative works in solving and managing child-care related issues. The community resort to using family panels to discuss issues like child neglect without reporting to the appropriate institution to apply the law. This can hide any child abuse or hazardous work the child may engage in. The work process barriers are the resources, qualified personnel, and any accoutrements needed by the institutions in implementing the demands of the Act 560. Kuyini and Mahama (2009) posits that, most significant problem which makes the implementation of the 1998 Children's Act is lack of resources. Insufficient trained personnel and resources make institutions like Department of Social Welfare to be ineffective in discharging its duties. Ampomah interview with one of the heads of Department of Social Welfare agreed to it that:

"When other agencies and organizations are providing financial support and logistic for child labour programs, we, the Department of Social Welfare do not have any. So, we support them with personnel" (Ampomah, 2012, p.75).

This results from the low expenditure and the budget allocation of the government to social spending. Social spending in Ghana is low relative to African averages, is skewed towards recurrent costs and heavily dependent on external donor support (Kuyini and Mahama, 2009).

Ignorance of the law by the people is also a big challenge to implementing it. Many people do not care or not even know what the child is required by law to do and not. According to Nyanvor (2011), cocoa farmers he interviewed were ignorant of the specific permissible and non-permissible activities regarding child labour and children's involvement in cocoa production. Many people have no idea of the exact activities that have been proscribed by law (ibid).

Social intervention policies are meant to help solve social problem and make the lives of the citizenry better. The success of any intervention by the government and any NGO depends on the implementation and due diligence in executing it. However, social interventions like FCUBE, NHIS, SFP, and LEAP have not been fruitful in achieving their agenda in the Ghanaian communities. Under FCUBE programme, the government provides free tuition, textbooks and teaching and learning materials and subsidises the cost of exercise books (Acheampong, 2009). There are still some costs which some parents cannot bear with and continue to have their children working instead of going to school. Evidence from Nyavor's study indicates that, parents still spend substantial sums of money on other school related cost such as school uniforms, feeding, books and transportation. Parents are saddled with the payment of some illegal fees in addition to other costs (Nyavor, 2016). Donge (2003), testify that, the effect of schools charging a wide variety of levies (fees) to support school learning activities produced situations where resources available to schools depended on the wealth of surrounding communities, further reinforcing the stratification of education (cited by Acheampong, 2009). In effect, FCUBE sent confusing signals about free education, left schools with a hole in revenue for basic school learning inputs and created conditions that increased the gap in quality provision between urban and rural areas (ibid). This drives many parents from keeping their children in school with the perception that they might end up learning nothing.

FCUBE is a good idea for universal education and important for human capacity building. However, laws to enforce it is not a necessity to achieving its goals, especially, when there are challenges in implementing it. The effort of the government alone cannot make the people to kowtow to such policies, rather the will of the populace is a factor to achieving success. According to Appleton et al. (1996), "it is the collective influence of local authorities and peer groups which gives real practical meaning to universal achievement and not state coercion" (cited by Acheampong, 2009, p. 176). The will of the people in the local communities to take their children off economic activities and put them in classroom is needed to help the success of FCUBE.

One major challenge to implementing law and policies to eradicate child labour in the Ghanaian communities, especially, the rural settings is the culture of socialisation and initiation of the child into adult world. To some adults, as shown above about Ghanaians' perception with regards to Child labour, see the pride in their child to work for money. Children's involvement in economic activity to help them meet their basic needs is not a crime to some guardians. Adults in the rural traditional settings find the child as being mature by interacting with his or her environment. Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (2008), observed that children in rural farming settings mature faster than their city counterparts, and this is attributed to early socialization into family economic activities and responsibility (cited by Nyavor, 2011). Kissi's encounter with his respondents revealed that work provides children with an avenue to develop their social and emotional competencies, including a strong work ethic (Kissi, 2018). Some view children who are not working as uncultured and lazy (ibid). The strong connection between children's involvement in labour and good childhood or good child upbringing make it difficult for the success of any programmes to get rid of child labour.

5.3. Section 2

5.3.1. Thematic Discussion of the challenges

This section discusses the findings under four themes. Each theme brings out the tension between the reality in the society and the legal framework, policies and programmes to eradicate child labour. The themes are as follows: 1. The cultural dominance of the society versus legal framework and policies. 2. The economic and financial capability of the people. 3. The concept of participation enshrined in international conventions versus the practise of child labour in Ghanaian communities. 4. The perception of the people about education. The thematic discussion of the findings helps to elaborate and clarify further what impedes the implementation of laws and policies to mitigate child labour. This illuminates what kind of tensions arises in the implementation of the laws and policies.

5.3.1.1. Cultural dominance of the society versus legal framework and policies

It can be deduced from the findings that many of the communities attach the cultural and the socialisation process to the involvement of children in labour at an early age. It comes with pride to some parents and adults for their children to earn income which is a sign of maturity and adapting to the norms of the society. The child being adamant to work is seen as a deviance or the child being lazy. This practise of socialisation process creates tension when universal legal documents like UNCRC and the ideology of work-free childhood come to play in the Ghanaian communities. The global hegemony of good childhood places the child

in the school and play. The 2004 State of World's Children report, for example, defines childhood as:

"Childhood is 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. As such, childhood is a precious time in which children should live free from fear, safe from violence and protected from work abuse and exploitation" (Cited by Abebe and Bessell, 2011, p. 767).

The above definition gives the global concept of good childhood and this has influenced international policies and laws regarding child labour. The idea of work-free childhood is also conceptualised differently in some local communities in Ghana. Children are part of the society they live in and for them to be engaged in work is way of good childhood and the better upbringings to a responsible adult. Bourdillon et al. (2010) argued, childhood is seen as continuous with the adult world, with children gradually moving into the activities of adults as their competencies develop and as opportunities arise (cited by Abebe and Bessell, 2011). Children's work is how children's involvement in productive and reproductive activities is pivotal to develop their capacities and foster values of reciprocity that are necessary to reproduce households (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). The concept of social constructionism is apparent in the many responses in the research findings. Child labour is placed in the local beliefs and practises which make some adults and other members of the Ghanaian community see no harm done to the child.

At the national level, the state government are forced and influenced to implement international laws and policies which in many cases are in variance with the beliefs and cultural practices of the local people. The Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) was enacted by the parliament of Ghana as way to fulfil the requirements of UNCRC. A close analysis of the Act 560 is a replica of the British 1989 Children's Act. As agreed by Liard (2002), this law is a copy of the British's 1989 Children's Act, to which it bears a close resemblance. This include the concept of parental rights and responsibilities, investigation by social worker and the use of supervision and care orders to protect children from abuse and neglect (Liard, 2002). Due to cultural variations in Ghana, it has been difficult to implement the Act (ibid). The socio-cultural and economic context in Ghana differs from that of Britain so there will be disagreement between the local community and what the Act entails. Due to lack of convenient tools and household machines such as washing machine in many Ghanaian homes, the guardians rely on the help of the children both domestically and out of the home to help complete task in the home. The situation is different in Britain where there are washing machine, mechanised stove and advanced equipment to be used to complete house chores on time. Children work in domestic chores to help the parents complete the task in the house. According to Liard (1998), the illegality of 'exploitive' child labour referred to under 1998 Children's Act is easily determined in British context. Pervasive food insecurity and the daily struggle by many Ghanaians to meet basic survival needs in many families, raise a complex dilemma for social workers over the definition of exploitation (Liard 1998).

The variation and interpretations given to children involvement in work is connected to how the society sometimes see nothing wrong for a child to do a paid work. For instance, if a parent is so busy and have little time for house chores, there is no child labouring if the child is able to do and does it. Even though if the hours used in getting the job done exceed what

is specify by the law. The dominance of socialisation and social reproduction embedded in cultural dimension play a role in this.

5.3.1.2. The economic and financial capability of the people

The findings discussed in the previous section depict the picture of poverty which is described by many researchers as one of the main causes of child labour. Poverty has been figured out as the main causes of child labour in many of the research done in Ghana, which creates a tension between the society and the laws to eradicate child labour. Poverty was found to be the main reason driving children to child hawking. Most parents do earn enough especially in petty trading business, thus are not able to properly take care of their family (Ampomah, 2012). Implementation of policies and laws by the Government of Ghana without addressing the means to life of the people will yield to nothing. Although the introduction of the Capitation Fund in 2004 as a poverty intervention under the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) makes basic education free, some children in Ghana are still on the street and at the market centres working during school hours (Donkoh, Abane and Donkoh, 2011). Kissi (2018) agreed to the fact that, the dominant view among his research participants was that poverty was a key factor in explaining why children are engaged in child labour. For instance, with the implementation of FCUBE, parents still bear the cost of some levies which are difficult for some parent to pay thereby they see no need to call it free education. Participants echoed to Kissi:

"I have a house help who's enrolled in a public school. I pay various fees not less than GHC 50 every term. This amount of money cannot be borne by the average Ghanaian. The school feeding programme on the other hand is limited to some few schools since it is on a pilot basis".

"Education is supposed to be free, yet parents are asked to pay development levy, parent teacher association levy and library Levy; some parents engage their children in work to enable them pay for all these levies" (2018, p. 61).

Because of poverty, some parents cannot afford these levies which can lead to drop-out or sending their children to go out to work to help settle these bills. Parents who cannot afford to pay the various school levies are likely to engage their children in economic activities to help them meet this cost in the future (Kissi, 2018). Some children will end up engaging in risky economic activities like illegal mining (galamsey in local parlance) which put their lives in danger. According to Ministry of Social Welfare and Employment (2009), the high levels of poverty which are endemic in rural households lead to risky behaviour by household members including children (cited by, Ampomah and Gyan, 2014). The parents attested to Eshun et, al. (2018) that, the fundamental reason why children work is poverty. Poverty compels children to work in order to feed the family and to provide for their own personal needs.

Though there are social interventions put in place to help the community, this is not enough to help solve the poverty in various households. So, the law enacted to prevent children from labour market becomes ineffective. The economic hardship and lack of social support for the poor and vulnerable people disagrees with what the legal framework entails. As confirmed by Eshun et, al. (2018), child labour in the homes was not just a phenomenon that children are

deliberately subjected to, but hardship in homes has accounted for the need for children to work. The economic safety net to help the poor family is not wide enough to cover many poor households. Any economic shock that hit the weak household take each member as storm and fight for survival. Ideal globalised childhood associates the child to school and adults to work. In reality, for many children, this separation represents a tension between the economic needs of the family and an idealised understanding of the rights of the individual child (Abebe and Bessell, 2011). The income earning capacity is not enough to meet the needs of the households which makes each member to respond to the shock in a way he or she can. Poor people earn little, and, in such cases, parents are not able to take care of all the responsibilities of their children and they oblige their children to work to increase household income (Yeyie, 2020). Practically, poor people face inadequate basic needs such as food, clothing, health facilities etc. (ibid).

5.3.1.3. The concept of participation in international conventions versus the practise of child labour in Ghanaian communities

The participatory rights codified in the UNCRC and its Articles 12 to 15 and 17 in particular are based on the idea of a child having individual rights to have a say and to be heard (Liebel and Saadi, 2012). The question is what is in the best interest of the child? Who will determine the best interest of the child? Is the child, organisations or the parents who determines what is good for the child? These are questions which need to be considered in executing these articles in the local communities in Ghana. Participation is way for the child to exhibit his or her sense of belonging and act in his or her best interest to get involved in societal roles. Then, the society may not see any wrong for a child who see the need to work which will help him or her meet the basic needs. It is an act of agency being exhibited by the child. Some children may choose to work and learn trade which make them feel proud of being part of the society they live in. In relation to theory of interpretive reproduction, the child sees what goes on in the locality and tries to participate to help save his or her situation. Some children may combine school and work successfully. They can participate in these two settings in a manner they can and manage it well. For children's involvement in child labour to be defined as work, schooling is also a work to some children. As Abebe and Bessell (2011) agreed, for many children, school itself is work and not a particularly pleasant form of work at that.

In a collective society like Ghanaian communities, children are important members of the community and based on maturity and capability they can perform task required by the community. Liebel and Saadi (2012) stated, "in many majority world societies, however, children are viewed as integral members of the community who may be endowed with specific capabilities, but that need not be rigidly separated from the adult members and their activities and practices" (P. 169). Depending on their capabilities (which are not necessarily assessed by chronological age), it is either expected of children or at their discretion to take over specific tasks which are important for the community (ibid). Economic activities can be one of these tasks. So, while the UNCRC define participation by allowing the child to do talking and engaging in decision making, the local communities cherished the child participation by engaging in the activities of the society as a way of socialisation. The version of participation in some local communities in Ghana mirrors the article 31 of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). The article 31 of ACRWC states "Children have responsibilities towards their families and societies, to respect their parents, superiors and elders, to preserve and strengthen African cultural values in their relation with other members

of their communities". That is, the child has some responsibilities and duties to perform for his or her parents and the society. This kind of responsibilities can also be seen as the child participating in the activities of the family and the community at large. This is in variance with what the UNCRC contains which gives the child rights without any responsibilities. Children's involvement in vital economic activities are not excluded from the definition of participation by some communities. Lolichen (2009) gives an account of participation from a collective society as follows:

"Children participate in numerous arenas, such as the home, school, workplace and community in various capacities. As members of these units, they are involved in its functions and activities. This is a part of the socialization process of children, and each home, school, workplace or community based on its social and cultural setting defines the nature and scope of this participation" (Liebel and Saadi, 2012, p. 170).

In most cases, this kind of participation does not really cherish the child's capability to influence decision making. Children are asked more of doing than talking, which brings the discrepancies between the definition of participation by the UNCRC/ global idealised childhood and the local communities in Ghana.

5.3.1.4. Perception of people about education and its quality

Education seen as the key to success is not cherished by some parents and adults due to varied reasons. One leading factor is the rate of unemployment, which is prevalent in Ghana, especially in the rural community. Parents do not see the need to spend much on their ward's education and end up unemployed. As illustrated in researches, education is linked directly to employment so any deviation from that is disappointing to the people. People prefer to engage their children in farming than getting them enrolled in school. As some parents echoed the school ends our children being jobless but the farm and other work the child engage in equip the child with skills for betterment of his or her life.

Long distance to school in rural communities discourage parents from enrolling their children in school. The stress and risk involved in walking for long distance to nearby school does not motivate the children to have enthusiasm in schooling. Kissi's (2018) study in the rural communities in Ghana testify this. He concluded "the long distance between schools and residences in many rural communities also contributes to child labour because it is easier for children to work on a nearby farm than it is to attend school" (Kissi, 2018, p. 60). He documented an interview with a parent which says:

"I don't see why I should enrol my child in school if the school is far apart from my community. How does the government expect our children to get to school? Our farms are just around the community, so we can just as well train our children to be farmers" (Kissi, 2018, p. 60).

Parents can use this to withdraw their children out of the school and get them work on their farm and even farms of their neighbours. Inaccessibility and decline in the quality of the education system is the result of this in the Ghanaian community. Pearce (2009) and ILO and UCW (2010) endorse that "educational sector challenges such as inaccessibility to schools and inadequate teachers have a strong relationship with children's involvement in child labour" (cited in, Kissi 2018, p. 60).

5.3.2. Relating Globalisation to Challenges in Implementation of the Policies and Laws

Globalisation as a means to define perfect childhood and what constitute that plays a major role when government and agencies try to implement policies and legal framework. Globalization has many implications for children's lives, their involvement in work, and the ways in which we think about these issues (Ben 1996). The homogeneity of ideas about what is seen as a perfect childhood and what is not are embedded in the concept of globalisation, which inform policies and ideas of nations around the world. The quest of the world to be a global village propel development actors of states to suit their agenda to what international standard demands. As Ben stated:

"This process of course began a long time ago: it is reflected in the ILO Convention (No. 5 of 1919) on the Minimum Age for Admission of Children to Industrial Employment. Since that Convention, child labour legislation in most countries has generally been a response not to local conditions and pressures, but to international pressures and global standard-setting" (p.831).

This kind of ideas may be in variance with what the local people hold onto as their beliefs and practices. The social cultural practices and economic situations around the world differ. Issues with economic realities in local communities in Ghana differ from many advanced countries. These kind of economic situations can be a blockage in implementing structures to curb child labour which result in tension and friction between the society and the development actors.

There is one common economic reality problem which was documented in almost all the findings from the secondary data which is one of the major factors in the prevalence of child labour in Ghana. That is poverty. Poverty is a prevalent phenomenon which was found to be present in many of the Ghanaian communities according to the secondary data used in this study. Since the social protection needed to help the poor households to meet their means is not well rolled out to the reach of many, vulnerable children who are from poor homes will definitely fend for themselves. This is not a justification of child labour; rather a way to comprehend the situation of the child to engage in economic activities.

This can also be seen from the previous chapter in the study. Poverty makes people unable to access basic necessities in life. It is one of the major forces that put children to labour. In a situation where there is no help to take care of the child, he or she will need to be self-employed or someone to employ him or her. The weakness of the welfare and economic structure of the Ghanaian economy do not provide enough support for the vulnerable population. There are not much proper safety measures to save the lives of the poor households. The insufficient economic safety policies in Ghana have a lot of loopholes which make the policies ineffective. This can be termed as "**loopholes economic safety net**". The policies implemented for the purpose of helping the poor is not yielding the expected results according to research done.

5.3.3. Conceptualisation of Loopholes Economic Safety Net (LESN)

The concept of 'loopholes economic safety net' describes poverty alleviation measures in Ghana as a fishing net designed and thrown to capture the people and save them from economic shock and hardship. This concept is built upon the work Abane (2017) did on the "Of Safety Ropes, Nets, Ladders and Trampolines: Exploring the Politics of Implementation of

the Livelihoods Empowerment against Poverty in the Central Region of Ghana". Her study was concentrated on the quest by the Government of Ghana to provide social protection to poor and vulnerable groups. Yet the conception, selection of recipients and disbursement of support systems have sometimes been compromised for political gains (Abane, 2017, p. 9). So, the very safety net established to help the people in Ghana economically, according to Abane, are not functioning properly. The economic safety net used in this study is the policies and programmes meant for alleviating poverty and to help vulnerable groups. A safety net should not have holes but this has loopholes and the holes are of the same size for the strong and weak. The holes in the net will facilitate the weaker and vulnerable ones to slip easily out of the net like fingerings which slip through fishing net with wider holes in fish hunting. Both the poor and the higher income earners struggle in the same safety net which results in inequality, and the poor becoming poorest.

Though measures to combat poverty like LEAP has been established, it is not enough to make beneficiaries meet their daily basic needs. In the quest to stop children from labouring on the street, there is no proper welfare system to cater for them. The mere fact of providing them with free uniforms, books and shoes to help them enrol in school do not solve the financial challenges the children and the family face. If there is no sustainable credit market for parents to access, they may not regard any child protection laws and will argue their actions based on the economic hardship. This creates a tension between what the laws and policies stipulate and the reality the locals face in their respective communities.

The concern with livelihood insecurity and the even riskier coping mechanisms that sometimes leave households worst off has generated a discourse on social protection as safety ropes, nets, ladders and trampolines to manage such risks (Abane, 2017). Social protection policies are established to ensure redistribution of wealth and help poverty driven families not be sunk in severe hardship. This a way to trap the people in a secure trampoline for them to climb the economic ladder with ease. This is not the case in Ghana where the policies like LEAP which are supposed to be the safety net are saddled with unnecessary political games. This assertion was typified by Abane (2017), political parties in the country as elsewhere have their support base and they see it very important to ensure that these bases get their fair share of development and social protection schemes. LEAP and social protection programmes generally are linked to the electoral fortunes of political parties (Abane 2017). With this kind of practise, the poverty driven societies will always have issues with the government regarding policies to stop children from working. Loopholes economic safety net (LESN) is a relevant concept to this study in the sense that it gives a pictorial representation of the reality on the ground. It shows how fragile the poverty alleviation policies are and the economic difficulties people go through of which there is no enough support from the state to aid the populace. It is the continuation of Abane's work which brought up the concept of LESN. It is through this study that this new concept emerged.

5.4. Chapter Conclusion

The attempt by the GoG to implement laws and policies to mitigate child labour, there are many obstacles which make this course difficult to be achieved. Many factors contribute to the impediment to make the laws and policies effective to curb children's engagement in economic activities in Ghana. This chapter explored through research what are some of the challenges in implementing the laws and policies. In the first section, some of the challenges

in implementing laws and policies documented in different researches were presented and discussed.

For better illumination of the challenges which create tensions between the society and the laws and policies, the challenges or findings were categorised into four themes in the second section. The themes are; cultural dominance of the society versus legal framework and policies, the economic and financial capability of the people, the concept of participation in the UNCRC versus the practise of child labour in Ghanaian communities and the perception of the people about education and its quality. This themes help to clarify what bring the tensions. Also, the concept of globalisation was related to the challenges as a way to contextualised how global policies and laws sometimes contradicts with the lives of the local people in the Ghanaian communities. This is because, the means to livelihoods of people in different parts of the world vary. Poverty was mention and discuss as one of the main reasons the laws and policies to curb child labour in Ghana do not materialised due to insufficient economic safety policies implemented to support the vulnerable. The further discussion of poverty and insufficient economic safety policies in this chapter helped the concept of LESN to be emerged.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This is the final chapter of the study. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section summarises the study and its findings, the second section gives recommendations to inform government and other institutions for law and policy implementation. Also, it is meant to be a starting point and inform researchers for further study on the subject. The third section presents the conclusion based on the findings of the study and the recommendations made.

6.2. Summary

The study sought to find out how Ghanaians practised and understand child labour and the challenges in implementing policies and programmes to combat it base on research done by other scholars on the subject. These are the key findings in the study:

- Research has it that, child labour is well known by many children in the Ghanaian community through activities like social clubs formed in schools.
- In the Ghanaian community, parents and guardians mostly decide what their wards are supposed to do. This makes some children to be forced to engage in child labour.
- Child labour is considered as a usual practice and healthy to the proper upbringing of the child which conforms to the societal norms. Children working on family farms and with family enterprises and farms of family friends are seen as part of the process by which they are trained towards adulthood.
- Socialisation and socio-cultural practices are some of the reasons children engage in economic activities in the Ghanaian communities. The practice of children engagement in labour is placed in the context of social cultural practices, especially, in the rural areas.
- Parents being unemployed is also a factor which justifies children to engage in labour to supplement family's income. Parents in this situation demand the labour of mostly the eldest children to help the financial stability of the family.
- Children being a cheap source of labour contributes to the prevalence of child labour in the Ghanaian communities. Some parents resort to their children when they are in need of labour instead of hiring someone which they see it as expensive.
- Some children work to cater for their basic and other educational needs. Children who have no one to take care of them have no means than working to earn income for their basic necessities and even for their education.
- The study found out that many children who work are from single parenthood's households where there is a weak financial background.
- Poverty is one of the main causes of child labour. Many children who work are from poor households.
- Unemployment after being graduated from school makes parents to get their children enrol in labour at a tender age. That is, the increase in disconnection between education and employment makes many children to enter economic activities instead of schooling.

- Inaccessibility to school in rural areas contributes to child labour. Long distance to school in the rural communities discourage parents from enrolling their children in school.
- Poor educational infrastructure and decline in quality in education make many parents not to get their children in school.
- Corruption and nepotism makes it difficult to implement the laws and policies to mitigate child labour. Personnel of some of the institutions responsible for enforcing the laws to mitigate child labour compromise with offenders.
- The community resort to using family issues in solving child related issues instead of reporting it to the appropriate quarters or institutions.
- Insufficient resources of institutions like Department of social welfare makes them ineffective in discharging their duties.
- Ignorance of the law by the people is also a big challenge in fighting child labour. Many people do not care about what the law requires children to do and not to do.
- Social interventions policies being implemented in Ghana have not been fruitful in achieving their expected objectives or agenda.
- Implementation of international laws and policies are mostly in variance with the beliefs and cultural practices of the local people.
- There is a discrepancy between what the definition of participation by UNCRC means and what is meant by participation of children by the local communities in Ghana.

6.3. Recommendations

The recommendations are in relation to what were revealed in the findings. These are to inform policy makers and to serve as a springboard for future researchers on the subject. Some of the important areas that need to be looked at way to address employment in Ghana, quality education, socio-cultural practices and the laws against child labour, accessibility to school, enforcement of the law, child care issues being addressed by appropriate institutions and social policy interventions. In this regard, the following recommendations are made:

- **Provision of educational infrastructure**
Many of the research justifies poor educational amenities and, also, far distance to the reach of people. Provision of educational infrastructure in the rural areas should be one of the priorities of the government. If the infrastructure are well established, it will attract children to retain in school; which in the long run can help curb exploitation of children through their engagement in economic activities. This will make it easy for the people to have access to education than walking for a far distance. Parent will also have not enough excuse to justify their ward being engage in economic activities than schooling.
- **Creation of awareness of the health implications**
Parents, guardians and the children should be oriented on the health implications of certain type of work the children do. Some of the job is difficult for such tender age and can harm the children in many ways both physically and mentally. For instance, work in the mining sector is dangerous for the children per their experience, age and maturity. Psychologically, some children feel inferior among their peers because of certain types of work they engage in.
- **Ways to address the disconnection between education and employment**

There should be measures to address the gap between education and unemployment. The expectation of the people is for one to have a job after schooling. This mentality makes many parents not to enrol their wards in school, and prefer to get them early entry to economic activities. Development actors should improve skill developing educational models to equip the people with the needed knowledge and skills needed in the job market. Development of technical and vocational education will help to equip the people with such skills. There is the need to make technical and vocational education attractive to lure both parents and their wards. Also, it will be prudent to help people change the mentality of being employed right after school. Education is a way to impart knowledge and skills unto people. The knowledge gained can be used in diverse ways, for instance, establishing one owns enterprise or other institution. This can be achieved through the teaching of entrepreneurial skills in schools and even an outreach in various homes.

- **Proper implementation of poverty alleviation policies**

There has been some social interventions to reduce the poverty rate of the people by the Government of Ghana. These are not enough and even not achieving the expected results. It has been shown in the study that poverty is one of the main causes of child labour in the Ghanaian communities. If the parents and guardians are financially sound, it will be difficult to seek the labour of their wards to supplement family income. Any policy to aim at alleviating poverty should be devoid of partisan politics, corruption and nepotism. The need of the people should be the basis for formulating such policies.

- **An effective social welfare system**

It is the duty of the government to ensure that the citizens of the country have a good standard of living. A proper and effective social welfare system will seek the betterment of each and every individual; which children are not excluded. If a good social support like child welfare is in place, it will help authorities to do a regular check of the well-being of children, which can help to prevent any exploitation. This makes it possible for the government to have a say in the best way to up bring the child. An effective welfare system will also help to take child care issues to the appropriate headquarters for it to be addressed.

- **Enforcement of the law**

For any law to be effective and achieve what it is meant for, law enforcement agencies must enforce it without compromising. This can be achieved when there is the absence of favouritism and nepotism, and strengthening of the legal framework to curb the occurrence of child labour. Offenders must be punished to serve as a deterrent to others.

- **Sufficient funds to institutions**

It is difficult for any institution to function properly if it is under-resourced. Institution like Department of Social Welfare is to be well funded to undertake its core mandate. The appropriate bodies responsible to handle child related issues are not being able to do so due the fact that they under-resourced. It is the responsibility of the Government of Ghana to seek funds for such institutions.

- **A well-discussed international laws before their implementation**

In today's globalised world, many countries try to conform to the norms of the international standard. In doing so, there is the possibility of being conflicted with the norms and practices of the local people. A broader consultation is necessary for implementation of international laws and policies which take into consideration the needs of the local people.

- **Improvement of the economy of the rural communities**

The people in the rural communities need to be empowered economically to reduce resorting to their children as source of cheap labour. The government and NGO's can help the people with modern farming method to reduce the use of man-power. Proper marketing strategies should be in place to place value on farm produce. This will help the people to earn something reasonable to cater for their family. Another way of helping the people economically is the availability of credit facilities to grants loans and aids to ease them of economic hardship.

- **Dedication on the part of the Ghanaian people**

It takes the will of the people to help fight child labour. If the legal frameworks and policies against child labour are to be effective, it demands the efforts of the people to help this course. People who justifies the occurrence of child labour base on social cultural practices should also consider the current trends in the globalised world, for the children not to be left behind. A blend of the practices of the local people and the positive influence from outside can help develop the child holistically to compete in the competitive world. It does not take one person or the institutions alone to solve the prevalence of child labour in the Ghanaian communities.

6.4. Conclusion

The study looks at the prevalence of child labour in the Ghanaian communities according to research. A case study into how Ghanaians perceive and practice child labour, and the challenges in implementing policies and programmes to curb its occurrences. Various articles, journals and research works were reviewed to identify the global view of child labour, definition of concepts, the economic activities Ghanaians engage in, legal frameworks and policies to mitigate child labour, how persistent child labour is in Ghana, how do Ghanaians understand child labour and the challenges in implementing laws and policies to curb this phenomenon. Interpretive reproduction is the social constructionist theory that underpin the study. The study was based on only secondary data to help develop a case about child labour in Ghana, and cultural relative and tensions are the analytical approach that were used to analyse the findings.

The findings revealed that, many children in the Ghanaian community are aware of the persistence of child labour and some parents demands the labour of their children to help sustain the family income. One of the main causes of child labour that was evident in many study was poverty. Poverty makes many child engage in all sorts of economic activities due to fragile social protection policies in Ghana. The policies meant to alleviate poverty are not giving the expected results. They are very weak and was termed in this study as "**loopholes economic safety net**". It was also found out

that, law enforcement agencies compromise with offenders of the law which makes the legal framework against the phenomenon not to be effective.

Several policy recommendations were suggested to help solve the issue of child labour in the Ghanaian communities. These recommendations are also meant to inform future researchers on the phenomenon and to serve as a springboard about where they can commence their study from.

Child labour is a contested phenomenon which needs a broad inter-sectorial cohesiveness in solving it. In Ghana, child labour is a complex practice as in other developing countries that must be tackled in a coordinated manner on a cross-sectorial basis (Kissi, 2018, p.64). A change is possibility in every society, but such change should be meaningful to the people of the society and be done in gradual process. There is also the need for people to have the will on how best they can help the children have knowledge and skills to compete with others. No one lives in isolation, each and every one depends on the other, especially, in this 21st century globalised world. As Kissi (2018) said, "there is also the need for a framework of dialoguing which is intended to change attitudes" (p. 64). A change in attitude and an amendment in old ways to blend with modern era can help to give the children the best that is demanded in the world.

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