

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF CHILD LABOUR IN FISHING
COMMUNITIES OF CAPE COAST METROPOLIS: IMPLICATIONS FOR
POLICY AND SCHOOL COUNSELLING

NYUIEMEDI AMA AGORDZO

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POLICY AND SCHOOL COUNSELLING

BY

NYUIEMEDI AMA AGORDZO

Thesis Submitted to the Department of Educational Foundations of the Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for award of Master of Philosophy Degree in Guidance and Counselling.

FEBRUARY 2011

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Nyuiemedi Ama Agordzo

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Dr. Henry Fram Akplu

Co- Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Dr. (Mrs) Linda Dzama Forde

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study, using the grounded theory method in data collection and analysis, explored the socio-cultural context of child labour in fishing communities of Cape Coast Metropolis based on the lived experiences reported by 10 purposively and theoretically selected basic school students who engaged in child labour activities from two schools in fishing communities of the Cape Coast Metropolis.

Six research questions guided the study. The trustworthiness of the data was grounded in the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were held and inductive data analysis was used based on Strauss and Corbin's (1990) paradigm model developed to guide grounded theory research analysis. The open, axial, and selective coding procedures were used to break and synthesise data.

The study identified four defining characteristics which may be used in defining "child labour". It found that factors that triggered off the experiences of child labour may be categorised as "push" and "pull" factors.. It was found that while anxiety and fear, abuse and relationship with fathers and friends were some barriers that constrained the child labour activities of participants, relationship with mothers, and school authorities were generally supportive. The study concluded that child labour, if managed properly, can impact positively on child labourers' educational, and personal-social lives. Implications for school counselling, policy and theoretical value of the study were also addressed as issues of recommendations.

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father, Togbe Manfred Kwasi Agordzo: for your care, love, encouragement, vision and confidence: *Nyuiemedi a5ee; Nyuiemedi, mekp4e.*

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The menace of child labour today occupies an important place as a subject of concern in the public consciousness (Donnellan, 2002; International Labour Organisation [ILO], 2004a; Ray, 1999b). Concerned international institutions such as the ILO, the United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF), and the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) have researched and are still researching into child labour issues (Schlemmer, 2000). Internationally, there have been demonstrations, conferences, newspaper articles and special reports in periodicals on the subject (Schlemmer, 2000). Donnellan (2002) quoted Article 32 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) as stating among other things that:

State parties recognise 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 (p.1).

Child labour has been a serious problem worldwide. In recent times, many countries all over the world have recognised the need for the protection,

development and survival of children. Soon after the colonial era, according to Schlemmer (2000), many countries evolved some principles that demanded that children be given some specific attention. Brazil, for instance, in its bid to redemocratised the country in 1990, passed the Children and Adolescents Act. This Act defined the tenets of full protection for children and adolescents. It dealt with:

The rights to work and employment; the prohibition of labour under the age of 14...; prohibition of overly heavy work; long hours of working or unhealthy conditions likely to jeopardise school attendance (Schlemmer, 2000, p. 127).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1986 sought, among other things, “to protect the rights of the child” (Schlemmer, 2000, p.127). Other major international instruments working to eliminate child labour include: The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights enforced in 1976 which declared a compulsory free primary education for all children (Gustavsson & Segal, 1994). Still on the international front, the concern for the needs of children has increased and culminated in the need to recognise that children have rights and that these rights are similar to the rights of adults with regard to civil, political, social, cultural and economic issues (UNICEF, 1997).

Though numerous research findings are available worldwide on the issue of child labour (ILO, 2004a; UNICEF, 1997), the specific statistics of children involved in child labour activities are still uncertain. A rough estimate of the number of children between 5-14 years, who were employed according to an ILO survey, was pegged at 250 million globally. Out of this figure, 120

million were full time workers and were involved in work that was hazardous and exploitative (Donnellan, 2002; Ray, 1999b). The Courier (1998) reported that in India alone, about 90 million children, mostly girls, were engaged in child labour activities. According to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions [ICFTU] (2006) report on 15 June 1998, 75% of most under-age workers in China were girls who had not finished primary school. The ILO (2003) report also stated that in 2000, one in six children between the ages of five and 14 years were doing some form of work. Internationally, an overwhelming majority of child labourers are found in Asia, Africa, and Latin America (UNICEF, 1997).

In Africa, the tragedy of child labour is worrisome since majority of the internationally reported cases are from Africa. The ILO in 1992 conducted a research in Ghana and Senegal which revealed that Africa is one of the poorest continents in the world with ever increasing child labour figures. The UNICEF, ILO and the World Bank were also of the view that about 40% of West Africa's population lives below the poverty line due to the deteriorating economic situations and that this has led to a much bigger trade and use of children in particularly large plantation farms where there is high need for cheap and obedient labour (Donnellan, 2002).

UNICEF (1997) stated that cuts in social spending by governments have drastically affected education which is undeniably the most important tool in eradicating child labour. It also reported that in the 1990s, spending per student for higher education fell in all regions and spending per pupil also fell for primary education in Africa. UNICEF (1997) identified the problem of

increased child labour in Africa and attributed it to “lack of public investment in education...” (p. 26). The Courier (1998) stated that

...child workers are found primarily in ... Africa ... To help their families, the children have to work long hours as shoeshine boys, porters, cigarette sellers or scrap merchants left to their own devices in the street. If current trend continues, almost 60% of children in developing countries will be living in towns and cities by 2025 and over half of these will be poor (p.40).

On the realisation that child labour is dangerous and hazardous, the Ghanaian society has become more apprehensive about the employment of children into economic activities that may be hazardous and dangerous to health, education and development of the child. Having recognised the enormity of the problem, the Government of Ghana became the first African country in 1990 to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Articles 87 and 88 of The Children’s Act of Ghana (1998) clearly stated that “No person shall engage a child in exploitative labour” and that “Labour is exploitative of a child if it deprives the child of its health, education and development” (p. 27). The laws of Ghana, therefore, prohibit child labour. Though the law puts the minimum age for employment at 15 years, some children are expected to be in basic school even at age 19.

According to the Ghana Statistics Services ([GSS] 2003), figures show that about 1.27 million children between the ages of 5-17 years in the country were engaged in child labour activities. Donnellan (2002) stated that the US Chocolate Manufacturers’ Association (CMA) for example, has pledged to fight child labour in Cote d’Ivoire and Ghana which are the world’s leading

producers of cocoa. In effect, the world community, according to ILO (1996), is calling for an end to the intolerable: the persistent exploitation of children.

According to ILO (as cited in ICFTU, 2006), Ghana is one of West African countries with an increasing use of child labour including child slavery and child trafficking. The organisation further stated that Ghana is one main provider of child prostitutes and child domestic labourers to neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire. ILO revealed that child labour prevails in Ghana especially in the cocoa industry and that there was urgency for organised labour unions and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to work towards eliminating abusive child labour practices in cocoa cultivation and processing (afrol News, 30th October, 2006).

Child labour in insolvent fishing communities is used as coping mechanism to reduce poverty that, ironically, only seems to perpetuate the poverty cycle of the people where the type and level of education determines one's career placement (Golo, 2005). The significance of the fishing sector in research is due to the high incidence of child labour activities recorded in the field by several researchers and organisations (Danish International Development Agency [DANIDA] & Department for International Development [DFID], 2004; Haakonsen, 1992; Hersong, 1992; Le Sann, 1998).

Children are not adults. From birth through to adolescence, children depend on the care and protection of adults in order to survive. This dependency makes children vulnerable and places them at the mercy of adults (Gustavsson & Segal, 1994). The most evident act that has impacted on children's psychological status is abuse. The impact of abuse on children is

manifested in feelings of inferiority, helplessness, fear of sexual assault, poor school achievement and low self-esteem that lead to poor stimulation of physical and mental development (Alessandro, Raabe & Ursprung 2006; White, 2002). Ideally, the basic needs of children such as shelter, love, acceptance, clothing, access to basic education and health care are sometimes adequately provided by those adults in charge of them. However, an increasing number of children are not cared for properly and they suffer maltreatment from adults (Gustavsson & Segal, 1994).

Child labour, an aspect of child abuse, is of central concern to counsellors and other social welfare professionals in particular and the world at large. Maltreatment and the absence of proper care leave majority of children to engage in child labour activities which are dangerous to their development. This line of action as a means to survival is most often not a choice but a necessity. Child labour as a cause of social canker has debilitating negative impact on the education and personal-social lives of its victims and the society.

Majority of children who are completely denied education as a result of child labour are disposed of as a matter of urgency, as soon as their services are no longer needed during their adulthood. This leaves a large number of the children to face social exclusion when they grow into adulthood without trade or marketable skills. Thus, child labour is a vicious cycle. It is both a cause and a consequence of poverty (Cunningham & Viazzo, 1996; ILO, 2004a). Thus, apart from child labour being a crime against children and a violation of the rights of children, the practice is destructive and perpetuates the vulnerability and instability of poor communities (Golo, 2005).

According to Skowron (2004), there has been a growing interest in the theories and practice of family systems therapy in the field of counselling. Family systems theorists such as Bowen, Kerr and Minuchin, (as cited by Skowron, 2004) defined persons as “individuals who see themselves and function not in isolation, but rather in the context of significant relationships with family, friends, and loved ones (p. 447)”. In an attempt to explain individual functioning from a systemic perspective, Bowen is cited by Skowron as theorising that “both the capacity for autonomy and emotional connection are necessary for maturity and optimal development” (p. 447).

Human beings have both the personal and social relationships. Jean Paul Sartre (as cited by Clos, 2000) suggested that on the personal level, individuals and for that matter children, need the capacity to regulate their emotions, engage in thoughtful examination of situations, and experience comfort with themselves and to take “I” positions in relationships in their *eigenwelt*. Socially, children value intimacy and connection with others. In social contexts, the experiences of events in individual person’s life interrelate coherently and meaningfully within the larger social units. This implies therefore that the meaning and interpretation of an event is basically planted in the context of the people and their culture. Bowen (as cited by Skowron, 2004) contends that individuals with poor relationships are emotionally reactive; they find it very difficult to remain calm in response to the emotionality of others.

Kenny and Perez (as cited by Skowron, 2004) found that “parental attachment characterised by both the experience of positive affection and sufficient support for autonomy predicted fewer psychological symptoms in

African ... students” (p. 449). Smith and Krohn (as cited by Skowron, 2004) stated that “secure parent-child attachment and support for identity corresponded with lower risk of delinquency among African American ...late adolescents from low socioeconomic status” (p. 448). Carter and McGoldrick (as cited in Skowron, 2004) argued that there is increase in the emotional connectedness and social inclusiveness of individuals by developing a personal relationship with every member of the family. With this, there is no doubt that a child’s personal-social and academic capabilities rely heavily upon the emotional connectedness drawn from significant others in the family and these are of great importance to his or her development if he or she is to do well in future.

The main concern of this study, therefore, is to understand the socio-cultural contexts of child labour in fishing communities in Cape Coast.

Statement of the Problem

Many research findings have confirmed the degrading and destructive nature of child labour (ILO, 2003; UNICEF, 1997). Both national and international newspaper articles, reports and workshops over the years have revealed an index of child labour cases especially on the African continent and for that matter, Ghana. According to Schlemmer (2000), child labour is seen as a problem whose current magnitude is a mere epiphenomenon of a passing economic crisis, something about which little can be done and which, although naturally worth the odd burst of moral outrage, it is a job best left for the activists and NGOs.

Despite the fact that there is a large and growing literature on child labour, few studies have been conducted on child labour in fishing

communities specifically in Cape Coast Metropolis of the Central Region of Ghana. Though it has often been assumed that child labour is detrimental, the socio-cultural context of child labour of students who actively engaged in child labour in fishing communities in Cape Coast is yet to be tapped in a qualitative manner. In a research conducted by Golo (2005) on the fishing sector along the Volta Lake, he concerned himself with the link between poverty and one of the worst forms of child labour - child trafficking. Golo's study revealed that poverty had exacerbated cultural practices of child placement. He also stated that combating child trafficking based solely on the UN norms could fall short of their objectives if factors related to poverty and vulnerability are not taken into consideration. The study was however, silent on the core of the problem: social and cultural contexts that mostly give rise to the problem. Another study conducted by Agyei-Bieni (2003) on "Child labour and education among children from the fishing communities of Winneba" revealed, among other things, that poverty, large family sizes and distance from school were the main causes of child labour. It was, however, not concerned about.

The lives of Ghanaian children who engage in child labour would continue to be destroyed if parents, school officials and the community were not fully informed and equipped with the knowledge on the socio-cultural logics that underpin the incidence of child labour and its negative impact on the children. The challenge facing researchers and NGOs in the field could be solved if qualitative approach is employed to get to the core of the problem: to see, feel and understand the child labour as it is experienced by the participants themselves. It is then and only then that significant others would

be able to apply proper helping strategies and put logistics in place in arriving at an almost permanent solution to the problem. It is then that the loss of many opportunities and debilitating situations that children who experience child labour go through would be eliminated in order to ensure their good performance in school and secure a future success; where their education would help find a good place in the world of work during adulthood and they would be well off in life.

Purpose of the Study

The principal intent of this study of the socio-cultural context of child labour in fishing communities was to:

1. explore the lived experiences of children engaged in child labour.
2. identify the specific factors that contribute to the phenomenon of child labour.
3. describe the various forms of child labour.
4. explore critical influences of child labour on the personal-social lives, education, and career aspirations of child labourers.
5. suggest appropriate counselling services that could assist school counsellors and policy makers to better understand and manage child labourers.

Research Questions

The following research questions were used to guide the study.

1. What specific factors contribute to the phenomenon of child labour in fishing communities?

2. What is the nature of the child labour experiences that child labourers in basic schools in fishing communities report?
3. How does child labour impact the personal-social lives of child labourers?
4. How does child labour affect the educational and career aspirations of child labourers?
5. What strategies did these child labourers employ in managing their child labour conditions while in school?
6. What positive effects of child labour did these child labourers report?

Significance of the Study

This research aims at unearthing the socio-cultural background that induces and promotes the phenomenon of child labour and its continuance in our society, and to create awareness among children, parents, school heads and community leaders on the impact of child labour on education, and personal-social lives of school children using the qualitative approach in both data collection and analysis. The study seeks to describe the meanings of the 'lived' experiences of child labourers themselves. The findings should also provide an in-depth understanding of the concerns and special needs of child labourers in schools to school counsellors, teachers and school heads, and policy makers. Such knowledge, it was hoped, would better position them to respond more appropriately to the educational and personal-social needs of child labourers in the school environment. The results should also create awareness on the need for the establishment of counselling programmes for all stakeholders in the educational system: parents, teachers, school heads, social

workers, community leaders, church leaders and NGOs. It would also help policy makers to re-design children policies to address the core problems of child labour. It was hoped that these people and organisations would be better informed on the counselling needs of child labourers and how to help them stay in school to participate fully in school activities to realise their academic dreams and bolster the intra-personal and inter-personal relationships of these child labourers in the school system and the community for them to live and develop their full potentials.

Delimitation of the Study

The research was confined to child labourers who were in school in fishing communities of the Cape Coast Metropolis. The participants were Junior High School (JHS) students from two selected public schools situated along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean in the Metropolis. Since the research was limited to children of basic school, the findings did not cover pupils in private JHS and child workers who were not in school. Again, the scope of the study was limited to issues on the understanding of the socio-cultural context of child labour and its impact on educational, personal-social lives of students. It also sought to draw the line between child labour and child work in the family system. Again, this study did not attempt to generalise findings but to identify issues that may form the basis of large scale quantitative studies.

Limitations of the Study

The findings in this study are subject to certain limitations inherent in the nature of the problem investigated. The role of language as a form of

meaning-generation is very essential to the qualitative data collection procedure as it affords one to “appreciate the subtleties of the culture of the people under study” (Agordzo, 1998, p. 11). In attempting to collect qualitative data that would be translated and transcribed, care must be taken not to lose the relevant context and disturb the local flavour of the data. However, there were some problems with translating the Research Questions from English to Ewe and then translating the data from Ewe to English. Again, there were some problems in capturing the true words/terms for certain concepts used during the data collection process and in such instances, the words in their original usage were maintained and explained in English near true exactness as used in Ewe. Other problems regarding translation were getting translators and the cost involved.

Although efforts were made toward maximum variation, the small sample size shows limited diversity of ethnicity and gender. The essential purpose of grounded theory inquiry is to reveal new information and formulate theory and not to produce a widely representative sample. As a result, the findings have limited transferability beyond similar demographic, geographic, and organizational contexts.

Definition of Terms

It is important to discuss certain working definitional issues as applicable in the context of this study. The following terms were used in this study as defined in this section.

Child: refers to children under the age of 19 years who are still in basic school.

Child labour: refers to employment or any economic activity carried out by children up to 19 years that negatively affects their health and is physically and psychologically detrimental to the child's optimum development and interferes with his/ her education.

Child work: This refers to any activity that a child performs for the family that is not harmful to his/ her health and development, and does not interfere with school work or does not prevent the child from attending school.

Child labourer/ child worker: these in this study refer to children up to 19 years who had engaged in any economic activity at the time of the study to earn some money.

Exploitative labour: Work that is done by children under the minimum age for admission to employment and which deprives the child of his/ her health, education or development.

Hazardous work: Work that poses danger to the health, safety or morals of a child. This includes work involving the production or use of chemicals, and work in places where there is a risk of exposure to immoral behaviour.

Worst forms of child labour: This involves children being enslaved, forcibly recruited, prostituted, trafficked, forced into illegal activities and exposed to hazardous work.

Impact: the extent to which a child is negatively affected or influenced by his or her engagement in performing certain jobs to earn money.

Coding: the process of analyzing data.

Properties: the characteristics of a category

Dimensions: the locations of properties along a continuum.

Organisation of the Rest of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. The preceding write-up to this point presents Chapter One. Chapter Two concerns itself with the review of related literature gleaned from the theoretical and empirical views on the concepts of child, child labour, causes and forms, children in fishing, distinction between child work and child labour, child labour and child schooling among others.

The rest of the research is organised as follows: Chapter Three discusses the tradition of inquiry and its related issues employed in the study such as the research design, data collection procedure, coding and analysis. Chapter Four contains results of the field data collected, its discussion, and drawing on the relationship between the interpretations and the literature review. The summary of the study including the principal findings, recommendations, implications for school counsellors and policy makers and suggestions for further research are presented in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Child labour is not a recent phenomenon. It has existed over the centuries not only in developing countries, but also in developed countries until recently when many countries have recognised the need for the protection, development and survival of children (Cunningham & Viazzo, 1996). The ever-growing concern on the destructive nature of child labour on children and society at large has drawn scholars from the academia, government agencies, NGOs and international organisations into the study of the phenomenon. “As practising child labour specialists are now beginning to realise this field requires a backbone of theoretical thought specific to this very issue and not one merely carried out on adult population” (Schlemmer 2000, p. 2). This chapter reviewed existing literature on the theoretical and empirical issues related to the concepts of child; child labour: forms, causes, effects and policies; personal-social development of children; and child labour versus child schooling. Literature is also reviewed on the differences in opinions regarding the distinction between child work that is work performed or service rendered by a child at home and activities that constitute child labour in the family system.

Conceptions of ‘Child’

The issue of who is a child has become a controversial one. The concept of ‘child’ varies from country to country and across cultures. Frones

(as cited by Golo, 2005, p.16) argues that, “there is not one childhood but many, formed at the intersection of different cultural, social and economic systems, natural and man-made physical environments...” From Fronese’s definition, it is clear that the concept of who a child is, largely depends upon the socio-cultural environment of the person. The world of childhood is regarded as a time of innocence to be protected from the brutal aggression of the real world; a period of latency during which a child needs shelter while growing up until he or she is finally ready to confront reality (Gustavsson & Segal, 1994). Gendreau (2000, p. 110) referred to The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 1959) which theorised that “a child is any human being aged less than eighteen years... and shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling...”. Gendreau was also of the view that “the child is perceived as a social object which, because of the supposed nature of its condition, is incapable of asserting itself and contributing to the community” (p. 116).

Whereas culturally, some regard all people who remain under their parents’ roof and authority, economically and socially as children regardless of their chronological age, O’Neil and Willoughly (2000), observed that abilities and maturities are also yardsticks for determining who a child is. Thus, the ability to perform or not to perform certain activities places some people in the category of children and others (regardless of their chronological age), in the category of adults. For instance, malnourished youth who are small and underweight and, therefore, unfit and incapable of certain adults’ works are perceived as children though they may be old in years (ILO, 2004a).

According to the ILO (2004a), a child is “a person under the age of 18 years.” Article one (1) of the UN declaration of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 stated, “a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (p. 8)” Again, Article 2 of the ILO’s 1999 Convention 182 stated that, “the term child applies to all persons under the age of 18”. The UNICEF (1997, p.9) report on the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child also stated that children are “people below the age of 18 years (Article 1) whose ‘best interest’ must be taken into account in all situations (Article 3).” The Children’s Act of Ghana 1998 stated that “a child is a person below the age of eighteen years (Article 1) whose best interest shall be paramount in any matter concerning a child (Article 2)” (, p.6). However, Lavallette (2000, p. 215) postulated that “*child* refers to anyone up until the end of compulsory schooling”. Bonnet (2000, p.186) also believed that “children have to stay put wherever an adult has placed them and they must conform to the status quo”. Morice (2000, p. 206), however, contended that “there is no such thing as a generalised ‘child’”.

From the variegated definitions, it is clear that there is not one definition or meaning to the concept ‘child’. There are, however, a number of meanings, which are sometimes contradictory, and of course, designed to satisfy certain socio-cultural interests. A child in the context of this study is a person up to the age of 19 and who is still in compulsory basic school.

The Nature of Child Labour

Studies revealed that the issue of child labour has some variations in definition (Donnellan, 2002; ILO/IPEC, 2004; Schlemmer, 2000). If it is true that the meaning of “child labour” varies from person to person and across cultures, then a number of questions arises. In the first place, since definitions are generalisations, can the term “child labour” really be defined? Secondly, on what basis does a person distinguish between child labour and child work at home? Finally, can child labour be defined in positive terms on the basis of a person’s subjective experience? It is on the bases of these that a clear-cut distinction between activities that negatively affect the child’s development and those that are seen as helping the child develop positively, must be made.

Various researchers defined labour variously. According to Donnellan (2002, p. 2), labour is a “physical or mental work especially of the hard or fatiguing kind.” Fukui (2000, p.118) defined labour in the broadest and most general sense as “any activity aimed directly or indirectly at earning a living”. It is, therefore, clear that labour is any activity, be it mental or physical that is performed by an individual to earn a living.

The issue is now used to imply the employment of children in hazardous and exploitative physical work that is detrimental to and interferes with their educational, health, moral, social and psychological development (Ducpetiaux, Le Grand and Villerme cited by Alessandro, 2000).

In Europe for example, the harmful industrial environments generated into parliamentary debates and surveys which culminated in the legislations for the protection of working children beginning with laws passed in England in 1802 then France in 1841. These laws were to establish fixed minimum

employment age, daily and weekly working hours, age-related restrictions on working nights and on public holidays, a ban on children's work in what were judged to be hazardous occupations, and a compulsory schooling age. One of the reasons for the founding of the ILO in 1919, was to regulate the employment of children in industries, and most importantly, to regulate commercial work. These include street trades, agricultural and household work. In 2000, about 211 million children constituting about 2%-29% of children of 5-14 years still engaged in economic activities or objectionable and condemnable forms of work (Cunningham & Viazzo, 1996).

Ghana has become appreciably aware of the growing employment and involvement of children especially in dangerous and hazardous economic activities that may be injurious to their health, education, or general development. The government has recognised the problem of working children and its adverse effects on the individual children and on the advancement of the nation as a whole. In view of this, Ghana was the first country to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child which was adopted at the end of the 1990 World Summit on Children (ILO/IPEC, 2004). UNICEF (1997) Convention stated among other things that child labour involves

... full time work at too early an age; too many hours spent working; work that exerts undue physical, social, and psychological stress; work and life on the street in bad conditions; inadequate pay; too much responsibility; work that hampers access to education; work that undermines children's dignity and self esteem, such as slavery or

bonded labour and sexual exploitation; and work that is detrimental to full social and psychological development. (p. 24).

Anker and Melkas (1996) defined child labour as encompassing monetary and unpaid activities which are mentally, physically, socially and morally hazardous to the child; work done by very young people that make schooling impossible. Study conducted by the Office of Child Abuse and Neglect (2006) revealed that child labour was associated with school dropout. It reported that 60% of the working children finished their elementary education, 52.1% worked to help their families, and 35% had low educational achievements. The study also revealed that 64% of the working children had illiterate fathers while 80% had illiterate mothers.

George (1979) viewed the problem of child labour from the sociological point of view. He believed that social conditionings which contribute to the occurrence of child labour are as a result of unsuccessful efforts to legitimately achieve societal goals especially as they relate to money and power which will help the individual to obtain material and social status. French (2002) found that child workers in Brazil have positive attitudes toward their jobs if their work provides them with autonomy and self-reliance.

The concept of child labour is again defined as work which does not take place under such relatively idyllic conditions. It is assumed to have a degree of economic compulsion associated with it and it involves a time and energy commitment which affects children's abilities to participate in leisure, play and educational activities, and that it impairs the health and development of children (Fyfe, 1989; Whittaker, 1986). These theorists argued that work cannot necessarily be termed child labour unless it detracts activities such as

leisure, play and the education of the child. From the propositions of both Fyfe and Whittaker child labour could be either good or bad depending on the social context in which the work takes place. This theory also leads to the assumption that there may be clear distinction between acceptable and unacceptable work for children. Child labour in this study is, therefore, paid and or unpaid activities carried on both inside and outside the family or naturally occurring jobs performed outside or under direct family control by children or persons who are still in basic school or have not reached their minimum statutory school leaving age and that the said activities place too much responsibility on the child.

Causes of Child Labour

Many issues are put forward as responsible for the occurrence of child labour. Notable amongst them are: poverty, war, and HIV and AIDS.

Poverty: A Key Agent

Poverty is one powerful force driving children into hazardous, debilitating labour in Africa. Due to poverty and inequity, many families compel their young children to engage in economic activities to support themselves and their families (Anker & Melkas, 1996). The extreme poverty suffered by many families as a result of lack of economic growth and the unfair distribution of the national income has also aggravated the problem of child labour. To survive, many poor families who can hardly boast of the provision of basic needs such as one meal a day, clothing and primary health care, seem to have no other choice than to send their children out to work.

Sending the children to school is, therefore, a dream; it is simply unaffordable (UNICEF, 1997). The majority of child labourers, therefore, give their entire earning or wages to their parents or care-givers (Donnellan, 2002). For this reason, children's work is regarded as very important in maintaining the economic level of the household (Donnellan, 2002; UNICEF, 1997). Schlemmer (2000) was also of the view that "children's labour is an integral part of the day-to-day family life for its important contribution to household revenues or in the housework which goes against the argument that their contribution might not be indispensable" (p.123).

According to a cross-sectoral study conducted by Hawamdeh and Spencer (2001), using a sample size of 135 children, high family poverty was common among the sampled children in addition to the high percentage of parental illiteracy and poor education. This is supported by the study conducted by Suryahadi, Priyambada and Sumarto (2005) which found that there is a strong link between child labour and poverty. Akabayashi and Psacharopoulos (1999) observed that child labour could also be as a result of financing education. It is a wide spread belief that many poor parents use the excuse of poor teaching and lack of job placements after completion of school to refuse sending their children to school or stop those who have started from continuing their education. Parents are unmotivated to send their children to school as they put it: teachers are teaching their children things of no useful value. Besides, parents bemoan the lack of job opportunity for many qualified young people who tend to loiter idly on the verge of delinquency.

On the contrary, a comparative study conducted in Peru and Pakistan (Ray, 1999a) revealed that poor household income was not a consideration for

children involvement in child labour. Yet, according to the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment of Ghana [MMYE] (2008), poverty is at the core of the child labour problem. Poor children are more vulnerable to the kind of exploitation that is found in child labour partly due to the economic hardships faced by poor households which often need the income earned by their children (UNICEF, 1997). Many under-privileged students fend for themselves and are found in tattered school uniforms, bare feet with no school bag and learning kit. Some children go to school without eating (Eshun, 2006). Eshun indicated that this situation was really putting an undue pressure on the children and also affecting their performance in school as they feel inferior to their colleagues. She further revealed that some children who engage in child labour have become truants and prostitutes roaming the streets and beaches in the Cape Coast Metropolis.

War and Child Labour

War is another fundamental cause of child labour in Africa. It is increasing at an alarming rate. UNICEF (1997) attributed the alarming rate at which child labour occurs in Africa to the so many political unrests on the continent. The devastating effects of wars leave many, especially children, homeless and or disabled. In conflict areas, children are kidnapped to serve as child soldiers and or sexual servants for adult soldiers. According to Donnellan (2002), The Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSUCS) in its 2001 global report estimated that about 300,000 children under the age of 18 fought in armed conflicts world-wide and that in many countries, both boys and girls are used as child soldiers.

Child labour and HIV and AIDS

Yet another cause of child labour on the continent is HIV and AIDS. The adverse effects of the numerous cases of HIV and AIDS pandemic on the African continent have left the vast majority of children orphans and destitute. The pandemic adds a new and tragic dimension to the problem of child labour in many countries around the world. Millions of children have been orphaned by the death of one or both parents from HIV and AIDS. These children are forced to fend for themselves and most often, their siblings at a very tender age. Many of these orphans find security in the households of relatives. Others however drop out of school and look for work to survive. A special burden is placed on girls who often have to provide care and household services for the entire family when a parent becomes ill or dies (Dhar & Joshi, 2010). Thus, the result of wars and HIV and AIDS leaves many industries to engage the services of children as the war and HIV and AIDS have deprived them of the adult working force (UNICEF, 1997).

An ILO sponsored study was conducted by IPEC (2002) on the reviews of policies and programmes to combat both HIV and AIDS and child labour in Tanzania, South Africa, and Zambia as well as the rapid assessment surveys on the impact of HIV and AIDS on child labour in these countries including Zimbabwe. The study confirmed that a number of linkages between child labour and the HIV and AIDS pandemic exist and that there was the need for a multi dimensional approach to address the issue. The study reported that though information on HIV and AIDS and child labour is available and good practices have been identified, “more complete information is badly

needed” on the topic (IPEC, 2002, p. 18). And that without better information, efficient policy and programme planning are compromised.

In 2008, ILO/IPEC designed and demonstrated a module on HIV and AIDS and child labour which used a creative participatory teaching methods in education meant to bring out positive social change in young people by increasing their awareness and understanding on health, gender, family and child labour issues (ILO/IPEC, 2008).

Forms of Child Labour

Child labour comes in different shapes and forms including forced or bonded labour, commercial sexual exploitation, domestic service, and fishery work.

Bonded Child Labour

Many of the forms of work that children perform all over the world are “forced” in the sense that children have been taught to accept whatever conditions of their lives without question or challenge. “Bonded child labour” is a term widely used for the virtual enslavement of children to work and repay debts owed by their parents or relatives (Donnellan, 2002; ILO, 1999). According to UNICEF (1997), in South Asia for example, children of about eight and nine years are often pledged by their parents to factory owners in exchange of small loans. However, their lifelong servitude never succeeds in even reducing the debt and the children who work like slaves in the name of debt bondage, never knew when their debt would be considered paid finally. In Brazil for example, forced labour is found in the charcoal-burning projects

of Minas Gerais and Bahia and also in the sugar cane producing estates of Espiritu Santo (UNICEF, 1997). In Ghana, the practice of “trokosi” is noticeable amongst the T4`us of the Eweland and the Adas in the Ga-land where young female virgins who are pledged to deities and in some ways, priests of shrines have been mistaken to mean working to repay the debts of their parents or relations. Of late, the issue of “trokosi” has been the subject of several controversial debates amongst civil rights activists and the media (Barker, 2009). And to this end, this topic is laid to rest in this study.

Commercial Sexual Exploitation

Commercial sexual exploitation is a worst form of child labour. Child prostitution is appalling to the sane in society. Children are especially powerless to refuse abuse by their employers, either as perpetrators or intermediaries. Most child employers often use sexual exploitation as a condition of safeguarding a child’s employment (Donnellan, 2002). Most of the sexually exploited children are between the ages of 13 and 18 although there is evidence of children younger than five years being exploited sexually as well. According to Donnellan (2002), UNICEF’s 1995 situational report on child trafficking and prostitution in Cambodia for instance, indicated that about half of the child prostitutes surveyed were either sold or deceived by someone they knew: 40% were sold by their parents and 15% were sold by relatives.

Domestic Child Labour

Domestic child labour dubbed “the world’s most forgotten children”, is the practice where children work as domestic helps in households that are not their own and undertake household chores such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of younger children, and running errands for promises of remuneration (Donnellan, 2002). Awake (1999), stated that it is an unfortunate situation because these children are deprived of affection, education, play and social activities. They are also vulnerable to physical, sexual and verbal abuse.

In Africa, and of course, Ghana as well, most middle class and upper class families engage children of poor families as young as 8 years as house helps as they are now called. In few instances, a paltry number of child labourers get the opportunity to go to school while in the service of their masters or mistresses but a monstrous number of them work long hours with very little or no opportunity for rest (Awake, 1999). Child domestic workers are the most forgotten, most difficult to see, and difficult to reach in terms of any assistance due to the close nature of their locations. These child workers are mostly girls who migrated from rural areas to urban centres either on their own, trafficked or through a relative (Anne, 2002) under the guise of bettering their lots in life.

Children in Fishing

According to research findings of the DANIDA/DFID (2004) and FAO (2002), the fishing sector has a large scale of unskilled labour employment. This is due to poverty and the nature of the sector which is labour intensive. The need for more hands coupled with lack of or little capital base, compels

fishermen to resort to labour that is less expensive and at the same time, helps sustain the work. The most available source of cheap labour then, is child labour. Because children are most vulnerable in society, they accept whatever is paid them. They hardly complain about their plight, they even accept to work when nothing is paid to them only some food and a place to sleep (ILO, 2004a). They do not have bargaining power neither do they have any bargaining certificate in order to have a fair deal let alone take part in any labour issue at any negotiating table so as to better their lots in life. They are even unaware of their rights; therefore, do not form associations that will fight for their conditions of service (Donnellan, 2002; UNICEF, 1997). As a result, “they are inevitably exploited and not remunerated for the work they do” (Donnellan, 2002, p.4). Very shocking, is the ILO’s report that “...in many countries, employers see children, including their own, as a cheap and uncomplaining source of labour even though many countries now have laws regulating the work of school-age children” (ILO, 2003, p.23-24). For instance, in Brazil one area which takes up a high proportion of child labourers is the “muro-ami” fishing where children spend between 12- 15 hours in the water as divers each day (ICFTU, 2006).

A study by ILO (2002) found that children who go fishing in the sea or lake are made to dive deep under the water to entangle nets or reset them. These working children are exposed to high atmospheric pressures that tend to rupture their eardrums. They are also at risk of drowning or being harmed by carnivorous and poisonous fishes. These children work without proper tools given them and with no protective clothing. They rise early and go to work in the damp and cold, often barefoot and inadequately clothed. Child workers in

the fishing sector risk developing chronic coughs or pneumonia (Fyfe & Jankanish, 1997).

Policy on Child Labour

Policies in support of children's welfare, advancement and development have been made the world over. However, these policies are most often ignored so blatantly by child employers to the surprise of many. According to UNICEF (1997) for example, research conducted in the fishing industry in fish freezing and processing unit in Quilon, Karala, found that nearly 20,000 children were employed and they normally worked from 4 pm. to 7 am. the following day even where there is a rule prohibiting child employment at night at factories. Myers (1991, p. 53) also revealed that despite "a plethora of protective legislation for child workers there exists a situation of total non-implementation or a blatant evasion of such legislative measures".

Human rights all over the world provide a common set of principles that tackle the many aspects of poverty and inequality. The terms of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which is generally accepted as the international standard for human rights, suggested that fundamental human rights are violated when life, liberty or security of a person is threatened or a person is sold into slavery (Articles 3 & 4). According to Gustavsson and Segal, (1994), the human rights set out in the Declaration of Human Rights and the International Legal Instrument of 1948 included the following that all humans have:

...the right to a standard of living adequately for health and well being

of the individual and his/ her family including food, water and housing and the right to continuous improvement of living conditions. The right to social protection in times of need... the right to work and to just and favourable conditions of work... The right to education and access to information ... freedom from slavery and servitude (p.4).

In Ghana, a number of laws and human rights declarations have been put in place over the last decade with the aim of realising the constitutional provisions and moral obligations for the protection of children from abuse and exploitation. This is to ensure that every boy and girl in Ghana has the right to education, health, and self- development, the ability to compete effectively on the labour market, as well as the ability and the opportunity to contribute to the prosperity of their households, communities and the nation as a whole in accordance with the law (Ghana Statistical Services, 2003). The constitution mandates some commissions such as the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC), Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) among others to formulate constitutional provisions that address the welfare of children in the country.

Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC)

Ghana took steps to establish and promote the welfare of children. In 1979, on the recommendations of an ad hoc committee, the GNCC was established to observe the International Year of the Child (ILO, 2004b).

In 1990 when Ghana ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the GNCC became the focal point for advocacy on all facets of

Convention on the Rights of the Child to promote the survival, development and protection of the child in accordance with the AFRC Decree 66, the 1992 Constitution, and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (ILO, 2004b).

In a follow-up development, National Plan of Action dubbed, “The Child Cannot Wait” was developed in 1992 to provide the critical policy framework, strategies and programmes to meeting the urgent needs of children. In 2001, Ghana Child Labour Survey (GCLS) conducted a survey with the assistance from ILO/IPEC/SIMPOC and stated that 2.47 million Ghanaian children between the ages of 5-17 which constitute nearly 40% of the age group were economically active out of which about 1.27 million engage in activities considered as child labour (UNICEF, 2001).

The GNCC, in 1998, presented a biennial report on the situation of children in Ghana as recommended by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 2001).

In line with the Convention on the Rights of the Child and other international conventions signed by Ghana, the GNCC set up an advisory committee with the aim of reviewing existing laws that affect children in the country. As part of the Law Reform, Parliament passed the Criminal Code Amendment Act and the Children’s Act in 1998 (UNICEF, 2001).

Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ)

According to ILO (2004b), the CHRAJ is one other powerful legal agency mandated to promote and protect fundamental human rights in Ghana. The Commission’s activities on the rights of children are carried out under

four main drives. These are: public education, complaints, resolution, counselling and supervision (ILO, 2004b).

Amongst the many responsibilities of the CHRAJ towards children, the Commission has set up Human Rights Clubs in some educational institutions in the country. It has handled several cases involving children's rights which cover a large spectrum of maintenance, neglect, abuse, abandonment, custody, intestate benefits, labour, paternity, forced marriage, refusal to patronise medical treatment on religious grounds and inhuman and degrading treatment of children (ILO, 2004b). The Commission also offered counselling to parties involved through referrals to other professional institutions such as the Department of Social Welfare (DSW), Federation of International Women Lawyers (FIDA), and the Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police Service (UNICEF, 2001).

Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU)

DOVVSU, formerly known as Women and Juvenile Unit (WAJU), was established on October 26, 1998 as a specialised unit of the Ghana Police Service to primarily seek to promote public support for the vulnerable groups in society such as women and children, and to ensure that they are protected against all forms of violence and abuse. The main tasks of this unit include investigation of all female and children related cases or offences, domestic and child abuse, juvenile offences and child delinquency, and prosecution of all offenders where necessary (UNICEF, 2001).

Child Work

Children have always worked. Generally, there has been recognition that children are incapable of fully undertaking adult workload. Work and service in this study are used interchangeably. That children are usually gradually introduced to work under the supervision of their parents is a truism. In the family system, children work as part of the family labour unit doing “children’s work” to help in the home’s economic building or stability. In majority of homes in the Western cultures, children perform duties such as distributing newspaper in the morning, work at the mines, factories and in the plantation farms. In the African context, we see children performing duties ranging from cleaning, cooking, selling farm produce, drawing water, smoking fish, packing fish, working on the farm, and washing clothes and plates, running errands before and or after school (Donnellan, 2002). Dodson (1999) was of the view that even though children are not listed as “working” in any household in the family, they are nonetheless seriously involved in work. They help to take care of the household by cooking and cleaning; they take care of the family’s livestock and watch over younger siblings, and assume many other responsibilities. Dodson again believed that children’s work is very essential and that they are an invisible labour force without whose help the adults would find it difficult to go out to work in wage-earning jobs.

Child Work versus Child Labour

According to Fukui (2000) it becomes very difficult to tell which of the activities that children undertake that constitutes assistance or service and which one constitutes labour considering the wide range of activities that

children undertake in the home. In a survey conducted in Brazil with data from National Domiciliary Sample Survey (PNAD) population for 1990, children were found in school where per capita income is twice the minimum working wage (Banpasirichote, 2000). The study revealed that the traditional role of children in the household economy has seen tremendous changes over the past decades. This is because the elements of work and working environment have changed from being part of a developmental process of work and community socialisation to one of economic exploitation. People have become more and more conscious of how children are used in the labour market and how they are affected by it. Indeed, it is highly believed that child labour has grown alongside industrialisation with the emergence of recruitment of children into the industrial sector (Banpasirichote, 2000).

The main issue with regard to child labour is based on the fact that there is problem with differentiating between child work and child labour (Bourdillon, 2000; Fyfe, 1989; Whittaker, 1986). According to Admassie

child labour is a complex phenomenon, which is deeply rooted in the tradition, culture, social and political economy of people. Child labour can range from any help provided by a child within a household, on the farm, to wage work (2000, p. 3).

Labour impact the development of a child in many ways and the extent to which this occurs is the key to determining how harmful it is or otherwise to the child's development. Whereas certain types of work or economic activities that children engage in would benefit or promote their physical, mental, moral, or socio- cultural development without interfering with their schooling, rest, and recreation; others are exploitative and destructive to their lives. To say

that work can be helpful to a child and his or her family is an understatement. Working and earning an income can be a positive and enjoyable experience in a child's developmental phase. This enjoyment, however, depends largely on the age of the child, the working conditions that the child has been exposed to, and more crucially, whether work prevents the child from going to school or not. With regard to the age of the child, work becomes detrimental when it is completely and sharply incompatible to the child's strength. This thwarts not only the child's physical development, but his or her psychological and social developments also (Ray, 1999b).

Hall (as cited by Furnham, 1999) observed that the key to resolving the conflicts between child work and child labour seems to lie in the fact that for an activity to qualify as work, it must be considered to be work by the individual carrying it out. One person's work may be another person's labour. This, points to the importance of the subjective experience of work. It is, therefore, imperative that we study work as "child work" and "child labour" in the life of a child rather than in general terms. What matters is not so much what the words "labour and work" describe objectively, but what meaning they carry to the person concerned with the reality described by the words.

More often than not, the tasks performed within the home to meet the most basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter and rest are also regarded as labour and mostly done by adults. Children usually assist in such tasks and when they do, they do so under adult guidance. This therefore leads to the areas of apprenticeship, informal education, and laying the foundation for socialisation in the future. It is, therefore, normal to find children working by helping their parents in the fields, lending a hand around the workshop,

running errands, starting to learn their trade alongside their parents and or their friends. Black (1994) also espoused the idea that where “education” is provided in the form of training for future life in and around the home by parents, children begin “work” in the form of performing household and farming chores, they often begin as soon as they can work. He was of the view that today millions of children are still raised in an environment where little or nothing is known about the distinction between child service to parents and child labour.

ILO has tried to make an unambiguous distinction between children working in socially and personally useful ways and child labour. It espoused those children working for pocket money, doing household chores, helping in the family business during holidays are child workers or children who provide services to their parents or care-givers in the family system. On the other hand, ILO posited that child labourers are children who are prematurely leading adult lives and working long hours for low wages, under conditions which are damaging to their health and to their physical or mental development (Black, 1994) and children whose working conditions should be regulated or eliminated. According to Schibotto and Cussianovitch (1994, p. 67-69) family ties masked the worse forms of child abuse such as “violence, aggression, exploitation, servitude, provision of cheap labour, exposure to risk and danger, and the temptation to go beyond the bounds of the law and join in criminal activities...”. This notwithstanding, they were of the view that many children have independent working life where they work in freedom and decide on when, where, and how to work.

Consequently, child labour and child work are variously looked at under diverse conditions and cultures. The case of child labour and child work is akin to the case of someone's meat is another's poison. In this vein, a child's work at home or in a family business may not take away his or her leisure, education and pose no danger to his development which is child service. But the performance of similar activities under different condition and culture may deny another child rest, leisure, education among others and pose detrimental challenges to his or her development and this equals child labour.

Personal-social Development of Children

Childhood represents a critical phase in each individual's development. It is a period in which humans develop patterns of behaviour that will have impact on the effectiveness of their behaviour and world view for the entire course of their lives (Feldman, 1989). According to Feldman, psychologists and philosophers "have long argued that the developmental changes that unfold during the course of our lives are due to nature or nurture" (p.83). While nature refers to heredity – causes that are transmitted biologically; nurture refers to the environment – the influence of parents, family, schooling, and all other experiences we are exposed to in life. It is a widely held view that both nature and nurture interact to determine the course of a specific individual's development (Eisenberg, 1987).

Brake (as cited by Feldman, 1989) posited that to be a well-adjusted adult, one of the most crucial areas of growth and change relates to the social development of the child with regard to the changes in relationships and interactions with others. As children develop, the nature and importance of

relationships with people around them undergo some critical changes. Many theorists such as Erik Erikson (as cited by Feldman, 1989) suggested that individuals' understanding about themselves and others, and the need to establishing a personal sense of identity, present a series of critical crises or conflicts through which they must pass (Feldman, 1989). The way and manner in which these crises are resolved has a significant effect on people's ability to adjust to the demands that life places on them. If the crises in earlier life have been resolved, the child reaches Erikson's psychosocial development of industry versus inferiority at age six to twelfth ready to meet the increasingly sophisticated challenges in the areas of play, competence and sense of individuality. A study conducted by Omokhodion, Omokhodion and Odosute (2006) confirmed this theory. This study carried out in Nigeria on the perception of child labour among working children of 8-17 years with a sample size of 225 children concluded that working children are at a stage in their psychosocial development in which crucial aspects of their identity such as self-esteem, self-confidence and future aspirations are being formed and any negative or positive effects will impact their development at this critical stage and affect them to the rest of their lives.

Citing Steinberg and Dornbusch, Dworetzky (1996, p.565), was of the view that adolescents "who held part time jobs during school year have poorer grades, greater psychological and physical stress, more drug and alcohol use, and greater delinquency". He was of the view that these adolescents did not exhibit any sign of benefit from their work experience such as increased self-reliance or self-esteem. Other adverse effects of work during school hours on adolescents are inadequate sleep, skipping breakfast, reduced exercise and

missing important leisure time. It is, therefore, difficult if not impossible to believe that any form of child labour could be of help to the child during his/her developmental stages.

Kenny (as cited by Al-Omouh, 2008), was of the view that abused children usually suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder, generalised anxiety disorder and fear. According to Dworetzky (1996), abused children continually expressed anger and incited conflict, often attributing hostile intentions to others and considering aggression as the only solution to problems. He further observed that abused children are more difficult to control and are more often noncompliant with their parents' requests. Pfiffner, Mcburnett, and Rathouz, (as cited by Flouri, 2001) had shown in their study that warm and responsive parenting styles predict social competence and cooperative behaviour while hostile and neglectful parenting styles are associated with aggression, deviant behaviours and adjustment problems.

Al-Omouh (2008) conducted a study on socio-demographic profile, level of anxiety, and relationship with the father of working children in the city of Amman using 150 working labourers of between 12-16 years old. The study found that while anxiety is one of the most commonly seen consequences of child abuse, the effect of one of the parents or both of them is a factor of child abuse. It also revealed that the effect of child labour on the psychological and mental status of working children is evident in the reaction of the children toward others and the fact that these children are convinced about the superiority of others over them. The study concluded that working children suffered from moderate to high levels of state anxiety and trait anxiety (91%) and (85.4%) respectively. This is supported by the study

conducted by Suryahadi, et al (2005) which found that working children are particularly open to abusive behaviours. Gharaibe and Hoeman (2003), Zeiroid, Garman and Anderson (2004) and Nuwayhid, Usta, Makarem, Khuder, and Al-Zein (2005) enumerated on the physical and the psychological dangers that child labourers are exposed to. These include substance abuse, neurotoxicity, anaemia, stunting, smoking, and caffeine consumption.

It is also believed that child labour breeds another cycle of people who most likely will be less well off or end up in poverty later (MMYE, 2008; Al-Omouh, 2008). Child labour also denies significant proportions of the population the opportunity for personal development and gainful employment, and it is thus, a factor in the inter-generational transmission of poverty. When an individual, a household or a society uses child labour as a coping mechanism for responding to income shocks, they create a new link in the chain that produces the next generation of vulnerable and socially excluded households. This is particularly so since poverty does not disappear when childhood is past (Ray, 2001b). To the individual child labourer, child labour affects his or her health in the immediate and long-term. Depending on the sector they are involved in, child labourers in Ghana suffer from excessive long hours of work, bear heavy loads, and are exposed to dust and toxic chemicals, and other health hazards. They also suffer from undue exposure to physical, verbal and sexual abuse (Ray, 2001b).

Antithetical, however, to the reviewed literature, Admassie (2003) and Zeiroid, et al (2004) were of the view that child labour provides child labourers positive self-identity and self-reliance and autonomy over their pay

or money. They also believed that it empowers the children to challenge the institutionalisation of their status as children within the home.

Child Labour and Child Schooling

The effect of child labour on school children vary greatly and how they manage to acclimatise themselves to the situation is of great concern to social workers and counsellors. The destructive effects such as emotional isolation, social withdrawal, aggression, mischief, self-pity, social exclusion, and low educational aspirations, lack of interest in school activities, depression, anxiety, stress, and loneliness negate, to a very large extent, good performance of the child in school.

According to Schlemmer (2000), where an under fifteen year old child from a poor home is confronted with the issues of benefiting from primary school education and money-making activities, the preferred choice will be to work to make money for his or her own upkeep than to continue his or her studies. Curle (1973) stated that majority of students who dropped out of school before the completion of high school, are those from families that are not economically sound. He contended that most of these children abandoned school to honour their parents' call on them to help in fishing and fishing related activities to look after themselves and or their siblings.

On the conviction that fishing and its related activities could be lucrative and fast way of making money, a sizeable number of these students completely drop out of school. Omokhodion, et al (2006), suggested that the disruption of educational progress in working children may lead to low aspirations for educational attainment, and working children think of

themselves as deprived and less fortunate. King (1994) reported that in the Philippines, 15% of boys and 9% of girls in rural areas working therefore cannot attend school. In Nigeria, 90% of the students studied by Omokhodion et al (2006) indicated that their parents' inability to support them in school was the number one cause of their school dropout and its resultant child labour.

According to Warner (as cited by Phillips, 1968), social status in future life is closely related to one's economic status and more especially, the extent of prestige that is attached to one's occupation. Gharaibe and Hoeman (2003) found that children who assumed a working role dropped out of school and they come from poor homes, large homes, and broken homes. They also revealed that children who worked, do so to ensure the survival of their families and themselves.

Ray (1999b) was of the view that the employment of children has devastating effects including destructive consequences for the child's intellectual and physical development. Ray further pointed out that child labour puts constrain on the "child's ability to benefit fully from schooling and education, thereby, possibly condemning him or her to perpetual poverty and low wage employment" (p.1). In a research on how child labour interacts with child schooling in Peru and Pakistan, it was found that positive increase in education of the adult plays significant role in reducing both boys' and girls' child labour. It was also noted that the more educated parents in both countries see the value of their child's education and resist the temptation to pull the child out of schooling and put him or her into paid employment (Ray, 1999b). Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (1997, p. 398) in their study on the family size

and child labour in Peru, observed that Peruvian children combine employment with schooling to a large extent than children in other countries. They stated that “working actually makes it possible for the children to go to school.” One of the mainspring objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Ghana is to find the links between poverty, vulnerability and exclusion, and identify strategies to poverty reduction (Ministry of Women and Children [MOWAC]/ UNICEF, 2009). ILO (2003) however, stated that many low-income countries may not achieve the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring that all children complete a full course of primary education by 2015.

Counselling Services in Secondary Schools

According to Hayes and Hopson (1977) guidance is services that are available to each student to facilitate his academic success in school, to help him better understand his strengths and limitations and to aid him in planning for and attaining realistic goals in life. Rogers (1971) suggested that counselling involves a series of direct contacts between counsellor and client in which the counsellor aims at offering assistance that leads to the client changing his attitudes and behaviour. He stated further that counselling has to consist of a structured, mutual understanding and spontaneous relationship which allows the client to gain an understanding of himself that will facilitate his personal development and enable him to take positive new steps and “I” positions in life (Unachukwu & Igborgbor, 1991). Burks and Steffle (1979) were also of the opinion that counselling is to assist the individual to reach self-determined goals through meaningful, well informed choices and through resolution to solve emotional, intra and inter personal problems.

Behavioural theorists defined counselling as a learning process that allows the individual to acquire new skills with which to change and control their behaviours (George & Cristiani, 1990; Nystul, 1993). This is to help the individual to adjust satisfactorily to their society and probable personal futures. The psychodynamic theorists are of the view that counselling is a process of reducing anxiety of the client in order for the ego to function in a more discriminating and effective manner (King & Bennigton, 1972) . The psychoanalytic views counselling as a unique interpersonal relationship with the goal of helping the client gain deeper understanding about himself and others around him (Dinkmeyer, Dinkmeyer & Sperry, as cited by Forde, 2004).

In the view of Adlerian psychodynamic, counselling is to enable the individual to modify self-defeating behaviours, make effective decisions and solve problems effectively through helping relationships that perceive people as social, creative, decision-making beings moving toward unique goals and influenced by unique beliefs and perceptions (Dinkmeyer, Dinkmeyer & Sperry, as cited by Forde, 2004).

To offer maximum helping relationships, Gladding (1996) opined that counsellors should provide both individual and group counselling services to people with psychological and social problems, and those who seek information and support to make future developmental decisions. Schmidt (1999) suggested that counselling may be practised in several places including schools for people with problems of life choices. He was of the view that since the school environment is primarily for educational purposes, counsellors may be tempted to give educational counselling more than other areas of students'

lives. The school is still the means by which students, parents and teachers learn about themselves and others; understand how their personal characteristics, human potentials and behaviours influence their relationships with others; and make choices to solve present problems while planning strategies for optimal development (Forde, 2004).

The importance of school counselling cannot be overemphasised. It is necessary that schools provide individual students with the needed professional supporting help in shaping their educational, personal and social lives in order that these young adolescents develop fully to take their positions in adult life.

Summary

The review of literature raised to the fore, many important issues. Primarily, researchers are divided over the definition of child. The reviewed literature also revealed that child labour lacks “the definition” but depends largely upon persons and cultures for its working definition. Both the theoretical and empirical data reviewed presented that child labour is associated with school drop-out, parents of child labourers have low education and that child labour increases the percentage of half-educated adults. Literature reviewed indicated that the distinction lies in the socio-cultural practices and perspectives of the people.

Theories on counselling services in secondary schools were looked at from the behavioural and psychoanalytical theories. They were of the view that school children need counselling alongside their educational development in order to develop fully.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to understand the socio-cultural context of child labour in fishing communities in the Cape Coast Metropolis and how this influences the educational and personal-social lives of participants. This perspective, therefore, demands an open and in-depth approach that enables participants to speak for themselves about their 'lived' experiences as it relates to them but not as the world wishes or thinks it to be. It is based on this that the qualitative research method, due to its open-ended and in-depth characteristics lends itself as the appropriate methodology in conducting this research. This chapter deals with the research design, sampling procedure, instrumentation, data collection procedure, coding and data analysis. Other areas covered are ethical considerations, issues relating to trustworthiness and credibility, and overcoming researcher bias in a qualitative research.

Research Design

That a research design decides the fate of a research and its outcome is a truism. According to Raj (1992) it is the design that helps the researcher to (a) link the research problem(s) to the type of data to be collected; (b) determine the appropriate respondents and, (c) as well as the type of data collection instrument to be used. The design, in a nut-shell, helps the researcher to plan the research process and also anticipate its success or

otherwise. Additionally, it is the research design that helps the researcher to find answers to research questions validly, objectively, accurately as well as economically (Raj, 1992). The tradition of enquiry in this study, therefore, is the qualitative approach using the grounded theory method in data collection and analysis.

In this study, the choice of methodology was guided by the fundamental decision to carry out a qualitative research into a phenomenon that has not been explored in its complexity. The intention was to study a few school children aimed at understanding their subjective experiences of child labour in a socio-cultural context and how child labour affects their personal-social lives, education, and career aspirations.

The characteristics of qualitative study are first, more appropriate in unveiling and understanding “the nature of a person's experiences with a phenomenon about which little is known” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 19). According to Sherman and Webb (as cited by Akplu, 1998) qualitatively, subjects selected for a study are permitted to “speak for themselves” rather than respond to close-ended questions with predetermined responses set by the researcher. Akplu (1998) quoted Edson, Glesne and Peshkin, and Wilson as having posited that in qualitative research “ideas, people, and events cannot be understood if isolated from their contexts” and that the “social scientist cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions” (p. 41). Second, Rossman and Rallis (as cited by Creswell, 2003), suggested that a qualitative study should take place in a natural setting. In this case, the researcher needs to personally go to the site of the participants to conduct the

research in order to gather detailed information on the expression of the participants and the place.

There are varied classifications of qualitative research depending upon the purpose, types and approaches to analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). According to Strauss and Corbin, there are five types of qualitative traditions of inquiry. These are: (1) Phenomenology which describes the meanings of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept; (2) Grounded Theory which seeks to describe the meanings of the lived experiences for several individuals in order to generate or discover a theory. It is an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation; (3) Ethnography is a description and interpretation of a cultural or a social group or a system; (4) Case study is an exploration of a system or a case over a period of time; and (5) Biography explores the life of an individual. Thus, the qualitative approach was basically designed to find out the existing situation of a particular phenomenon or practice. This qualitative study, therefore, used multiple data collection procedures such as semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions method that are interactive in nature.

In qualitative research approaches, grounded theory is an action or interactional theory building in which the individuals or the groups being studied have some kind of action or interaction directed at “managing, handling, carrying out, responding to a phenomenon as it exists in context or under a specific set of perceived conditions” (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p. 104). It is a design that seeks to discover, develop and define an emerging theory. According to Yin (1989), Raj (1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990), an important characteristic of grounded theory study design is that there is an in-

depth study of the social unit under investigation. It also looks at the “how and why” of the social unit and the context in which case it tries to discover and develop the factors that account for the present state of the social unit. This implies that not only is the unit described, but also the behavioural pattern is developed in relation to its context.

The grounded theory approach seems more appropriate because it helps in discovering and developing hypothesis rather than testing hypothesis. Besides, it is flexible (Creswell, 2003; Epie, 2004; Raj, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Warwick, 1993, p. 283).

Qualitative research is basically inductive and this inductive method is the cornerstone of grounded theory methodology. The theoretical understanding grounded in the words and experiences of participants allows participants to explain their experiences rather than trying to predict or to fit their experiences into an already existing, perhaps inadequate model. This aspect of grounded theory methodology brings the authentic voices of participants to the fore in that all themes and theories that emerge are drawn directly from their words and experiences. This also makes the approach well-fitted for investigation into child labour in a socio-cultural context (Dhar & Joshi, 2010).

Theoretical sensitivity is an important element for the qualitative research process that is grounding a theory. One’s theoretical sensitivity is derived from existing knowledge (literature), personal experience, and the analytical process itself, and is continual (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This sensitivity allows the researcher insight into influential conditions, strategies and processes, and consequences of a phenomenon

(Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In the context of this research, a significant part of my theoretical sensitivity to the topic has come from the literature and has continued through the process of data collection, analysis, interpretation, member checking, and further analysis. My personal and professional background is of primary importance here. Most of the experiences that participants were asked to describe and reflect upon somewhat reflected my own experiences. The amalgamation of my sensitivity to the topic of study and an honest recognition of my value orientation and standpoint strengthen my ability to emerge with useful theory, and in terms of process, created a foundation for trust and rapport among participants who recognized and associated with me their common language, history, and values.

Data Collection Procedure

This section deals with the steps taken to identify the study sites, how I entered the sites and collected information. According to Morse (1994, p. 228), the most difficult part of qualitative research is “entering the field for the first time”. Negotiation and gaining access to the study locations is a continuous process requiring both formal and informal skills.

I had had my counselling practicum as a student-counsellor in (Arch-Bishop Amisshah Catholic School) one of the selected schools and had therefore established rapport with some of the students and the teachers. I was also quite familiar with the school environment and the communities in which the schools are situated.

The steps taken to gain entry to the field were many. First, there was approval from Departmental Board of the Department of Educational

Foundations at the University of Cape Coast. Second, approval to collect data from the selected schools in fishing communities was obtained from the heads of the schools with an introductory letter (see Appendix A) signed by the Head of Department of Educational Foundations, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast. I also contacted a friend who worked at the Metropolitan Education Office of Ghana Education Service (GES) Cape Coast for the enrolment list of basic schools in the Metropolis. This helped in identifying schools in fishing communities and their characteristics such as population, culture, original mission affiliation among others. Consequently, Arch-Bishop Amissah Catholic and Abakam Presby schools henceforth referred to in this study as ABA and AP schools respectively, were selected.

Participants in this school were identified through the snowball method. Table 1 below presents profiles of the two selected schools.

Table 1

Profiles of ABA and AP schools

Characteristics	ABA	AP
Date of Establishment	1980 (mission school but became government assisted in 1985)	1985 (government assisted school)
Original mission	Roman catholic Observes catholic week celebration	NGO (Presbyterian) Adheres to Presbyterian doctrines
School type	Public State controlled Enrolment not tied to faith but open to all Female (about to retire)	Public State controlled Enrolment not tied to faith but open to all Female
Head	University Graduate Long service (1 st head of the school) Presbyterian Heads both primary and JHS Appears focused and well organised	University Graduate Long service Presbyterian Heads both primary and JHS Appears focused and well organised
Language of Instruction	English Ewe	English Ewe

Table 1 (cont.)

JHS staff population and qualifications	06 2.M.Phil holders and 4 graduates But needs a Pre-Technical Teacher	08 1.M.Phil holder, 3 graduates, 3 diplomas and 1 untrained
Average number of students in a class	20.children in a class	20 children in a class
School building and compound	Open compound (not walled) New buildings Trees and plants on the compound School very close to homes School has a canteen under trees Hawkers (apart from those registered with the school authorities) are not allowed onto the compound	Open compound (not walled) New buildings School very close to homes
School atmosphere	Head seems in control of the school There appears good but disciplined working relationship between head and staff Low teacher absenteeism No school counsellor	Head seems in control of the school There appears good but disciplined working relationship between head and staff Low teacher absenteeism No school counsellor
Drop-Out rate due to child labour (2009/10)	45.3%	48%
Academic performance in 2009/10 Academic Year	Poor (33.3 % pass) 5.gained admission into senior high schools (4 boys, 1 girl) Majority could not continue (though they made quite good grades) due to financial constraints	Poor (31.3 % pass) 4 gained admission into senior high schools (3 boys, 1 girl) Majority could not continue (though they made quite good grades) due to financial constraints
Socio-economic background of students	There is severe poverty in the community _ teachers, mothers and students reported that majority of fathers are not responsible, mothers unemployed and most pupils live (especially boys) on their own and look after themselves.	There is severe poverty in the community _ teachers, mothers and students reported that majority of fathers are not responsible, mothers unemployed and most pupils live (especially boys) on their own and look after themselves.
Some successes chalked in the school	In the area of sports the school performs well at the circuit and metropolitan levels Won awards for tree planting activities in the metropolis(2009/10)	In the area of sports the school performs well at the circuit and metropolitan levels
General challenges in the school	Appealed for donations of books to support pupils and philanthropists to assist students who have passed and have been placed to SHS.	Appealed for rehabilitation of school buildings and KVIP for the community.

Source: *Field Data, February, 2010.*

Sample and Sampling Procedure

According to Creswell (2002), Fraenkel and Wallen (2000), and Koul (2003), population is the complete set of individuals (subjects and or events) which have similar observable characteristics which are of interest to the researcher. In addition, Fink (2001), Hummerlbrunner, Rak and Gray (1996) were also of the view that population refers to the collection of specified group of human or non-human entities in which the researcher is interested. Participants in this study were drawn mainly from the large population of junior high school students from the ABA and AP schools in the Cape Coast Metropolis.

Qualitative research methodology does not necessitate sample size prior to engaging in data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 1990, Padgett, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Patton did suggest that the logic of qualitative sampling is to obtain thick, rich accounts of a phenomenon rather than to seek to include a large, representative sample. Mason (1996) cautioned researchers to work with small samples of people, nested in their context and studied in-depth. The qualitative samples tend to be purposive rather than random. In the opinion of Creswell (2002), Fink (2001), Hummerlbrunner et al (1996), Fraenkel and Wallen (2000), and Koul (2003) the yardstick for the inclusion of a unit into a study must be based on the characteristics of participants who are eligible to partake in the study. The two schools have similar characteristics such as languages, culture, fishing activities, among others.

In qualitative research approach, sampling is usually purposive and not rigidly pre-specified (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin 1990). This view was summed up by Creswell (2003) that

The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question. This does not necessarily suggest random sampling or selection of a large number of participants and sites... A discussion about participants and site might include... the setting (where the research will take place), the actors (who will be observed or interviewed), and the process (the evolving nature of events undertaken by the actors within the setting) (p.15).

The intentional target of the study was child labourers who were in school. Purposeful sampling allows the researcher to seek out those participants with the most direct experience with the phenomenon under study in order to elicit the most pertinent and information-rich data (Creswell, 2007; Hatch, 2002; Padgett, 2004; Patton, 1990). The purposive sampling, according to Creswell (2002), is a qualitative sampling procedure in which researchers consciously select participants or sites to learn about or understand the central phenomenon. The aim of purposive sampling is not necessarily to get the average opinion that would correspond with the average opinion of the population of interest, but the aim might be to tap the special experience and competence of the people or events selected: their categories, properties and dimensions.

Snowball sampling is a sampling procedure which is also purposeful in nature that typically proceeds after a study begins. Vogt (as cited by Forde,

2007) described the method as a technique for finding research participants where one participant gives the researcher the name of another participant who, in turn, provides the name of the third, and so on. According to Forde (2007), Vogt suggested that this method is essentially useful when the researcher is dealing with people of peculiar experiences and characteristics. The snowball sampling procedure was, therefore, used to select five out of the 10 participants used in the study. This method is appropriate and resulted in the identification of the participants with the requisite peculiar characteristics. In this case, the researcher relied on a teacher from the school to identify a student who engaged in child labour activities, he or she in turn hooked in mates or colleagues involved in similar activities.

In grounded theory research, sampling procedures are aimed at identifying, developing and relating concepts. In other words, grounded theory research is mainly done on theoretical sampling in which sampling is done on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory. The objective of theoretical sampling is to sample events, incidents, and any other relevant issue that indicates categories, their properties and dimensions which could be developed and conceptually related (Strauss & Corbin 1990).

In an attempt to determine sampling procedure in grounded theory, one needs to consider the three major sampling procedures: open sampling, relational and variational sampling, and discriminate sampling, all bound with theoretical sensitivity (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Open sampling deals with selection of interviewees or observational sites in an indiscriminate manner. It is open to all possibilities rather than specificity in which case the researcher

tries to absorb and uncover all potentially relevant data. In this study, the sampling was open to all JHS students who engaged in work in the two selected public schools.

The second sampling procedure is the relational and variational sampling. This is the sampling method that proceeds just after open sampling and focuses more on the relationships between categories and subcategories that were discovered during the open sampling and coding and to find evidence of variation or otherwise with reference to data. Regarding this stance of grounded theory approach, data were collected from parents and other significant others in addition to the key participants to ascertain evidence of variations and similarities in data.

The third is the discriminate sampling which is concerned with the researcher choosing sites, individuals, or documents that will maximise opportunities for verification of the story line, relationship between categories, and for filling in poorly developed categories (Strauss & Corbin 1990). It is for the purposes of discriminate sampling that only the two public schools in the fishing communities in the metropolis which speak the language of the researcher were selected. This sampling decision was taken to maximise the opportunities of the researcher's shared cultural experiences and language of the people to enrich the data.

The criteria guiding the choice of participants were that the participants should be in public JHS, reside in the study communities, and be actively involved in child labour activities at the time of the study. A sample size of 10 students, some of their parents, teachers and immediate neighbours were used in this study. Data collected from five parents (mothers), two female teachers

and three female immediate neighbours were used for triangulation purposes. The summary description of the sampled participants is presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Summary Description of Sampled Participants

Method	School/ Persons	No. / Gender	Total	Grand Total
Individual interviews	ABA school	03 Boys	05	10 participants 10 other persons
		02 Girls		
	AP school	03 Boys	05	
		02 Girls		
		05 Females		
Focus Group Discussions	Teachers	02 Females	10	
	Immediate Neighbours	03 Females		
	Group 1	06 Boys		
Focus Group Discussions	Group 2	04 Girls	04	03 FGDs with 20 people
	Group 3	10 women		

Source: Field Work, 2010

A study of this nature needs to consider the special needs of vulnerable populations such as minors who are victims of a social phenomenon (Creswell 2003). The research established counselling ethics as its pillar before, during and after data collection. These included: acceptance, positive regard and the worth of the participants. All participants were warmly accepted and treated with dignity throughout the research period and beyond. Bearing in mind the

import of ethical consideration in dealing with minors and marginalised in society, I duly sought both formal and informal informed consent of the parents, teachers and participants (see Appendix B, C, D & E) through explanation of the rationale behind the study and the possibility for one to withdraw at any given time. This was to ensure that the rights of the participants were protected. The participants were assured of maximum confidentiality, that their anonymity would be preserved, and that the information they were to provide would be used only for the purpose of this research. Care-givers were not contacted when some participants revealed that contact with such care-givers would not be in their best interest. Consequently, immediate neighbours and teachers of such participants were interviewed. Important issues such as the purpose and benefits of the study, the nature of the interview and focus group discussions and the procedures involved were explicitly explained to the participants. Other issues explained to participants were their rights to seek clarification to questions and to withdraw if anyone so wished without penalty.

Bearing in mind the sensitivity of the topic and the vulnerability of the participants, an arrangement was made with a senior professional counsellor from the Counselling Centre of the University Of Cape Coast (see Appendix F) to offer counselling services in case of counselling needs that might be beyond the researcher before, during or after the study.

In adhering to the advice given by Miles and Huberman (1994) that researchers should find a way of compensating respondents for the useful information and their time given, all participants were given a pen, a pencil and an amount of GHC 1.00 at the end of each formal or informal meeting. In

addition, the researcher continued to visit the ABA school to offer counselling services to the school well after data collection.

The data collection period spanned from November, 2009 to September, 2010. The interviews were purposively exploratory and were, therefore, semi-structured and were conducted at the place of choice of the participants. But in almost all cases, the key participants preferred researcher's office on their school compounds. Pseudonyms were used for each interviewee for easy identification and to enhance confidentiality.

Data Collection Instruments

One very important thing a researcher must take into consideration before selecting the data collection instrument is the research problem(s). In considering the data collection instrument in the light of a research problem, the researcher must also not lose sight of the type of people in the sample, the nature of the organisation or community from which the people are sampled as well as their psychological state (Creswell, 2003). Additionally, it is appropriate to use more than one data collection instrument as this enables the researcher to detect inconsistencies for further probing (Twumasi, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Yin 1994). Two data collection instruments namely, interview guide and focus group interview guide were used.

The interview guide is one data collection instrument that enables the researcher to have a face-to-face encounter with respondents in order to find answers to a research problem. One of the conditions for the use of interviews is that the respondents must be prepared to talk. It is important to note however, that in interviews, some questions arise from the field discussion,

especially when the interviews are semi-structured (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991; Twumasi, 2001). Again, Yin (1994) posited that one of the best sources of information in research is through the interview due to its flexibility. He further stated that in studies about human affairs, interviews must constitute an essential source of data collection.

It is, therefore, important to consider interviews in research because it is through interviews that human affairs can be “reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees” (Akplu, 1998, p. 44) who are well-informed and therefore can provide important insights into a situation. Though the strengths of the interview as a data collection method were harnessed, its disadvantages in terms of it being very costly especially where interviews were rescheduled and that it is characterised by poor recall and articulation, were also considered. All the same, good use of the advantages was made to minimise the disadvantages.

During the interview with child labourers who were the centre of this study, great pains were taken to interview them in locations acceptable and convenient to them. One female participant from ABA school however, declined to have her interview in the researcher’s office in the school premises. Consequently a different location was set for her interviews. Before meeting participants, the researcher developed a semi-structured interview protocol for participants consisting of questions on the various aspects of the research problems. The interview guides were dubbed “Child Labour Assessment Interview Guide for Students (CLAIG-S)” and “Child Labour Assessment Interview Guide for Parents/Care-givers (CLAIG-P)”. These were developed based on the key issues in the research questions that guided the

study. Each research question for child participants had two or three main questions guiding it out of which sub-questions arising in the process of the interview were also used to find meaning and answers to the research questions (See Appendix G and H).

The CLAIG-S was divided into two Parts: Parts I and II. Part I covered demographic data on participants. Part II was concerned with the nature and reasons for engaging in child labour activities, problems and strategies employed in handling those problems and their perceived consequences. Each participant was interviewed twice and each interview lasted approximately, 45 minutes giving a total of about 90 minutes contact between the interviewer and the interviewee (these were aside the informal conversations that I had engaged some participants in).

CLAIG-P was used in gathering information from parents, teachers, and immediate neighbours of participants in the study. This guide was also divided into two Parts: Parts I and II. Part I was on relationship with the participant, gender, and occupation of these persons. Part II was on the nature of the work the children do, the perceived effects this has on the individual children, their families and the society at large and how people view child labour and child labourers in the communities. Interview with these significant others lasted approximately one hour and were held only once at an acceptable and convenient place and time to them. However, researcher's telephone number was left behind for contact in case of any relevant information.

According to Krueger and Casey (2000), focus group methodology should be used when a researcher wants to first, provide a forum for participants to yield various perspectives and attitudes; second, to trigger

thoughts and response patterns; and three, to uncover diversity of opinion that might not be revealed through individual interviews. Focus groups are very useful in eliciting unanticipated and in-depth information as well as group perspectives (Litosseliti, 2003).

The focus group discussions were used after holding individual interviews. The group interviews were conducted among working children with the view of learning about their lived experiences and future expectations. Forming the groups for discussion with the participants did not pose problem since participants were either from the same school or community and therefore had some kind of relationship going. These existing relationships were very helpful as articulated by Hennessy and Heary (2005). The participants were met after school on two occasions. During discussions, participants felt free to express themselves and developed their own thinking in the presence of their peers. In the course of discussions participants were addressed only by their pseudo names to protect their identity though they belong to the same geographical community. This was to create a high sense of confidentiality and anonymity in the research process and the report writing itself. One group discussion was held for all the six male pupil-participants and another one for the four female pupil-participants.

Since parents, teachers and immediate neighbours were females, there was therefore no need to put them into separate groups. One focus group discussion was held for them at the end of their interview. Each group discussion lasted approximately 1 hour 30 minutes and was held on a Tuesday (a day that the communities do not go fishing and were, therefore, less busy)

in ABA school assembly hall due to the school's proximity to the various homes of the participants.

Each group discussion with the pupil-participants was opened with an open-ended question. Participants were given a pen and a paper to write on the question: "Please write down at least three ways, both negative and positive, that working as a child who is still in basic school, has affected different aspects of your life". Ten minutes later, participants were invited to discuss their responses. Each participant participated in only one focus group discussion. Since the participants had already taken part in a one-on-one interview with the researcher and had signed the informed consent form, they did not provide any informed consent during the focus groups and the participants were already familiar with the researcher.

During the focus group discussion held for parents, teachers and immediate neighbours, they were also asked to talk about the positive and negative ways that in their opinion, child labour affect their children or wards.

Pre-testing of Instrument

The importance of pre-testing in research cannot be overemphasised. Yin (1994) stated that the pre-testing does not only help the investigator to refine data collection plans with respect to the contents of the data, but also of the procedures. Yin explained that the researcher usually develops relevant lines of questions through clarification by making formative use of pre-test. Again, Yin (1994) was of the view that the pre-test is like a formal "dress rehearsal" in which case the intended data collection plan is used as faithfully as practicable in the final test run. Accordingly, in November 2009, the

snowball sampling technique was employed to select two Form Two pupils: a male and a female from the ABA school who were child labourers were interviewed. Pieces of paper were given to the participants to write their comments on the clarity, ambiguities and problems in the questions and manner of the conduct of the interview. As a result of such comments, the interview guide was revised. These pupils were however, excluded from the main study.

Data Collection Procedure

In a qualitative research where grounded theory approach is used, the emphasis is then on developing theory inductively from data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The three levels of coding recommended by Strauss and Corbin were employed followed by analysis and synthesis of data.

In qualitative research, coding is part of data analysis. The open and axial coding procedures were first employed to identify, label and name categories or themes and to relate the categories, then the selective coding was used to “build a story” that connects the categories that emerged (Creswell, 1998, p. 150).

Figure 1 below shows path representation of the coding procedures used in the study. Open coding is the process of breaking down, examining, comparing and categorizing data. Through the open coding, the transcripts and field notes were examined to identify the core categories of information. With the use of different colours of highlighters, pencils and pens, I manually extracted all participant responses assigned to a particular code.

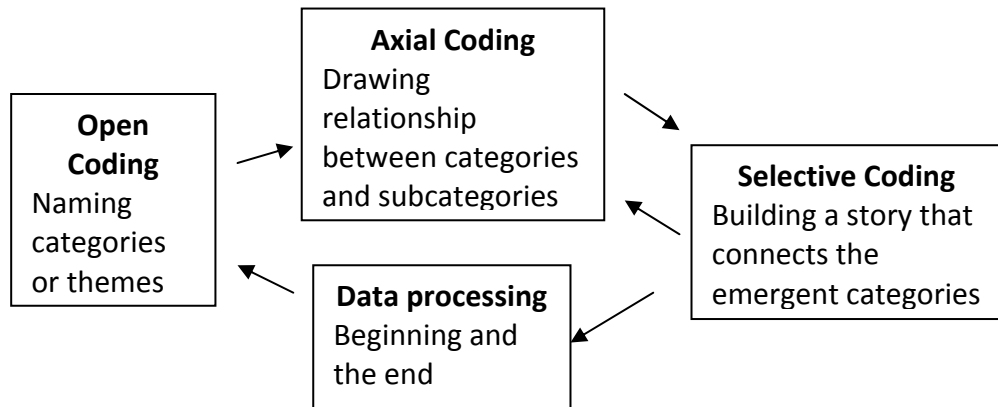


Figure 1 Path Representation of the Coding Procedure Used in the Study.

For example, I first identified the triggering factors described by each participant then coded it as ‘causes’ or ‘factors’ with the participant’s code name and wrote reflective and analytical notes on them. This approach was used in creating new data sets for each analytical category that emerged during the analysis. The domains of these data sets corresponded to the six main research questions used in this study.

Using the constant comparison, the ideas that constitute the concepts or the themes were developed and refined throughout the study. As concepts were formed, they were compared to new data and refined until a point of saturation was reached (Creswell, 1998; Oktay, 2005). By this, the general tone, ideas and impressions of the data were discovered, categorised and named. By extracting all content within each coded category, the stage was set for the process of axial coding.

Axial coding is a method of reorganizing coded data based on connections made among categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Through this process, I was able to refine categories, focus in on patterns, and respond to emergent themes made evident through examination of each coded category. I identified major categories which were the pivot of the phenomenon of

interest and explored all possible interconnections of the categories identifying causal conditions that influence the central phenomenon, the strategies employed to handle the phenomenon contextually, the intervening conditions that either inhibit or encourage the use of the strategies, and the consequences for employing such strategies.

Finally, the selective coding which interconnects with the axial coding, involves explicating the story line, relating subcategories to core categories, validating the relationships in categories against data, and filling in categories that need refinement or development. Selective coding allowed me to integrate, and make more abstract, the categories of data that were previously identified and organized (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This final step in the analysis process creates a story from the data presented by participants and allowed me to envision how to tell this story in a comprehensive and cohesive manner. Selective coding further enabled me to refine my understanding of how the salient elements of different categories of data relate to one another and impact the process.

Acronyms and pseudonyms were used to numerically code texts for participants from the two schools for easy identification and anonymity. Codes for participants had a pseudonym together with the acronym: "CAS" – *Category of Student* followed by a number representing the order in which the individual was interviewed. Parents, teachers and immediate neighbours who gave information on their children or wards were coded "CAP"- *Category of Parent* followed by the same number of their child or ward. For example, Ericus- CAS/02 had his parent's data coded: CAP/02.

Data Analysis

To analyse the data obtained from the interview and focus group discussions, transcripts were read and annotated “to obtain a sense of the overall data” (Creswell, 1998, p. 140). All audio tapes were played back several times alongside the transcriptions and translations on the computer for comparison. Important information that was tape recorded but not recorded by hand in the Researcher’s Field Diary was inserted into the transcript. The researcher then translated the transcriptions and handed them over to two senior lecturers in the Department of Ghanaian Languages, University of Cape Coast, for editing and assessment.

Additionally, feedback was obtained from the participants on the initial summaries prepared and presented to them for their comments. Furthermore, codes or categories were developed manually to sort out the perceived salient parts of information to match segments of the data for the open coding phase of data analysis. This made it possible for recursive process to emerge that was informative for further interactions with participants. It also helped with integration of initial interpretations as a building block for subsequent analysis.

The process of data synthesis through axial coding was aided by a coding paradigm for theory-building offered by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The paradigm model, depicted in Figure 2 below, represents critical theoretical elements of a process and can be applied to any substantive area of inquiry.

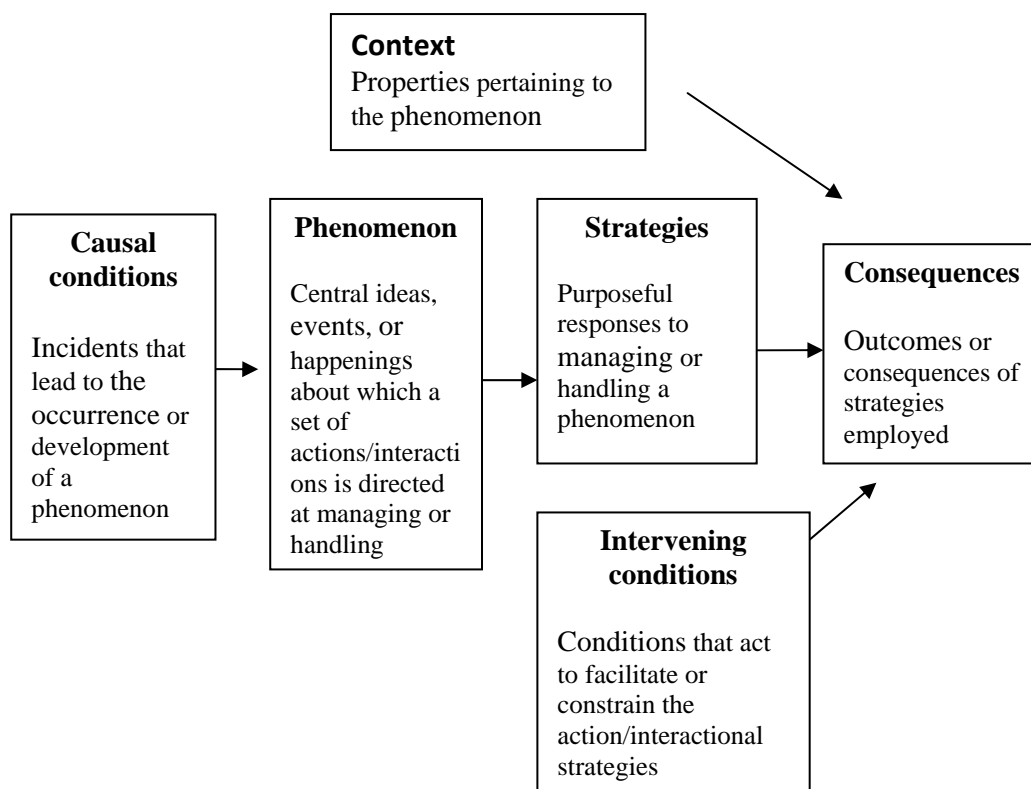


Figure 2 Theoretical Paradigm Model Developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990). Adapted and refined from Creswell, (1998, p. 305)

Once emergent themes became evident within and across data provided by participant interviews, I was able to translate the information drawn from the data to application in the Strauss and Corbin model. This application was most facilitative of my ability to illustrate the process under examination, and to organize participants' ideas and experiences in a coherent and meaningful way. The model was adapted and refined over time as I ruminated on its elements and how best to represent it.

Following the paradigm model, data were reduced to bits and pieces using the open, axial, and selective coding procedures where main categories such as factors contributing to child labour and the development of coping strategies (causal conditions), incidents of child labour as a result of causal conditions (phenomena), the specific set of properties that relate to and

influence the events of child labour (context), conditions that either facilitate or constrain the coping strategies developed by child labourers: the difficulties (intervening conditions), and actual strategies (action/interactional strategies), and effects (consequences) were identified.

Sections of verbatim texts were taken and their meanings were looked at in the context of the whole analysis. The experiences and impact of child labour on education of participants were compared and contrasted, searching for patterns either made explicitly by participants or derived implicitly. Using the selective coding, the main themes in the data formed a picture that reflected the experiences of all the pupils in the study. It is important to note that in qualitative grounded theory research, data collection and data analysis are not two divorced entities. They move together. Data collection stops only when data analysis had reached a point of saturation with respect to developing and refining themes or concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Unlike quantitative research where literature discussion is fused with the discussion of the results, qualitative grounded theory study usually delineates the discussion of results with the existing literature to the end of analysis of findings to show outside support for the theoretical model/ to show the relationship between the theory and existing knowledge and its implications for future study (Creswell, 1998). This study adopted this approach and presented the discussion of the literature with findings under a separate heading at the end of analysis.

Throughout all the stages of data collection, analysis, and member checking, I kept a diary in which I made notes of my own reactions, I kept track of methodological decision-making, and wrote memos that reflected

theoretical insights into the meaning and relationship of different elements of the data. The first interview resulted in both unexpected and surprising responses from the participant that required reflections such as:

12/02/10: 1st interview! The participant virtually did all the talking, used the interview guide literally. Less participation and use of myself in interview process than expected (hoped?). Some expected content did emerge (child labour can have positive influence. Wow!! *) look for more info.

(Researcher's Field Note, February 12th, 2010)

Finally, my field note included important communications with the principal supervisor of the study. After his review of the fifth interview transcript, I wrote:

Important to focus in on cultural values of the people ... How do participants grapple with maltreatment? What are the community dynamics behind child workers in the villages? Is the communal life system of the African broken down where any child is everybody's child? What lies behind child labour? What forces drive the conditions we label as child labour? We have skills and strategies, how are they applied in a child labour context? Highlight the daily work of Ps, how does it relate to child labour and school activities? No magic formula.

(Researcher's Field Note, April 22nd, 2010)

The value of the reflexivity journal was at least three-fold: it allowed me to keep track of my process through the creation of an audit trail; it helped me throughout data analysis to reflect on my thoughts and reactions to

participants in terms of my self-awareness and theoretical insight; and served as a tool of trustworthiness for the study as a whole.

In a qualitative study, one attempts to establish trustworthiness and confirmability which are equivalents of establishing instrument reliability and validity in quantitative research. Creswell (2002) posited that validating the accuracy of findings in a research refers to the strategies that a researcher employs to establish the credibility of findings. It is important that qualitative researchers perform the arduous task of establishing trustworthiness of their research. This section thus explicates the researcher's efforts to enhance the trustworthiness of the study based on the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability as delineated by Lincoln and Guba (1985).

This study employed several devices to reduce bias and establish verification (Guba, 1981; Padgett, 1998). Member checking was employed as one attempt by allowing participants – experts on the topic of inquiry and their own perceptions – to review the data and interpretations of it for appropriateness and accuracy (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Padgett, 1998). Each participant was provided with a written summary of the interpretations made from their stories. The feedback was used to clarify issues or provide more details of previous issues. For example, the ages of some participants had to be clarified since in some cases, the age given by the participants differed from what the parents gave. One particular instance was when Dan-CAS/07 gave his age as 18 years but the mother (CAP/07) indicated that her son was 19 years. Dan-CAS/07 was contacted again and he confirmed that he lost count of his age due to the fact that he had stayed home

after he left his stepfather.

Creswell (2007), Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Padgett (1998) noted that triangulation is very crucial to establishing credibility of data through corroboration of evidence from diverse sources, methods and theories. In this study, triangulation involved data collection from the key participants (CASs), their parents, teachers and immediate neighbours (CAPs) and the head teachers of the schools attended by the participants.

There was the use of prolonged engagement where participants were formally interviewed two times each over a period of ten months and each participant was also once involved in a focus group discussion. During this period, I became familiar with the students and parents, teachers and neighbours, visiting them in their schools and homes to acquaint myself with them and the environments. I also used both confirming and disconfirming evidence within the data together with direct quotations of the interviews to present the voices of the participants.

There are no confidence intervals in qualitative research to help “prove” that a study can be thought of as valid and applicable in a generalised fashion. The suggestion by Lincoln and Guba (1985) re-echoed by Creswell (2007) advised as solutions the use of “thick description” in communicating the results of a study, offering the idea that rich and detailed information in itself imply a level of trustworthiness. It was also argued that it is really not the qualitative researcher’s aim to present information that can be transferred beyond the context of the study (Campbell, Scott-Lincourt, & Brennan, 2008).

Dependability is also enhanced by the use of triangulation following the argument that improved credibility is paramount to improved

dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, the inquiry audit is one other path toward dependability. This is achieved through constant and close scrutiny of the process of data collection, the data itself, and the interpretations and theories induced from the data. Lincoln and Guba attested to the value of the audit for confirmability as well. Again, since the study community is linguistically variant from the native language of the people of the Metropolis, the interview questions were first translated into Ewe, the language of the people of the selected fishing communities in the Metropolis. Again, the translations of the interview and group discussions from Ewe to English were all vetted by two senior lecturers of the Ewe Language Usage and Linguistics from the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, University of Cape Coast. Based on their comments, some items on the interview protocol were reviewed.

The use of the inquiry audit, described above, and the audit trail are strategies for establishing confirmability in qualitative research. The latter involves creation by the researcher of careful records of all steps in a study and of all sources of information and data-gathering methods – this trail of information is needed for the audit to occur (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Lincoln and Guba's description of the audit trail, it must contain records on raw data, data reduction and analysis procedures, data reconstruction and synthesis steps, process notes, material related to expectations of the study, and notes on the development of instruments for use in the study. If a researcher's process is retraceable, the more likely the data can be relied upon as having come from stated sources and as representing stated interpretations. The reflexivity journal can be thought of as important to

all aspects of trustworthiness in a research study by serving as documentation of the researcher's thoughts and feelings while immersed in data.

Other means of establishing trustworthiness of the study were paying attention to non-verbal communications of the participants during the interview and focus group discussions. These non-verbal signs included sighs, pauses, tears and facial expressions such as frowning, throwing of arms in the air to indicate desperation, and crying. Since transcription and translations were done almost immediately after each interview, the general mood of the participants were captured in the interpretations of the narratives.

Furthermore, the interview transcripts in the two languages were constantly read and re-read for clarifications and meanings. For the purposes of consistency (Creswell, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994), the researcher engaged the services of a senior lecturer from the University of Cape Coast to also independently code the texts. The level of consistency received after the code-recode technique ranged between 80% and 92%.

To provide a sense of interrater reliability to the study, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed that an external consultant be engaged to examine the process of data collection and analysis and to assess their accuracy. A senior lecturer at the Department of Ghanaian Languages and Linguistics, University of Cape Coast, assessed the work to find out whether or not the findings, interpretations and conclusions are supported by the data.

To reduce researcher bias, several devices were employed. First, the participants were interviewed twice over a period of ten months. Second, they were given the opportunity to bring up any information that they might not have raised during one interview.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the socio-cultural context of child labour of basic school students from two public schools in fishing communities of Cape Coast Metropolis using a qualitative method. Data were collected from 10 students who were child labourers to find out the factors that predisposed them to child labour, how child labour affected their education and personal-social lives and what strategies they employed to cope with their situations. Five students made up of two girls and three boys participated from each school. One-on-one in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with the participants, their parents, teachers and immediate neighbours to find answers to the following research questions:

1. What specific factors contribute to the phenomenon of child labour in fishing communities?
2. What is the nature of the child labour experiences that students in basic schools in fishing communities report?
3. How does child labour impact the personal-social lives of child labourers?
4. How does child labour affect the educational and career aspirations of child labourers?
5. What strategies did these child labourers employ in managing their child labour conditions while in school?

6. What positive effects of child labour did these child labourers report?

A combination of purposive and snowball samplings were used to select five child labourers and five others were selected through referrals from the schools' authorities. Data were inductively analysed using the paradigm model suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1990) (See Figure 2) for grounded theory research.

Results of data collected and analysed are presented in this chapter beginning with the demographic data of participants' age, gender, residential status, form in school, and sibling status among others. Following this, the chapter also presents analyses of data based on research questions that guided the study in conjunction with the paradigm model fashion and a case profile of each of the 10 participants then concludes with a chapter summary.

Demographic Data

The main source of data was 10 Junior High School (JHS) students from two public schools who engage in child labour in fishing communities of Cape Coast Metropolis. The key participants (students) from the two schools constituted a Category of Students _ 'CASs' and their subsequent parents, teachers and immediate neighbours also constituted a Category of Parents - 'CAPs'. Table 3 presents the age, gender, form, residential status among other distributions of the participants.

According to Table 3, only two child labourers were 15 years old while eight participants were within the 16- 19 age range at the time of the study. The two participants who were 15 years were all girls and from one selected

school. The two other females in the study were older and from the other selected school. In other words, all five participants from one school (AP) both males and females, fell within the age range of 16- 19. Table 3 indicates that four participants were in Form One, two participants in Form Two, and four participants in Form Three.

Table 3

Summary of Participants' Demographic Data

Name and Code	School	Gender	Age	Form	Residential Status	No. Of Sibling Birth-Order	Parental Status	Parental Education	Parental Occupation
Agbee-CAS/01	ABA	M	10/19	3	O	6/3*	S**	JHS (M) (F)	U (M) F(F)
Ericus-CAS/02	ABA	M	12/18	2	M	5/2*	W**	NE (M) JHS (F)	U(M) F (F)
Inno-CAS/03	ABA	F	9/15	1	CG	7/3*	S	NE (M) NE (F)	P (M) (F)
Chris-CAS/04	ABA	M	13/18	1	BP	4/2	M	PE (M) SHS (F)	U (M) F (F)
Dzidzor-CAS/05	ABA	F	10/15	1	CG	7/5	M	NE (M) NE (F)	P (M) C (F)
Josh-CAS/06	AP	M	10/19	3	CG	9/4*+	S	NE (M) SHS (F)	P (M) CS (F)
Dan-CAS/07	AP	M	12/18	3	M	4/2*	W**	NE (M) -(F)	P (M) U(F)

Table 3 (cont.)

Tsoeke	AP	F	-/16	3	M	9/2**+	D**	NE (M)	P (M)
-								NE (F)	F (F)
CAS/0									
8									
Eleano	AP	F	12/16	1	CG	5/1	M	NE (M)	P (M)
r-								NE (F)	P (F)
CAS/0									
9									
Prince-	AP	M	14/19	2	M	7/2*	S**	NE (M)	F (M)
CAS/1								NE (F)	F(F)
0									

Source: Field data, February 2010

Keys:

ABA: Arch-Bishop Amissah Catholic school	AP: AbakamPresby school
M: Male/mother/married	CG: Care-giver
BP: Both parents	O: Lives on his own
S: Separated	*: Born to different fathers
W: Widowed	D: Divorced
NE: No formal education	PE: Primary education
SHS: Completed SHS	JHS: Completed JHS
P: Petty trader	F: Female/Father/Fisherman
CS: Civil servant	C: Carpenter
**: Remarried	U: Unemployed
*+: Parents with children from other marriages	-: Not known

On the residential status of the participants, four participants lived with their biological mothers only, one participant lived with both parents and another informant lived on his own. Four participants however, lived with care-givers. Of those who lived with care-givers, one was a male and only one of those living with biological mothers was a female.

On the background information of parents and care-givers of the participants in terms of their education, occupation and marital status according to Table 4, the following characteristics were observed. Six out of the 10 mothers of the participants had between five to seven children. Participants reported that eight of the mothers have had no formal education, one had primary education and another one had junior high school education. Participants also reported that five out of the 10 fathers had no formal education. One father had junior high school education, while two fathers had senior high school education. The educational background of two fathers was however, not known. In the case of those living with care-givers, all four participants who lived with others indicated that none of their care-givers had any formal education.

With regard to occupation of participants' parents or care-givers, participants reported that three mothers were unemployed, six were petty traders while one was a fishmonger. According to participants, one father was an artisan or petty trader, five were fishermen, one was a civil servant, one was unemployed, and two were deceased. Those who lived with care-givers reported that two care-givers were petty traders, and two were fishmongers.

Participants further reported that five mothers were in polygamous marriage but lived as single parents whereas one mother was in a monogamous marriage and lived as a single parent, while two mothers were single. Only two mothers were in monogamous marriage and lived with their husbands. Five of the mothers in polygamous marriage had had two or three earlier marriages while five of the fathers had more than one wife each. All

four care-givers (females) were either divorced or not married at all and lived as single parents.

Overview of Theoretical Constructs for Research Questions

Through data analysis and synthesis, a model of child labour practices that serves to drive school children to engage in child labour emerged (See Figure 3 titled, “Emergent Theoretical Model of The Study”). Although the process centres on the outcome of school children’s management of child labour, it is depicted in the model through the lens of what pertains in the socio-cultural context of the fishing communities. Presentation of findings will follow the model and research questions and offer thick description of each element with the voices of the participants.

The research questions have been used with the tenets of the paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) Framework for Grounded Theory (See Fig. 2). In this case Research Question One is linked with the Causal Conditions: Incidents that lead to the occurrence or development of the phenomenon. Research Question Two addressed issues relating to the Phenomenon: central idea, event, or happening about which a set of actions/interactions is directed at managing or handling, and the Context: specific properties relating to the phenomenon. Further, Research Question Three is linked to the phenomenon’s Intervening Conditions: Conditions that act to facilitate or constrain the action/interactional strategies. Research Question Four addresses the issues on Strategies: Purposeful responses or activities to managing or handling the phenomenon under study while

Research Questions Five and Six link up with Consequences: outcomes or consequences of strategies used.

The theoretical model developed in Figure 3 helped to fashion all the elements of the processes of child labour driving through the causal conditions to the phenomenon which is linked with the context. The intervening conditions joined the coping skills that further linked with the outcome. The context, just as the phenomenon, is impacted on the outcome that is both positive and negative. The context of the model represents the school community, social, and cultural environments in which child labour occurs.

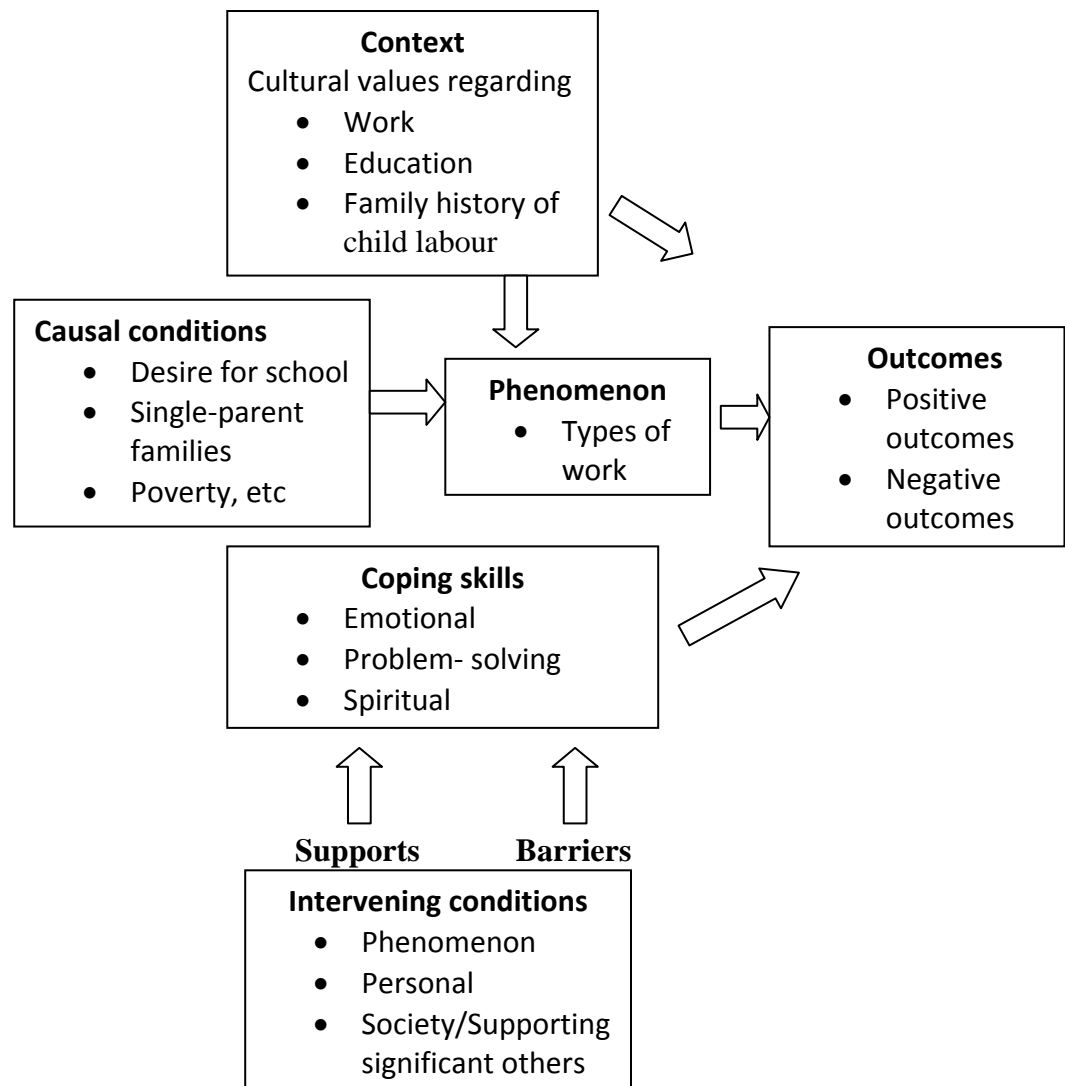


Figure 3: Emergent Theoretical Model of the Study

Figure 3 indicates that participants shared lived experiences by virtue of their status as child workers. Their work occurs within the often unprotective fishing environment and in some cases, the confines of their homes.

Table 4 is on the participants' current work, factors leading to work, and aspirations among others that aid the discourse analysis on data with Research Questions: One, Two and Four that follow.

Table 4

Summary Case Profile of Participants: Current Work, Factors, and Aspirations.

Name	Reasons For Working	Child Labour Activities	Career Aspirations
Agbee	Father neglected him; desired to go to school; mother unemployed;	Started as an errand boy at the beach: then rowing boat; scooping water; diving; disengaging and setting nets; fencing; sorting fish; cuts and sells thatch	Has the will to end well in life by becoming a mechanic in future after a university education.
Ericus	To support mother (gari-processor) to care for him and siblings since he lost his father	Sells fresh coconuts; weaves and sells <i>kloba</i> ; catches and sells crabs; carries loads; processes gari	Uncertain about the future but wished to be a mechanic
Inno	Her aunt put her to work (Mother asked her to come and stay with the maternal aunt)	No regulated life: on call 7/24: sells <i>kaklo</i> and provisions; shops; cooks (domestic and commercial food); washes; fetches water; sweeps; runs errands,	No career aspirations
Chris	Inadequate parental provision; To stay in school	Carries load (porter); fetches water; washes clothes for a fee; weeds; pulls and carries nets; scrapes fish.	To finish SHS and become a musician

Table 4 (cont.)

Dzidzor	Her aunt put her to work (Mother asked her to come and stay with the maternal aunt)	Smokes fish; sells peeled orange and kerosene on the street at night; performs all household chores	To become a trained nurse
Josh	Father neglected him; desire to continue school; mother unemployed;	Throws nets; rows boat; scoops water; dives; disentangles and sets nets; cuts and sells thatch;	To become a mechanic
Dan	To continue school; to alleviate burden on mother;	carries concrete at construction sites; sells fresh coconut and <i>kaklo</i> ; weaves and sells <i>kloba</i> ; catches and sells crabs	To finish SHS and become his own boss as a fitting mechanic
Tsoeke	To help her mother in her business (she works with her mother); and be looked after by her mother in school	Fries and sells <i>koliko</i> ; prepares and sells Accra kenkey; performs all household chores; cares for younger siblings	To become a university graduate and a banker
Eleanor	Her aunt put her to work (Mother asked her to come and stay with the maternal aunt)	All household chores; sells cassava dough.	To become a nurse
Prince	To alleviate burden on mother; to stay in school; and to provide for himself	Goes to sea; throws nets; rows boat; scoops water; dives; disentangles and sets nets; cuts and sells thatch;	uncertain

Source: Field Work, 2010.

Research Question 1: What specific factors contribute to the phenomenon of child labour in fishing communities?

In exploring the factors responsible for child engagement in child labour, the emergent patterns as reported by participants, were useful in the appreciation of the demographic data of participants and the overall understanding of the context of child labour in fishing villages. The following

analyses therefore took into consideration characteristics of the demographic data presented and the causal conditions of the phenomenon of child labour.

Several reasons as to why children engaged in child labour were disclosed during focus group discussions and informal and formal interviews with parents, teachers, and working children. The main reason that was given during the interviews with the working children was their desire to have formal education because of the inability of their families to pay school fees and provide them with other basic necessities for school. Other reasons mentioned were, poverty and the need to make money quickly.

Analysis of the specific circumstances that triggered off incidence of child labour may be classified into 'push' and 'pull' factors. 'Push' factor is defined in this study as children engaging in income-generating activities to help alleviate the economic constraints of the family either by being directly or indirectly sent by parents. The 'pull' factor on the other hand refers to the children's own desire for material goods and the need for money with which to buy these material needs and to become financially independent of their parents' control.

Analysis pertaining to Research Question One is presented in a path analysis induced from participant description pulling all the categories together and assessing their dimensions in Figure 4. Majority of the participants have multiple triggering events (as indicated in Table 4) leading to their involvement in child labour activities and these patterns are examined as such.

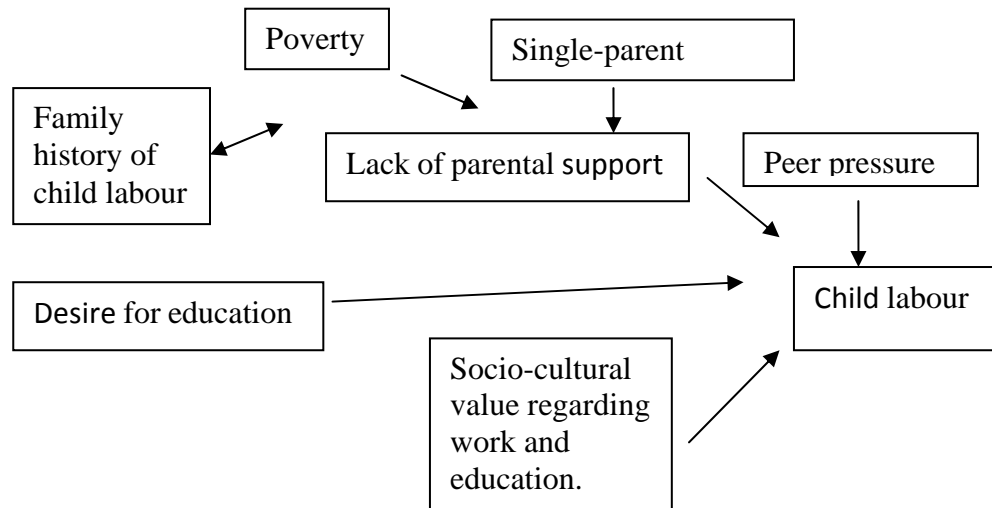


Figure 4 Path Analysis: Factors Influencing Child Labour

Desire for Formal Education

The desire to have formal education emerged as a strong factor underpinning children’s involvement in child labour in the selected fishing communities and this has ‘pushed’ as many as seven out of the 10 participants into child labour so as to start or stay in school. At the age of 10 years, Agbee-CAS/01 felt that he was missing something. It dawned on him that formal education is very important in one’s life. There was therefore a vacuum created in him with a strong desire to go to school. He said:

... before I started working, I was not going to school because my father is not looking after me and my mother is not doing anything. Anytime I saw my friends come back from school, I felt that I should also go to school. So I started going to the beach doing small, small jobs to save some money. So truly when I started I began to make some money that I saved with an aunt who spent it. So the subsequent money I made I saved with my mother and with that, I came to see the headmistress here

(referring to the headmistress of ABA school) and she put me in class one (P1). So this was how I started school...

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

CAP/01(Agbee's mother) corroborated this statement and said that,

...and this child (Agbee) became a restless soul anytime he saw his friends in school uniform. He asked me several times to send him to school but because I don't work and have no money, I could not send him to school. But the major question was, "who will cater for him?"

(Biological mother of Agbee-CAS/01)

Agbee's story implied that prior to his involvement in paid work he was not enrolled into a school as a result of lack of financial support from the mother and the father's lack of responsibility.

Josh-CAS/06 also reported during the individual interview that the desire to continue his education after the parents divorced and his father did not provide for his needs made him to start work. He revealed that when he, his mother, and siblings were living with their father, he did not engage in work. He re-echoed this sentiment strongly during an FGD that:

Madam, you see, when it gets to sometimes that we need to pay those school fees and provide some items in school and my aunt could no longer provide for me and my father did not give me anything I asked him, I stopped school. Then I looked for work to do like cutting and gathering thatch to sell... and going to sea to make some money.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

The triggering event in another case, that of Ericus-CAS/02 was similar:

When I came to live with my grandmother, I had to stop going to school because there was no money to pay my school fees. so I decided to work to support her to look after me and my siblings for all of us to be in school.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years *Form 2 Boy*)

CAP/02 confirmed this report and stated that:

I could not afford his (Ericus) school fees with what I sold so he decided to work to get some money to return to school. In fact, he supports the brothers too sometimes by giving them pocket money for school in the morning.

(CAP/02, biological mother of Ericus-CAS/02)

These reports reveal the forceful yet quieten attitude of parents concerning their children's engagement in economic activities. The 'push' factor employed here is not a parental one but a financial push where some children's engagement in child labour activities were influenced positively by the desire to go to school or continue school. The implication is that though some participants set out to work primarily to see themselves in school, they also became guardians or bread-winners for their families. Furthermore, though the desire to be in school is a direct cause of child labour as reported by participants in this study, this has the underlying causes of and directly linked to poverty, lack of parental support, and single-parent families.

Lack of Parental Support and Neglect

A pattern of parental neglect (particularly fathers) and abandonment emerged strongly from the narratives and experiences of some of the

participants involved in this study as another factor that forced them into work. A nineteen-year-old Agbee recalled that total neglect by his father coupled with his mother's inability to support him due to her unemployment, led him to engage in child labour as a means of supporting himself both in school and outside school. He revealed:

I started work because my mother does not work and has no money. To go on, in truth, my father was in this town fishing but he never gave us (me and my mother) anything. So I decided to work...

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years Form 3 Boy)

His mother confirmed this report:

When I asked the father too for support to send this boy (referring to Agbee) to school, he did not do anything about it.

(CAP/01, Biological Mother of Agbee-CAS/01)

Josh shared similar experience:

... I asked my father for money for school and he refused to give me so I looked for work to do... my father is working at the university library yet he doesn't mind us at all...Our father doesn't care for us at all even though he is providing for our younger siblings from his new wife.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years Form 3 Boy)

Inno, talking about whether her father provided for her upkeep when she was living with her own mother narrated that “*my father never sent me anything*”. She went on to say that her mother sent her to live with her aunt as a way of lessening her (mother's) burden. She recalled that, “*My mother says that if I'm with my aunt, she wouldn't have to feed me too*”.

However, Chris who lived with both parents reported that his parents did not neglect him but that what they provide for him and his siblings was insufficient due to the fact that the father had no proper occupation and his mother was unemployed. He said:

My father looks after me. But when he says he has no money then I have to work. I work because the money my parents give me is not enough.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

CAP/04 confirmed this and said that:

We (the parents) tried our best to provide for them, but as you can see, I'm not doing anything and their father is not working so what we give them is sometimes not enough.

(CAP/04, Biological Mother of Chris)

It is evident from the data that there is a kind of parental push which we would justifiably term “incidental” because both the participants and their parents reported during the interviews and FGDs that parents did not directly push the children into labour but their inability or failure to fulfil their parental responsibility toward their children, indirectly, pushed the children to engage in economic activities. This assertion is based on the fact that the parents did not report doing anything to stop or prevent the children from engaging in work but rather seem to enjoy the proceeds of the work of their children.

Taken further, one can say that maternal incapability (See Table 3) put a number of children into child labour, because faced with the paternal neglect these children believe that if their mothers were working and well to do, or have any meaningful way of support, their mothers would have been able to

look after them and they would not have been victims of child labour. Four other participants in an FGD shared the following views:

It is because my mother is not working.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy in an FGD)

I think because my mother has no money she is ok with my work.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form I Girl in an FGD)

What my mother does is not enough for us so I work to help her look after us.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy in an FGD)

What my mother does for a living is nothing. She finds it difficult to provide for me and my siblings so I decided to do something to help her look after us.

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

The data revealed that fathers were hardly mentioned by the participants as supporters. In place of father responsibility, mothers and aunts appeared to be bearing the responsibility of the children.

Additionally, all the four girls involved in this study seem to have been pushed into child labour by their parents (specifically by their mothers). These girls reported either working for their own mothers or given out by their mothers to live with relatives and help them in their businesses. In return, these relatives were to support in looking after the children in school by providing their basic needs such as shelter, food, clothing, and health care. This position was shared by Inno when she disclosed:

... I came to live with my aunt because my mother said that she (my aunt) has no child and she needed somebody to help her. So I'm to live with her... as a way of helping her so that she can also look after me.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Dzidzor-CAS/05 narrated a similar experience:

My mother asked me to come and stay with my aunt because she was looking for somebody to live with her. This was why I came to her so that she will look after me till I finish my education.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Again, Eleanor-CAS/09 reported that:

I came to live with my aunt because my mother told me that she (my aunt) would take very good care of me till I finish school so I came.

(Eleanor-CAS/09, 16 years, Form 1 Girl)

These girls have not willingly engaged in work, but have been pushed in to it by parents (mothers) ostensibly due to financial constraints in the home. These participants however, reported that their basic needs that were promised them were not adequately provided for and even though they cannot say categorically that they are child labourers because they do not control the money accrued from their work, they believed that they were child labourers. They reported that their work load at home was too much for them and it also adversely affect their health, rest, and education and this is why they believe that they also are child labourers. This assertion is closely linked to the issue of single-parent families discussed in the next section.

Single-Parent Families

A total of 7 participants reported that they are from single-parent families and these single-parents are all mothers. Two of the single-mothers had lost their first husbands through death. Ericus lost his father and he and his sister had become a burden on their mother alone. Though his mother remarried twice after the death of his father, she still lives as a single-mother because she had been divorced with the last husband too. Ericus' mother sadly recalled during an FGD:

Hmm... as for me, after I lost my first husband (Ericus' father), I married again but he was not looking after me so I left him after we had two children. The last one too I left because not only was he not looking after me and the child I had for him, he also did not like my other children. He saw them as a burden and insulted or beat them too often...most of us here have gone through this.

(CAP/02, Biological Mother of Ericus-CAS/02 in an FGD)

Dan also lost his father and the mother remarried another man with two children. Even though she is still married to him, he has another wife. CAS/07 (Dan's mother) said:

Dan and the brother lost their father early and that was why I married again. But he (her current husband) is not looking after his own children too well. He Will be there a...a...a, (indicating a long period of time) and in about three months then he will bring us GHC 30.00. So, hmm..., it is this kaklo that I sell to give them something.

She went on to lament:

What is bothering us (referring to the women in the group and study community) now is the issue of marriage. The men are refusing to be responsible for the children we bore them. I'm not the only one in this situation. A whole lot of women in this area are affected so we are burdened with looking after the children alone meanwhile we have no meaningful job doing.

(CAP/07, Biological Mother of Dan-CAS/07 in an FGD)

Statements such as the above indicate paternal irresponsibility in the communities where fathers and husbands have shirked their paternal responsibilities thereby leaving the duty of caring for their children on the mothers alone. This then makes room for the children to engage in work to support themselves and their mothers.

The mothers of five participants were single-parents. With regard to the five single-mothers, two have remarried before with one living in her matrimonial home and the other one is a single-parent. The remaining three mothers did not re-marry after their first marriages. Two participants have both parents still living together in monogamous marriages. Eleanor, whose parents lived together and worked as chop bar attendants in Abidjan, also had to live with other people because her parents could not adequately provide for her and her siblings. She reported:

... even my two younger sisters are also living with different people now. Before I came here, my mother always complained that it was difficult for them to look after all of us.

(Eleanor-CAS/09, 16 years, Form 1 Girl in an FGD)

There is a pattern emerging from the data to the effect that parental separation coupled with the remarriage of a parent and in this case the mother, brings about unfriendly environment for children from previous marriage and this often gives rise to friction as the stepparent (stepfather) is sometimes unsympathetic and abusive to the step child. This issue came up during both the individual interviews and group discussions. In addition to what the mothers said concerning their difficulties, the head teacher of ABA School also briefed the researcher during one of their informal discussions prior to main data collection that:

In fact, one of the main problems of this school and the community is that the step fathers and even the real fathers are not responsible at all [w9gbe (meaning they_ the fathers and step-fathers_ refuse to look after their step-children)]. Hmm, they are not looking after them at all. See, my daughter (referring to the researcher), there is one girl in this school who has [abi g7 a2e] a very big sore at her back. Do you know what happened to her? It is her step-father who beat her [kut4kut4e] as if to kill her. Hmm, I had to go with a teacher to warn him that when it happens again I will send him to DOVVSU before the beating subsided somehow.

(Miss Nyonyo, Head teacher, ABA School)

Two of the participants in the study who either live with their mothers and or stepfathers reported suffering abuse from their stepfathers. Tsoeke shared her experience:

As for my stepfather, he does not do anything for me. Even when I ask my mother something and she refused to give me, he does not give it to

me when I ask him and he will not persuade my mother to give it to me either. He does not see me as his own child because he does not treat me the way he treats his own children who are my siblings. This disturbs me and I think of my own father living at Half-Asini...

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

Dan recalled his experience when he was living with his stepfather and now with his mother:

You see in their (sibling's) attitude that they don't like me or even regard me as their brother. And I think it is their father who tells them things because he himself doesn't treat me well. Even recently he bought a phone for my mother and because my mother didn't go to school, she does not know how to operate it and she asked me to teach her. But when he came in and saw me with the phone, he started shouting at me and asked me never to touch it again. It was him I was living with first at Elmina with his other children from another woman. There, I did everything in the home while his children sit down and watch TV. Yet he failed to cater for me properly. He will not give me pocket money in the morning and he will shout at or insult me at the least provocation so I came here to my grandmother before moving to live with my mother.

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy)

The homes of most of the child labourers (looking at the reports made by participants and confirmed by mothers) are not safe and conducive for child development where they need all the parental care to develop fully. These reports show that though some participants' engagement in child labour

activities stem from their desire to acquire formal education, the major triggering factor is basically lack of parental support or neglect. Interviewee CAS/01, for instance, could have started school earlier than he did if, according to him, his father did provide for him and or his mother was capable of supporting him financially in school. And that stepfathers were not making things easy for their stepchildren. They make them feel unwanted and maltreat them at the least provocation. These children, apart from struggling to satisfy their physiological needs, they are also faced with challenges of safety needs and belongingness.

Peer Pressure

The role of peer pressure in child labour seems to be another driving force behind child participation in paid work in this study (See Figure 3 and Table 4). Three male participants reported that they also get involved in work in order to acquire material possessions that their peers possess. These participants revealed that they want to enjoy among other things, the things that boys of their age have and the only way for them to have these things is to engage in economic activities that would fetch them some money with which they could purchase the material things such as shoes, trendy or fashionable dresses, and some electronic devices like phone, walk man, and radio sets. This cause is referred to as the 'pull' factor. It is the desire for material possessions: the need to feel loved and belong that 'pulled' a number of school going children into labour. Josh revealed:

I wanted to have the kind of shoes that my friends wear and have some music recorder to entertain myself with... I used part of the money I earned to buy shoes and clothes.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Chris also remarked that:

I used part of the money I make on my dresses and shoes... Yes, I buy some video games and radio like those of my friends... when I see them holding phones and playing music, I like it so I bought some too.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

Prince shared similar experience that he also uses a larger part of his money in buying what he likes. According to him, he makes lots of money from the work he does and revealed:

I buy what I see and I like. You see, sometimes I work and I make a lot of money so when our friends have some of those things and you don't have some, they don't respect you so I work and I use part of the money to buy my things.

(Prince-CAS/10, 19 years, Form 2 Boy)

CAP/04 (mother of Chris) said that when her children get money, they tend to buy unnecessary personal effects such as shoes, dresses, video games among others. She lamented that most children copy what their friends do:

You see, they tend to do whatever their friends are doing and this is not good...

Chris revealed that he follows his friends to work at the university campus for money. His mother confirmed this story and lamented that:

... hmm, most of the children, especially those living with their own parents wouldn't have engaged in work if not for bad company. You see, they follow their friends to town and when they see what their friends buy, they become worried and they follow them to work in order to buy some of those things.

(CAP/04, Biological Mother of Chris-CAS/04)

This pull factor seems not only as a result of participants succumbing to peer pressure but also the desire to acquire material things as reported in the study. These purchases become a necessity at the same time, a status symbol and give the child labourers a sense of belongingness to the class of their peers. In this case, peers replace parents in encouraging the participants to engage in work at an early age. The peer group also mostly selects or reinforces the kind of work their friends take up.

To ascertain the social and cultural values that underlie child labour in fishing communities, responses were elicited under themes such as cultural values of people in the community regarding work and education and why some parents seem to endorse their children's participation in economic activities, and the world view of people in fishing communities regarding child labour and child labourers. In this study, socio-cultural values refer variously to values relating to work, education, and parental orchestration.

Socio-Cultural Values Regarding Work

Six children in this study reported that they started work in the domestic settings by helping their families before going out for paid jobs. These children worked partly because of poverty but also because cultural

values and expectations support this as a natural and right way to bringing up children and training them to take up roles and responsibilities as a way of growing up and becoming a full member of the family. In fact, this is the traditional mode of instilling informal education and socialization amongst the people of the study sites. In this study, data reveal that six of the participants helped their parents in their small commercial activities or small home-based businesses. For instance all the four female participants reported that they assisted their mothers or care-givers in their petty-trading activities. Inno-CAS/03 indicated:

I sell many things for my aunt like Milo, sugar, roasted groundnut, kaklo, etc... in the village... My aunt also wakes me up to help her in cooking the food that she sells on our school campus here.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Dzidzor-CAS/05 also narrated her experience:

My aunt is a fishmonger so the work we normally do is scraping, salting and smoking fish... I also sell oranges and gari in the village and kerosene on the street at night.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Tsoeke-CAS/08 who lived with her own mother narrated:

I help my mother in frying and selling koliko and Accra kenkey at the road side. I join my mother at the road side after school where I take over the koliko and she goes to prepare the kenkey. Sometimes when she has to go somewhere or has something else doing, then I take over selling both the koliko and kenkey.

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

Eleanor-CAS/09 recalled that she went with her aunt to buy cassava dough from retailers in a nearby village and then made it into small balls to go and sell in neighbouring villages and the university community.

Dan-CAS/07 and Ericus-CAS/02 are both boys who engaged in economic activities to earn money but who also helped their mothers in their small home-based businesses. Ericus-CAS/02 said:

...because my mother processes gari, I peel, wash, and load the cassava to the mill and fry gari... I go and look for firewood for the fire too.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy)

Dan-CAS/07 also revealed:

...sometimes I sell kaklo for my mother at the road side.

All these point to the issue of children engaging in work early in life as a means of helping their parents and or as a way of being trained and prepared for adulthood responsibilities.

Tsoeke's biological mother pointed out that the work she made her daughter to do were to train her so that she can be on her own when she grows up. She intimated:

You see, if I don't insist that she does every work, she will become lazy in future and if she does not get any good man to look after her, what will she do then?

(CAP/08, Tsoeke's Biological Mother)

In general, community members together with some parents, teachers and neighbours who participated either in informal or formal interview discussions were of the view that engaging children as young as four years in

work is not a new phenomenon to their traditional cultural practices where one's children are seen as an asset. Children generally are perceived as means of help to parents in whatever the parents do. One adult even chipped-in:

If they (child labourers) work and what they get is used to help me in looking after the house, then it is not wrong.

(CAP/09, Immediate Neighbour of Eleanor)

This implies that child labour is not alien to the culture of the people and seemingly, they do not frown upon it. However, some parents expressed different view to this assumption. Ericus mother reported that:

Majority of us parents are only concerned about what to eat and wear today and we forget about tomorrow. We allow them (children) to work for us to help us to provide for only now and prevent them from going to school sometimes and tomorrow they drop out and the problem is still there.

(CAP/02, Ericus' Biological Mother)

The views expressed imply that some parents are quite aware of the danger of keeping their children out of school and engaging them in work. For some parents, child work is a means of training for future life. Again, it is obvious from the discussion of the data presented that there is no clear cut point in the cultural set up of the participants regarding child service and child labour. And that it seems parents and care-givers inadvertently turned to exploit their children and wards respectively, who help them all in the name of training and help.

Family Values Regarding Education

Family values regarding education are very crucial to the decisions and choices that children make concerning child labour, their schooling, and educational aspirations. Some parents and care-givers seem to place education very high despite their poor socio-economic status. Dan's mother was of the view that education is important and it is the only thing that can help break the chain of poverty. She lamented over her own inability to attend school which she blamed on her parents whom she said did not value sending the girl child to school and were more concerned about the immediate gains they would make when they put their children to work. Because she knows, feels, lives, and experiences the adverse effects of lack of formal education, she seems very resolved to see her children through school but lack of financial support is making things difficult for her. This, she said, was why she has no option than to allow Dan to engage in work to help see him through his schooling. She recalled:

*You see, the problem for us is that we did not go to school so we don't have any good job to do. We can't have white collar job and we are not skilfully trained so you see, it is either fishing or gari processing and where can this take us and our children to today? Our parents... did not send us to school to acquire knowledge. I, for instance, the time that they started this ABA school, it was by our house here, (pointing to the outer side of her house) before they moved it to its new place, I wanted very much to go but my mother refused saying that if I go who would help her to uproot her cassava and process gari? So it is **kaklo making and selling school** (emphasis mine) that she sent me to and*

indeed that is the only job I know how to do and I have been doing all my life... Even my uncle... came in those days and wanted to take me to school but my father said that a girl's education was not profitable so he will not send me. I cried and cried but it was useless. No one was prepared to send me to school except that uncle of mine, but my father disagreed and discouraged him from sending me to school so that is how come I did not go to school. My mother did not even allow me to enter the classroom and see what the children were doing and learn to write even my name only. Oh..., hmm..., I cried then. She went on (she slumped) and said: I want Dan to go to school to become somebody tomorrow so that it will be well for him and he can help us too. So the money he makes he uses it for school...

(CAP/08, Biological Mother of Dan-CAS/08)

This narrative reveals that some parents believe in and value the power of education in breaking the poverty cycle.

Chris' mother shared this about her experience and views on education:

I was with my mother here and was going to school when my father came for me to spend the holidays with him at Akosombo. After the holidays he did not give me money to come back so I stayed there and cooked for some of his friends before I made some money and returned here. By the time I returned I missed some terms so I could not continue. I do tell them (her children) that I am not wicked, that all I want for them is a brighter future, that they should make it in life... because me myself, in the beginning how I meant to go to school very high... I used to say that after school I would join the Border Guards

(Customs, Exercise and Preventive Service [CEPS]) and it would fit me paa.... So I took my lessons seriously and told myself as soon as I complete school, straight to Boarder Guards. Then I told my mother (giggled and laughed reminiscent of the good old days): “Davi, when I become a border guard, do not engage in smuggling because if you do, you will be the first person I would arrest... (she laughed)”. Then she would ask me, ‘why would you arrest your own mother?’ Then I told her that if I arrest you my own mother, they will promote me.

(CAP/04, Biological Mother of Chris-CAS/04)

CAP/06 articulated during an FGD:

You see, taflatse (excuse me), some people do not have anything so they leave the children in the kp4domia (the street) to suffer and work on their own before they can get food to eat. Meanwhile this is the time that you the parent has to be with the child so that even if it is learning a trade, then you seek help for the child to go but they leave the children on their own and you see this type of things lead them to follow bad company and do things that they would not have loved to do and they become kob4l4viwo (truants).

(CAP/06, Immediate Neighbour of Josh-CAS/06)

CAP/02 disclosed:

...we parents are facing a lot of financial difficulties in doing petty trading so it is difficult for us not only in this house but the community as a whole and this makes provision for our children a little difficult.

You see the problem for us is that we did not go to school so we don't have any good job to do.

(CAP/02, Biological Mother of Ericus-CAS/02)

It is evident from the data that some present day parents value education and are aware of the tremendous prospects that it can bring to the total well being of both the individual and the family but were and still are impoverished by their poor conditions of living. Though they themselves did not get the opportunity to attend or complete school, they however, appear not to allow their children to face the problems they face now and are therefore accommodating and or indulgent as regards their children's decision to engage in work in order to see themselves through education.

Poverty

This factor is an embedded factor which to all appearances also pushed children in fishing communities into child labour. Seven out of the 10 participants indicated that but for poverty, they might not have found themselves working. In the case of Agbee, he intimated that he might not have engaged in child labour if his working father took up his parental responsibility towards him, and if his mother were gainfully employed. Agbee reported:

because my mother is not working, I have to work in order to go to school like my friends...

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Dan also lamented that:

After my father died it was becoming very very difficult for my mother to single-handedly look after all of us to continue school so ...I started work...

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy)

Dan's mother echoed this sentiment:

...the problem for us is that we did not go to school so we don't have any good job to do. We can't have white collar job and we are not skilfully trained. But I have seen that it is only education that can help us come out of this poverty so I'm prepared to sell even my last cloth to see Dan in school because his teachers say that he knows book.

(CAP/07, Biological Mother of Dan-CAS/07 in an FGD)

Ericus mother's views were not different:

Because I don't have, the senior brother who finished JSS here had to go and learn carpentry work in Accra living with his uncle but they said business is not good so he is also roaming in town looking for work to do. I hear he is now working with a pure water company.

(CAP/02, Biological Mother of Ericus-CAS/02 in an FGD)

In a sense therefore, poverty may not be directly the pushing factor of the participants' involvement in child labour. It may be as a result of a combination of factors: parental irresponsibility (specifically, fathers) and unemployment (mothers).

Parental Orchestration

Another emergent factor for child involvement in child labour is the issue of *Parental Orchestration*. The term is used in this study to refer to the

decision made by parents on behalf of their children to send the children into child labour. The bargain, the terms agreed upon by the parent(s) together with either the care-giver or employer, are over and above the child. The child is obliged to simply comply. He or she executes the terms of the contracts entered into “for his or her own good”. The children themselves do not know and have no say in the terms agreed on. One very peculiar dimension of this case reported by participants is that they were not informed by their parents (mothers) that they were going to be engaged in work. And that they were not aware of when they will leave to their parents again. Three out of the four girls involved in this study reported that they feel and believe they are child labourers even though they did not set out to work for money on their own as in the case of the boys in the study. This position was shared by Inno when she disclosed:

... I came to live with my aunt because my mother said that she (my aunt) has no child and she needed somebody to help her. So I'm to live with her... as a way of helping her so that she can also look after me.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Dzidzor-CAS/05 corroborated this:

My mother asked me to come and stay with my aunt because she was looking for somebody to live with her. This was why I came to her so that she will look after me till I finish my education.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Eleanor-CAS/09 also reported that:

I came to live with my aunt because my mother told me that she (my aunt) would take very good care of me till I finish school so I came.

(Eleanor-CAS/09, 16 years, Form 1 Girl)

An Immediate Neighbour confirmed:

Hmmm, there are a lot of children staying with others who are their aunties or grandmothers or others and these people prevent the children most of the time from going to school. And I blamed the parents because as for me I cannot send my children to stay with others. They will be with me here till they finish school and I think that those who send their children away are wicked to the children. You see, those children here (pointing to a house) do not go to school either because of lot of work or looking after their madams' young children for them. When they refuse to obey and go to school, then they will go on empty stomach for some...

(CAP/05, Immediate Neighbour of Dzidzor-CAS/05 in an FGD)

These girls have not willingly engaged in work, but have been pushed into it by parents (mothers) because of financial constraints in the home. Most of these participants however, reported that their basic needs that were promised them were not adequately provided for and even though they cannot say categorically that they are child labourers because they do not control the money accrued from their work, they believe that they are child labourers. They reported that their work load at home was too much for them and it also adversely affects their health, rest, and education and this is why they believe that they also are child labourers.

Family History of Child Labour

Eight participants reported that they have a history of child labour in their families. Only two could not tell whether any member of either nuclear or extended families ever engaged in work when they were children. Reports from the FGDs indicate that three out of the eight participants who have a family history of child labour said that their fathers were child labourers. Six mothers of the participants were also reported to have worked when they were children. According to Ericus,

Yes, my mother used to tell us how she and her younger sister suffered as children when they lived with their paternal aunt who maltreated them and refused to send her to school so she couldn't get any employable job.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy)

A girl living with a care-giver related:

My mother used to talk about how she suffered when she was just a child and her mother died. She talked about walking long distances from our hometown to Togo to sell dzomi (a type of palm oil) with her paternal aunty.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

The network in child labour history running through families is well summed up in Chris' comment:

As I said, my younger brother works with me and sometimes he works as a driver's mate too. My cousin who just came to live with us also expressed his desire to work if he gets some. My father used to say that he worked to look after himself in school. He fished. And I think this

affected my father's education. I think my mother will tell you more. As for my mother she worked here with the mother before she married my father.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

On sibling involvement in child labour interviewees reported that their siblings either older or younger than them engaged in work. For the extended family members three participants also indicated that either their aunts and or uncles had worked as children.

The data reveal that majority of participants somehow “*inherited*” the practice of child labour from their parents. It is embedded in the culture of the families. It is logical to state that child labour is not a new and uncommon phenomenon in most families in fishing communities and this might be the reason why some parents though are not well-to-do and might not support the practice, permitted the practice among their children. CAP/04 in a confirming tone said,

I worked as a child myself. Even though I don't really like to see my child work, ... well... he brings some money home to help us.

CAP/07 also indicated that:

Though I know it (child labour) is not good because it has affected me, I think it helps sometimes...”

(Dan-CAS/07 biological mother, in an FGD)

This could be pushed further by saying that since parents of child labourers are aware of the help their work offered their families when they were young, they do not detest child labour in their adulthood with the hope that they would also gain from their children's work.

Research Question 2: What is the nature of the child labour experiences that school children in fishing communities report?

The context of the model represents the community: social and cultural environments in which child labour occurs. Participants shared their lived experiences by virtue of their status as child workers in fishing communities. Their work to alleviate their poverty levels, and to put themselves and some of their siblings in school, fend for their families, occurs within the wider, often challenging socio-cultural environment. In examining the nature of child labour as reported by participants, the various types of work the participants engage in were looked at.

Type of Work

There are several jobs that child labourers carry out in the fishing communities either to earn some money for themselves or to help their parents or care-givers. Participants in this study performed various jobs in addition to fishing work. The type of work they do is categorised under four main headings. The categorisation is based on the common characteristics that the work denies the child his or her rest, leisure, play, and adversely affects education. These categories are family business/petty trading, fishing work, farming activities, and others. The information in Figure 5 represents the types of work children do in the fishing communities studied. Figure 5 is designed based on information presented in Table 4.

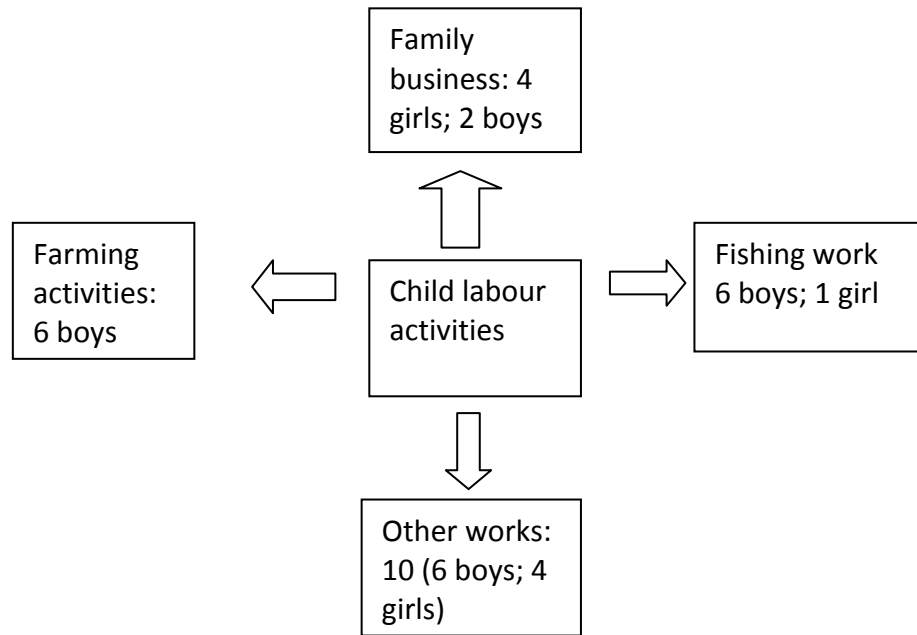


Figure 5 Activities Performed by Participants

Family Business (Petty Trading)

Figure 5 shows that of the 10 child labourers, six participants made up of four girls and two boys were engaged in family businesses to help their mothers or care-givers in generating family income. This income is used in supporting the family and taking care of the children’s education. These businesses ranged from selling provisions, smoking fish, processing gari, to preparing and selling cooked food. Two male participants who took part in these family businesses reported that though they helped their parents in doing their businesses, what their mothers get from their sales was still inadequate and this forced them to engage in other economic activities to earn extra money. Ericus-CAS/02 reported, “... because my mother processes gari, I peel, wash, load the cassava to the mill, and fry gari...”. Dan-CAS/07 in like manner revealed that “sometimes I sell kaklo for my mother...”. The other four participants who helped in family businesses are females. Three

of these girls: Inno, Dzidzor, and Eleanor, lived with care-givers while one, Tsoeke, lived with her own mother. Tsoeke articulated:

I work to help my mother in frying and selling koliko (fried yam or sweet potato) and Accra kenkey at the road side. I work for her so that when I need help my mother could help me.

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

The four girls variously indicated that though they went hawking various wares far and near their communities, the money they made was entirely for their care-givers or mothers. They reported that they did not control the money they make. Inno-CAS/03 sells *kaklo*, provisions, and cooked food. She disclosed:

I have been working for six years now. I sell many things for my aunty like Milo, sugar, and roasted groundnut, but the money is not mine neither am I paid... I sell kaklo in the village and sometime too I walk to the varsity (university) campus to sell provisions. My aunty also wakes me up to help her in cooking the food that she sells on our school campus here.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form Girl)

Eleanor sells cassava dough while Dzidzor smoked fish and sold provisions. These revelations indicate that the girls in this study were domestic servants who work in exchange of food, shelter and clothing (which are sometimes inadequately provided by their care-providers and mothers).

Again, it is clear from the data that the female participants cannot compare to their male counterparts in terms of working for themselves. In addition, female child labourers are mostly those who do not put themselves

into work, but are forced to work for their parents or care-givers. The heavy load placed upon these girls leaves them little or no time to rest or play and they have no time to study at home and to do their homework. This adversely affects their academic performance.

Fishing Work

Figure 4 again shows that of the 10 participants, all six boys together with one girl engaged in fishing activities. These fishing activities relate to both activities at sea and at the beach. At sea activities included rowing boat, scooping water from the canoe, diving into water to disentangle and set nets, and swimming with one end of the rope to tie at the beach. Beach fishing activities reported were mending net, catching crab, fencing, sorting fish, carrying fish and smoking fish. Agbee-CAS/01 reported:

Often, I go fishing with some fishermen from the village and when we go, sometimes I pull nets, row the boat, and other times I dive into the water to disentangle nets and to swim to the shore with one end of the net to be tied to a coconut tree and wait for the others to land.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Chris added:

Me I don't go to sea but I pull the net, and carry the fish, prepare the fish, we carry the dirty net and the rope to the fishing village.

(Chris -CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

Josh, Dan, and Prince all articulated engaging in similar activities:

I go to the beach sometimes too to row the boat or throw the net. To go to sea, depending on the sea waves, we wake up early dawn say

around 12: 00 midnight or 1:00 am and get back around 10:00 am or later depending on where we dock. Sometimes we dock at blackstar house and we pick the net and we hire trucks from the town to go and cart the net to the village before we dry it and we are paid about GHC 5.00 or less even some days if we don't catch much they give us "k4mpaniviwo" some fish to go home.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

As for Ericus, though he did not go fishing, he reported, *"I also catch crab and sell"*.

Thus, participants predominantly engaged in fishing and its related activities to help their care-givers or to make money for themselves and these activities mostly took them out of school and did not allow them to learn at home or do their homework.

Farming work

Five male participants reported that they engaged in some farming activities to earn money. These activities include weeding, cutting thatch, and weaving *kloba*. Agbee-CAS/01 reported:

Apart from these (fishing work), I sometimes also cut thatch and sell especially when fish is scarce.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

In the words of Ericus-CAS/02, *"I don't go fishing instead I pluck coconuts from my grandfather's coconut trees and sell"*.

Dan-CAS/07 corroborated this:

Sometimes too I go to my grandfather's coconut trees to pluck the branches and weave kloba to sell

In the fishing villages, child labourers do not engage only in fishing activities but relied on farming work to supplement their fishing work. Farming work comes in handy especially when fish is scarce. Participants in the fishing villages find other means of generating money apart from fishing and its related activities. These works also fetch them some money.

Other Works

One other revelation is that all participants who engaged in fishing work also engaged in other income generating activities such as carrying concrete at construction sites, carrying load (porter), and washing for a fee. It is evident from the data that all six male participants did not engage in one economic activity to make money. They engaged in two or more income-earning activities (See Table 4). Chris for instance, indulged in fishing activities but did not cut thatch. Instead, he carries load and washes for university students. And Dan did not do fishing work but was involved in family business and other economic activities such as carrying load, carrying concrete at building sites, and weaving *kloba* in the fishing community to earn some money.

Domestic Work and Child Labour

The four female participants in this study all lamented bitterly about the work load placed on them at home. In a discussion prior to main data collection, all the girls intimated that they believed they are child labourers

due to the extensive nature of their work and the effects their activities have on them. They reported that though the businesses they ran or the economic activities they performed were not theirs, they believed that their mothers and care-givers tasked them too much and that they see their conditions even worse than that of children who went out to work for others to receive money. They went on to reveal that apart from the economic activities they undertake for their mothers and care-givers that put them in the category of child labourers, their household duties were also too burdensome.

All the four female participants reported that they performed all kinds of duties at home ranging from cleaning, washing, cooking the family meal to taking care of young siblings and that these activities made them very tired and prevented them from going to school every day, or made them to go to school late. They also reported that workload at home made it very difficult for them to do their home-work. This may be so since work performed in and on behalf of the household can assume even worse forms than the work that child labourers perform outside where the exploitation of children is rightly condemned as inhuman. These sentiments were reflected in the narratives that follow.

(i) Tsoeke (who lived with her own mother):

I live with my mother and step father and I work to help my mother in frying and selling koliko (fried yam or sweet potato) and Accra kenkey at the road side. In the morning I wake up early about 5:00 am, sweep the compound, fetch water, bath my junior brother who is about 4 years old and get food for him then I bath and come to school... I work for her so that when I need help my mother could help me. When I close from school

in the afternoon I go and join her at the road side and take over the koliko and she goes to prepare the kenkey for sale. Sometimes if she had something doing or somewhere going, then I go to sell the kenkey too. We normally finish selling around 6:00 pm then I go home to prepare the evening meal so I finish my household chores around 10.00 pm and sometimes if I were not tired then I learn small but most often I sleep without learning...

She went on:

Sometimes I get very tired due to work at home; sometimes in a week I come to school late on two or three days. I sometimes complain to her or even when I get tired in doing something and I tell her that I want to rest a little before I continue she will not agree but she will shout at me and insist that I do the work at that time and ... I have to do everything.

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

(ii) Inno-CAS/03 who lived with a care-giver (her maternal aunt) disclosed:

Em... I can't tell you how my life is like but all I know is I do every work that is given me from sweeping, washing, cooking, fetching water, shopping, and selling. Most of the times, I get very tired before coming to school. In school too, I continue working for my Auntie, by washing the plates that my mates eat from during break. We wake up early to prepare akple, yam and rice that my auntie sells in my school. So wash the plates on our school campus. My auntie wakes me up every morning about 3.am and then we start cooking. So we will be working till it is ready before I get ready for school. And then during break I go to where my auntie sells

and I wash the plates and then after school I pack everything that we brought the food in to school back home to wash and cook the evening meal. But before I cook the evening meal, I will go and sell some provisions in the varsity... it is very difficult for me.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

(iii) Dzidzor-CAS/05 (who also lived with a care-giver (maternal aunt)):

I do every work from sweeping, washing, cooking, cleaning to selling peeled orange, gari and kerosene, and smoked fish. I think that I'm helping and my aunt is also helping me but I think that they are overworking me. Madam, my problem is that I get tired and sick too much and that when I asked for things that I need she will shout at me and insult me. Learning at home after school is a problem because every evening after doing everything at home I've to go and sell kerosene on the street and by the time I come home, it's late and I go to sleep. Hmm ... (sighed with crest fallen) even when I complain that I'm tired, then they will tell me that because of the small work I do that I complain so much and that I should clear off from them.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

(iv) Eleanor (who also lived with a care-giver (maternal aunt)) related:

What I sell is cassava dough that we go to buy from a village... I go round the village here and beyond to sell. Sometimes I go round about twice a day from here to the villages beyond the varsity. I sell after school then I return to cook the evening meal for the family. But before I go to school, I wash bowls, sweep the compound, cook for the children before I get myself ready for school and I get to school late almost every day. I think the only thing I get from my work is food... The work I do at home prevents me from learning at home because by

the time I return from school to go and sell the dough then come back to cook, I get so, so tired (threw up her hands in desperation) that I go to bed straight. Some people asked me to sell to them on credit and when I refused they asked me to take my dough away. Others, especially men, like to befriend me asking me to come to their room. Some of them even offered me GH1.00 to come to them. But I refuse to collect the money and I leave them.

(Eleanor-CAS/09, 16 years, Form 1 Girl)

The issue of child labour is a controversial one. When one looks at it as a “paid” job which is done solely outside the family unit, then, some amount of injustice would be done to this problem. This will be so when the true extent and burden of domestic labour are not considered. Most often, the domestic labour done by children can be just as heavy, if not heavier, than that done by women in the family. Eleanor, Dzidzor, Tsoeke and Inno all suffered from heavy work load placed on them at home. Though these participants lived with people who are their own kith and kin, they were subjected to hazardous work that has so many debilitating effects on them as growing children. Three of these children were given out by their parents (mothers) to aunties who were supposed to help take good care of them till they completed at least their senior high school. It is also evident that some parents (Tsoeke's mother) put their own children into hazardous tasks.

So the nature of the social working relations, either the real or fictitious kinship ties with the employer does create the opportunity for exploitation which provides the employer, protection from the eyes of the working laws. The data indicate that the brutality of exploitation may be found within as much as outside the domestic environment. Also, the work done by a child is

neither inevitably bound to be subject to unacceptable conditions outside nor within the domestic environment. The female participants, in addition to heavy work load, lose their human dignity, and suffered physical, and verbal abuse from their care-givers and the community and are also exposed to sexual abuse in the community. The data indicate that in the name of bringing up a child or training him or her for future life, some parents or relatives who have custody of children, exploited these children and deprived them of self-esteem, love and a sense of belongingness.

Working Conditions

This section discusses the working hours and days of the participants. Children working for money and those in domestic services work for long hours and hardly have time to play or rest. The narratives of the participants indicate that the average working hours in the home on week-ends is about 11 hours a day and on week days the average working hours aside time spent in school is 8 hours per a day. This is followed by 12 hours both at sea and at the beach. Other works range between 8 to 10 hours a day.

A boy who worked at sea, farm and performed other tasks summarized the situation as follows:

We wake up very early in the morning, between 2.00 and 2.30 am, to prepare for sea and we return sometimes at about 10.am; from then we continue working until late in the evening. We do not get time to rest... We fence, sort out fish ,carry and sell fish. After all these, we “kompaniviwo”, we cart the nets to our big man’s house before we are paid our daily wage. Depending on the catch ,we make between GHC

5.00 to 10.00. But when we sell our thatch, each of us make between GHC 10.00 to 20.00 a day... Oh yea, (when he was reminded to talk about Wednesday and Thursday) Wednesdays and Thursdays I do not go to school at all I always go to the beach to get some work to do for money so I send permission note to the madam.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Ericus also stated:

I go to school and after school I go to either pluck coconuts or catch crabs and this is how I use my days... Sometimes when there is so much work at home or there's no money then I have to go out and work for money. Hmm... (sighed) some days I do not come to school because of work. Yesterday for example, I missed school because we were processing gari at home. Today too I'm going to fry gari after school.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

A girl participant described her situation as follows:

Em... I can't tell you how my life is like but all I know is I do every work that is given me from sweeping, washing, cooking, fetching water, marketing, and selling. My auntie wakes me up every morning about 3.am and then we start cooking. So we will be working till it is ready before I get ready for school.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Dan recalled,

*He (referring to his employer) could shout and force me to work ...
Hmm, if you complain too much too they may not call you the next*

time. Sometimes too after the work we are not paid that same day it can take about three days before or sometimes too you have to go begging him before he will pay you the money sometimes this prevents me from coming to school. When we carry concrete we are paid GHC 7.00 a day but we are paid GHC 5.00 when we carry mortar.

(Dan-CAS/01, 18 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

It is evident that these children have varied working hours due to the different kinds of work that they engaged in. While some could tell the number of hours they work in a day, others (especially the girls), could not give exact figure for their work. Some believe they work throughout the day and this exacts on their energy.

After discussing with the children and parents, I found that number of working days varied with respect to different works. Generally, the communities forbid fishing on Tuesdays therefore, participants related that they normally stay in school on this day. Apart from the girls who come to school every day in spite of their work loads, all the six boys reported that there are some days in the week such as Wednesdays and Thursdays they did not come to school at all due to work. In order to establish the credibility of the reports made by the participants, the schools' attendance books were checked with the permission from the head teachers. The attendance books showed that male participants usually did not come to school on Wednesdays and Thursdays and class teachers reported that these children normally come to school late.

Child labour is perceived by many as only occurring in commercial areas and not within the households and in the supposed comfort and confines

of parents and close relatives. It is imagined to be occurring in the mines and industries and not in the home. On the contrary, child labour takes place anywhere and in any form once the activity is hazardous and detrimental to the child's total development such as health and education.

Research Question 3: How does child labour affect the personal-social lives of child labourers?

This section links the intervening conditions and consequences of the paradigm model in finding answers to the research question and provides a framework for the examination of the process of child labour practices that extends beyond description of what it means and looks like in practice.

The intervening conditions have been framed as “environmental” in nature, manifesting as either supports (conditions that help to facilitate child labour practices) or barriers (conditions that prevent or constrain the performance of child labour practice). Intervening conditions viewed as supportive are mostly social-based, while barriers are rooted in the phenomenon itself, the performers, and in the societal contexts.

Environmental Barriers

A number of factors are viewed by participants as hindrances in their performance of child labour activities. These include fatigue, poor remuneration, anxiety, abuse, and change in relationship among others.

Child labourers encounter numerous work hazards in the course of their work. The risks involved in child labour are numerous and dangerous for

the lives of these young children some of whom were as young as nine years when they started working (Inno-CAS/03).

Fatigue

One phenomenal barrier has to do with the nature of child labour as highly demanding and fatiguing. All 10 participants indicated that they suffered severe tiredness as a result of the work they do. They revealed that the work they do is very difficult be it fishing work, family business, domestic work or any other income-generating activity. The category of work that most participants reported as being too difficult are those related to domestic work. These activities are not classified as child labour activities in the real sense of the term but are found to be some of the work or services that children render to their parents or care-givers that did not give them rest, made them late to school and or prevented them from going to school most of the times. Female participants in the study reported that fatigue from domestic work is their major difficulty.

From the very onset of narrating his experiences as a child labourer, Agbee-CAS/01 explicitly stated that difficult work prevented him from idleness, but he suffered from severe tiredness. *“But my trouble is my tiredness”* he said. Inno-CAS/03, a female, who lived with a care-giver similarly reported, *“...all I know is I do every work that is given to me at home... Most of the times, I get very tired...”*. A 16 year old female who lived with her own mother had this to say about her tiredness:

Sometimes I get very tired due to work at home... and when I complain to her (her mother) that I was tired ... and I tell her that I want to rest a

little before I continue, she will not agree and she will insist that I finish whatever I was doing...

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

CAP/07 in her comments on children who live with others, pointed out several times during the group discourse that:

... they suffer a lot. You see that they are really being overworked and they are tired yet their care-givers continue to make them work... You see that house there (pointing to a nearby house), (pause) ... there is a girl that I pity a lot... she works too much...

(CAP/07, Dan's biological mother in an FGD)

Bodily pains as a result of excessive work are constant phenomenon in child labour. All participants in this study reported that as a result of too much work they either willingly engaged themselves in or were forced to do, they suffered bodily pain such as headache, chest or waist pain or general bodily pain.

Poor Remuneration

The issue of remuneration is of crucial interest to the study. Due to the inadequate payment received by some participants, it is seen as a limitation on the efforts being made by these children to make life a little more comfortable for themselves and their families. For some work done by Agbee-CAS/01, he received payment in cash or in kind. In cash, the pay, from his perspective, did not match up to the work done looking at the hours spent, work load, and the risk involved. In kind, he was given only some food and or used-clothing. He

disclosed, “When I work sometimes I get money and other times some people give me food and or dresses”. Tsoeke-CAS/08 also lamented:

For example the camp (the Form 3 students were camped on their school premises to receive additional lessons) that we have come to, when I asked my mother for the money GHC10.00, she refused so I went to my grandfather before he gave it to me before I came. Most often when I ask her for money for my school needs she does not give me.

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl in an FGD)

We are not happy with what we are given for all our troubles but because we don't have anything hmm.., what else can we do but to accept whatever we are given? This is sad and it worries me a lot because it is difficult to see myself suffering like...

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

This is characteristic of children's work in the informal sector. In majority of cases, the children are not paid commensurately but given “something” for their work. It also reflects the case that because children have weak bargaining power, they are exploited by their employers.

Anxiety and fear

Personal sentiments can also pose major challenges for child workers. Human beings have needs that are turned into wishes. Fixed between the need to survive and the desire to acquire knowledge, most child labourers frequently worry about their lot in life. They worry about how to make money to keep themselves in school in order to have a secure future, and at the same time provide for their immediate personal needs. Agbee-CAS/01 felt as though

his world was crushing all over him in his bid to satisfy his hunger and keep himself in school while he missed important lessons in school: the very thing that promised to take him out of the clutches of poverty and make life better for him in the future. He said:

What worries me most is that some days I stay home because there is no money to take to school and nothing to eat...

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

This anxiety then gives way to confusion “*then I become confused*” in the midst of his helplessness “*but there is nothing I could do about it*” and “*because there’s no help from anywhere, I move on*”. The anxiety experienced also breeds bitterness and provokes suicidal tendencies. In a state of feeling his world was about crushing in on him or he was collapsing under the weight of it all, and that his very existence was in jeopardy, he declared bitterly:

Sometimes it worries me and I wish I don’t have to continue working as a child... think of the reason for my life... I shudder at the thought of my work and how I will be able to do this till I grow and finish school... I wish I don’t have to live.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Other participants also related similar state of anxiety. Inno-CAS/03 feared for her future, “*I don’t know what I will be in future.*” Ericus-CAP/02 also worried about the neglect and disregard he suffered from his extended family members after the death of his father. He also fret about his future and wished he were not born. He reported:

... I sit down and ask myself whether there is any future for me too. I worry so much so that sometimes I wish I were not born. It is because my father is not alive that is why I'm suffering like this...

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy in an FGD)

Tsoeke's worry has a different dimension. She worried about why her own mother treated her like a slave. She lamented:

Sometimes I think about why my mother treats me the way she does... like she bought me and I'm not part of her...he (stepfather) also does not treat me well. This disturbs me and I think of my own father... Some days I feel very sad when working but I have to work else I will not get pocket money.

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl in an FGD)

In the face of growing anxiety about one's situation, there is uncertainty about the present predicament and the future. Agbee and Ericus seemed uncertain about how long they have to go on as child labourers and attend school and at the same time not sure what their future holds for them.

Abuse

Community or society places restrictions upon children who attempt to survive in the face of neglect and poverty. The unfriendly environment posed by some relatives and significant others were described as a limitation for some efforts meant to respond to survival through child labour.

Child labourers in this study were verbally and physically assaulted by their peers, employers and some others in the community. All the child workers in this study suffered daily abuse either at home or at work. They

received verbal abuse from employers and care-givers calling them “stupid, lazy, liars, careless”, and other derogatory names. As Agbee-CAS/01 put it:

Sometimes... they (net-owners/ employers) don't talk to us well just because we work for them and we don't have anything or anywhere to go...

Chris described his situation:

Last a lady teacher insulted me as “yakanu and kayanu” (a useless and street child) that I have no right to react when other pupils insult me. She says that I stink... sometimes my friends laugh at me because I am a porter. They tell me I am a “kayayo” (a porter) and this pains me a lot.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

Other members of the community also disregard, reject, stigmatise and verbally abuse working children and their immediate families. Some care-givers were reported to be in the habit of observing their daily morning devotion through pouring unprintable disparaging words at their wards at the least provocation. In the words of Inno-CAS/03:

Sometimes when I'm asked to shop and I lost the money or forgot the items and when I come and tell her she gets angry and insults me for being careless. She once also refused to give me food for this.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl in an FGD)

Dzidzor recounted:

My problem is that when I asked for things that I need she will shout at me and insult me... Again my aunt's husband insults me at the least provocation and beats me up too especially when I reprimand any of

the children when they insult me or when I ask them to do some work to help me.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl in an FGD)

Josh's experiences were not different. He disclosed that:

Because we gather and collect the thatch near people's farms they call us names and refer to us as thieves though I've never touched anybody's things.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Some people in the communities such as employers and teachers take undue advantage of the vulnerability and economic helplessness of children not only to exploit them, but to physically and verbally abuse them. This probably might explain the kind of remuneration that is given to the child labourers.

The discourse analysis on abuse is closely associated with the change in behaviour of some members in the communities as a result of these children's involvement in child labour.

Change in Relationship with Significant Others: Barriers and Supports

Responses on questions relating to the effect of child labour on participant's relationship with family members and others were used to address this theme. Most participants in the study have to adapt to a changed family situation due to their child labour conditions. In addition to losing fathers (emotionally and physically), some also lost some significant others in family and community such as mothers, siblings, friends, and teachers.

Relationship with Father

Eight participants indicated that they did not have any good relationship with their fathers prior to their engagement in child labour. They reported that indeed, it was the absence of their fathers in their lives either through negligence of their parental responsibilities or through death that caused them to first engage in child labour. They maintained that they did not have any emotional attachment with their fathers and could not recall being hugged by their fathers before their separation from them. For example, Josh reported that his father threw him out together with his mother and siblings when he divorced his mother and refused to accept him in when he came back alone to live in his house. Agbee's father refused to provide for him even when they lived in the same community. In sum, I found from participants' responses that relationship with father prior to engagement in work was not intimate and caring and did not improve after their engagement in child labour.

Relationship with Mother

Three male participants indicated that their relationship with their mothers after they engaged in child labour was cordial. They reported that their mothers were understanding and supportive of their conditions. Very interestingly, none of the informants reported that the mother used abusive words on him or her. Apart from Tsoeke, those who lived with their mothers reported their mothers were their confidants and source of comfort. Agbee-CAS/01 reported:

My mother understands my situation and talks kindly to me and that is

why I continue to support her with the little I make.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

Dan also held the view about his mother that:

She tries her best to care for me when I fall sick. Even when I have no money to go to hospital, she prepares the herbs and treats me with it.

(Dan -CAS/07, 19 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

Some mothers interviewed reported that though it was not their desire to see their children engage in work so early, they were helpless. They however indicated that they continued to give their children the emotional support and as Dan's mother put it, "*to direct them in whatever they do so that they can manage well*". Chris' mother stated that:

Even though I'm not working, I will not leave my children. I will be here to protect them and to teach them what they should do so that it will be well with them.

However, Tsoeke, the only girl participant who lived with her biological mother reported that her own mother treated her like a slave and did not provide her needs. She lamented over her sufferings in the hands of her own mother and wished she were living with someone else. She disclosed:

I want to go to my father after school with my brother when we finish this exams because any time we did something she tells us that she has sacked us aaah... but we have refused to go to our father.

(Tsoeke-CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

Relationship with Siblings

The relationship with siblings is said to be positive. Some other participants reported similar experiences just like Ericus,

My brothers see me as their big brother and they talk to me well even my brother who works with me shows me what he earns so I believe he loves me and respects me.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy in an FGD)

Apart from Dan all other participants revealed that their siblings respect them in spite of their situation as child workers.

Relationship with Other Family Members

On the relationship with other members in the family nine participants reported that they were not happy with the kind of treatment they received because they work as children. They recalled that most family members did not wish them well and did not help to support them.

School Authorities

Relationship with school authorities was reported to be generally cordial with empathic understanding. Apart from Chris who disclosed that he was verbally assaulted by a female teacher and Josh who also indicated that sometimes his headteacher did not find out from him when he was reported by his care-giver, all other participants had good relationship with their teachers and head teachers. Teachers were generally reported to be supportive both financially and emotionally.

These reports were summed up in Agbee and Josh's statement in an FGD:

They understand my situation so they treat me well and they give me help especially one lady teacher and madam(head teacher) I see that my teachers feel sorry for me because they know my situation. They respect me even though I work. I respect them and I'm not lazy. My teachers are very good to me some of them encourage me with words and help in kind and cash ... But when I don't come to school on time or at all, they rebuke me.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

Some of the teachers understand our situation as child workers and they try to tell us to work hard to become great people tomorrow. One even told me that he was also a child worker before so he has been helping with money too.

(Josh-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

Some teachers encouraged the participants in the face of their seemingly difficult situations and gave them hope for the future. The head teacher of ABA school was particularly commended by her student-participants that she was their mother and confidante. Some participants even reported that when they were absent from school for more than two days she either personally comes to their homes or sends some of their friends to find out what was the problem with them. They were of the view that her constant check on them had kept some of them who could have dropped out in school.

Relationship with Friends

Relationship with friends is very important in helping students who work to manage their situations to stay in school and concentrate on their lessons. Some participants shared:

I and my friends who work talk well and this makes me happy. But those whose parents have and they don't have to work for their needs tend not see me for anything, they talk to me any how and don't want to play or share things with me.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy in an FGD)

Sometimes my friends laugh at me, but not all of them laugh at me because I am a porter. They tell me I am a kayayo and this pains me a lot.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy in an FGD)

As for friends I don't trust them because when you are in a group and like an issue comes up between you and another person, then the person begins to insult you with your working background so I usually don't move with a lot of them and I stay on my own .

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy in an FGD)

On the whole relationship with friends placed an emotional barrier on the efforts made by participants to cope with their situations as child labourers and to perform well in school.

Consequences of Child Labour on Personal-Social Lives

The consequences of the child labour practices are outcomes that negatively affect the lives of the participants as a result of their involvement in

work. Their general health and self-esteem are some of the themes that emerged from the data.

Impact on General Health

The effect of work on participants is so devastating with long-term effects on their future adult lives. By the nature of the activities child labourers performed be it fishing, farming, family business or any other, they tend to be exposed to so many health hazards such as exposure to dangerous and poisonous fish, working long hours (11-12 hours on sea), exposed to the use of alcohol, bodily pain, and stress, as reported by Agbee, Prince, Josh and others. Some of the participants become easy prey to constant illness due to work. Sometimes, the illness took long in getting cured. Agbee-CAS/01 reported, “*Sometimes I fall seriously ill and it takes long before I become well*”. The experiences narrated by Dan, Prince, Inno, and Dzidzor were not any different.

Normally after an intensive work in the bush, I get fever and it takes long before I get well. Since I normally do not have a lot of money to buy medicine, I rely on herbs.

(Prince-CAS/10, 19 years, Form 2 Boy)

I get so tired that I fall sick often and I suffer in bed for long and sometimes the medication is only application of herbs till I get well.

(Inno-CAS/03, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

One day at the site (construction site) I was seriously injured by a nail and my leg got swollen so I stayed home for about three weeks neither going to school nor work. It was very difficult for me.

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy)

Ericus recounted similar experience:

One day I fell from a coconut tree but I didn't hurt seriously. There are so many snakes in the coconut trees and the crab holes. Once too I fell into a pit when I went catching crabs but my friends rescued me. There are so many problems during work. One day I got so sick after frying gari that I was admitted at the hospital for about two weeks. As for gari frying the heat is too much and sometimes I get fever and I even got burnt seriously about two years ago when I was frying gari for my mother. You can even see the scars on my legs (raised his shorts to reveal his burnt skin/ scar).

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy)

The intensity and duration of the illness and cure are of significant interest here. The sickness was “serious” and it took “long” before cure finally came. The question is what kind of illness did child labourers often have? Who takes care of the sick child labourer in terms of bearing medical bills? Who administer the drugs? Is the treatment orthodox or herbal?

Absent-Mindedness

Seven out of the 10 child labourers reported that they normally lapsed into a moment of absent-mindedness as a result of fatigue and anxiety. Agbee-CAS/01 said, “*my mind goes far*” indicating that he suffered mental drifts. Others indicated that they sometimes tend to forget even very simple things. This was mostly reported by three female participants who lived with others other than their biological parents. Inno, Dzidzor, and Eleanor all reported that they tend to forget so many things as they were often called by their care-

givers at anytime. They indicated that in the midst of performing a duty, they could be called to do so many other things at the same time. They were of the view that this robot life made them confused and forgetful. Tsoeke, Prince and Chris, however, reported that they did not really suffer from forgetfulness or absent-mindedness.

Self-esteem / Self-worth

Another emergent theme from the data revealed that some child labourers suffer loss of self-esteem and self worth. Agbee-CAS/01 reported that though he worked as a child, his school authorities and some friends still respected him but as he said, “*some friends make fun of me*” and made derogatory remarks about his attitude to school attendance. He also related that the teachers in the school “*understand my situation... they treat me well... give me help... talk to me well... and advise me*”. The adults in the community especially members of his extended family did not accept him and he suffered a lot of stigmatisation.

For the adults in the village, hmm, some of them do not regard us the children who work. They look mean upon us and our parents because we don't have money. They call us all sorts of names and say that we are “kob4l4viwo” (ruffians).

He revealed that in spite of people's attitude toward him, he still feels good about himself and believed in himself “*I believe it will be well with me too*” he said.

Chris described his situation:

Last a lady teacher insulted me as yakanu and kayaku... She said that I stink... Sometimes my friends laugh at me because I am a porter. They tell me I am a “kayayo” and this pains me a lot.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

The experience of Dzidzor was not different:

... when they are doing something like cooking some new dish and I go near them they will shout at me and ask me to leave them saying that even if I look I can't do anything.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Josh recalled:

Some of our friends tease us beach boys or workers. They laugh at us. It pains me a lot but because there is nothing I could do about it I take it like that and ignore them. So when they say anything or call me names again, I don't mind them. Me, I move on with my life I believe it would be over soon.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Dan indicated:

My main problem is the way the man I work for shouts at us even when he can see clearly that I'm tired and can't work, he could shout and force me to work

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy)

Apart from these, Inno's experiences were very disheartening. Aside performing all sorts of work at home, she also worked on her school compound in the full glare of her friends and colleagues by washing the plates

that her friends ate from. This act did not only reduce her self-esteem, but also seems to take away her dignity as a human being.

Research Question 4: How does child labour affect the educational and career aspirations of child labourers?

This question sought among other things to find out the effects that child labour has on child labourers' education in terms of school attendance, missing lessons, concentration during lessons in class, and study habits. It also sought to find out the effects child labour has on these participants' future career. There is clear indication from the responses that child labour adversely affects both education and career aspirations of child labourers in the following ways: missing lessons, irregular school attendance, poor study habits among others.

Missing Lessons

One needs time to attend school in the morning and study at home in the evening. This proposition was stated by Dzidzor, a girl living with a caregiver:

My main problem is that learning at home after school is a problem because every evening after doing everything at home I've to go and sell kerosene on the street and by the time I come home, it's late and I go to sleep.

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Looking at the circumstances under which child labourers in fishing communities find themselves, one of the difficult things is for a child labourer to get adequate time during the day to combine the two. Agbee-CAS/01 said:

All depends on whether I have some money on me that can keep me going for the next day otherwise I have to leave studies and go to work.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Faced with the choice between studying enough and working to earn money, Agbee, just like the other boys reported, prefers working to studies. What he did was to “*look*” (glance) through his books “*small*” that was perfunctorily (inadequately) before going to school or sometimes decided to ignore studies completely in order to work. And this “*all*” is dependent upon availability of sufficient money for both the home and the school. He continued,

If I were a rich man’s child... hmm, if I were from a good home, hmm... (close to tears and his voice dropped) I believe my performance could have been better.

This attitude results in poor academic performance in school. This implies that their performance may be better if child labour is taken out making room for more time for studies.

Irregular School Attendance

Child labour accounts for a large part of absenteeism of the participants. Due to work, the participants did not go to school always and or were habitual late comers. Josh-CAS/06 captured the moment by recounting, “...and sometimes I don’t come to school for a whole week. It worries me a lot

but what can I do?” and Inno-CAS/03 intimated, “I get to school late mostly because I had to prepare the soup and stew before coming to school”. Ericus also revealed:

... it has not been easy working and attending school at the same time. Sometimes when there is so much work at home or there’s no money I have to go out and work for money. Hmm ... (sighed) some days I do not come to school because of work. Yesterday for example, I missed school because we were processing gari at home. Today too I’m going to fry gari after school.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy in an FGD)

Chris reported,

Sometimes because of work, I don’t go to school especially on the days of bumper harvest...

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

For all the male child labour participants, their involvement in economic activities made it impossible for them to attend school every day.

Lack of Concentration

Child labourers are also largely affected in the area of concentration in class. Due to work related issues such as fatigue, lack of money and anxiety, the participants suffered lack of concentration in class. The experiences of eight participants show that they were negatively affected in the area of concentration in class. Agbee-CAS/01 intimated, “*I’m in class and my mind goes very far away*”. This seems a major academic problem to him looking at

the frequent times he spoke of it, “*Sometimes my mind goes far from the class*”, he said in a group discussion. This is similarly expressed by Ericus:

In class when they are teaching my mind goes far away thinking about my life Sometimes my mind goes far in class. I think of the reason for my life.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy)

Tsoeke also recalled that “*Sometimes my mind goes far away even in class thinking about why my mother treats me the way she does*”.

This absentmindedness is a by-product of lack of concentration which consequently leads to poor performance in class.

Poor Study Habits

Many students who work reported having poor study habits. They did not often pay attention in school, they did not go over their notes at home, and did not have enough hours of studies, “*I look into my book small before I get ready for school*” (fleetingly) reported by Agbee-CAS/01. He went on, “... *After school, I decide whether I should study or go to work*”. Chris-CAS/04 revealed that “*I don’t do my corrections after an exercise... My problem is that I don’t have enough time to learn*”. Dzidzor recalled that,

My school work is affected because I don’t have time to learn at home. When I return from school I don’t have the time to learn and do my homework.

(Dzidzor -CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

Tsoeke’s experiences summed up this situation:

When we close from school and we have to stay on campus and learn my friends will stay but I have to go home and work for my mother... I don't get the time to learn at home too and some days when we have class test and I did not force myself to get up around 3 am to learn, then I will not do well in the test and this pains me a lot because I know I could do better...

(Tsoeke -CAS/08, 16 years, Form 3 Girl)

Over-Aged Students

The average age for entering primary one in Ghana is 6/7 years. However, the entry into school of over-aged children in the fishing communities seems to be the rule rather than the exception. Some of the participants entered school, (Primary One) as late as age 10 as in the case of Agbee-CAS/01. Others had their education disrupted (Dan-CAS/07, Josh-CAS/06), or repeated a class (Chris-CAS/04, Eleanor-CAP/09) often because of work. The experiences of these participants are summarized in Dan's statement:

I worry a lot about myself because I know that if I had somebody looking after me I will not have interrupted schooling when I left my step father and stayed home until I started work to support my education. In fact, my friends are in SHS now and even my former girl is in SHS but because of lack of money and work, and I 'm here.

(Dan-CAS/07, 18 years, Form 3 Boy)

All the participants in this study were still in JHS between the ages of 15 and 19 years whereas by the structures of Ghana school curriculum in

terms of age and class levels, they should have completed JHS and in some cases, even SHS.

Future Career Aspirations

Majority of the participants have plans of becoming great men and women in future. They believed that if they were given sponsorship or taken out of their current predicament, they could do well in school today to become very important people in the near future as bankers, nurses, and mechanics. Though Agbee-CAS/01 suffers as a child labourer, he has high educational and career aspirations. He believes that he engaged in work in order to send himself to school and having done that he believes he must go high on the educational ladder by getting to the university and landing himself a good job in the near future: a job that will take him and his mother out of the shackles of poverty. He declared:

I wish to go to school to the highest level ...to varsity, I want to be a mechanic, a big man, madam, so that I can take care of my mother and our sufferings would be over. This has been my dream from childhood so even when I sleep, I dream of this work.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

The aspirations of Josh were not different:

It is my intention to reach the university level and become an auto mechanic this has been my heart desire.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Chris-CAS/04 reported that he will be a musician in future and that his parents were aware of his ambitions and were happy for him. Tsoeke-CAS/08

indicated that she will go to the university to read a course in business to become a banker. Dzidzor-CAS/05 was however not sure of what the future holds for her. She said, “*As it is now I don’t know what I will be in the future*”.

For a participant like Dzidzor, her hopes and aspirations were thwarted and dashed by her care-giver and this made her sad and uncertain about the future. She disclosed:

I want to go to school to the SHS and then continue to the nurses training but my aunt’s husband always says that house helps shouldn’t be sent to further their education but should be put to some trade (her voice down and close to tears). Because of this I pray to God to send me somebody who will help me to further my education else, I don’t know...

(Dzidzor-CAS/05, 15 years, Form 1 Girl)

The report on career aspirations of the participants reveals an index of the level of exposure that these children have in the fishing communities. All participants have high level of awareness of higher education right up to the university and the role education can play in the reduction of their poor socioeconomic status. However, four out of the six male- participants reported that they would like to become mechanics in future, one would like to become a musician and the other was uncertain of what he would become. These reports indicate that the career awareness of the participants is limited and influenced by what exists in the environment where being a mechanic is more prestigious than fishing in the fishing communities. They therefore do not know and cannot think of other career opportunities that are available to them

upon completion of their senior high or university education so as to pursue courses that would lead to different career choices and placements.

After analysing Research Questions 1, 2, 3, and 4, we identified what we will call “defining characteristics” of child labour. These characteristics or features can serve as signals to what one can rightly call child labour should any one or a combination of the features manifest themselves in a child’s work. The following are the four defining characteristics:

1. Where a child works to care for his or her basic needs including his or her own education.
2. Where a child works to an extent that he or she does not have time to learn at home, is physically exhausted and cannot concentrate in the classroom.
3. Where a child works as an income-earner for the family.
4. Where a child does not attend school regularly or is frequently late to school because of work.

Research Question 5: What strategies did these child labourers employ in managing their child labour conditions while in school?

This segment deals with the discussion of strategies or coping skills that are employed in the performance of child labour in fishing communities under study. The interactional strategies refer to actions or interactions employed by participants in handling, or responding to an event in the course of their work under a specific set of perceived conditions.

Coping Skills

The responses of the 10 child labourers in this study regarding the nature, difficulty of work and coping skills they used to make their experiences of child labour less torturous were taken from responses to interview question on the problems they face and how they manage these problems. Data reveal that participants used multiple coping strategies in handling their situations. The responses were categorised depending on whether they were emotionally managed, problem-focused, or spiritually managed.

Emotionally-Managed Skills

Those who used emotionally focused coping strategies used what psychoanalysts called *displacement*. *Displacement* refers to the redirection of an impulse onto a substitute target. Some child labourers in this study used a kind of displacement known as “turning against the self” in an attempt to deal with the overwhelming stress placed upon them from both the environment and their attempt to better their lot in life. Instead of directing their anger or inabilities onto the elements in the environment such as parents, and external family members who have impoverished them, they turned against themselves with feelings of bitterness, inferiority, anger, self-pity, and guilt. Agbee burst out:

*... it worries me a lot why at this stage I have to work to support myself
... I'm suffering too much... hmmm, it is no one's fault it's all my fault
to have come into this world...*

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Chris lamented that when his friends laugh at him for being a ‘kayayo’, it pains him and that:

... all this is because I carry things for people. So I don't join them when they are playing because I feel they would not want to play with me. I don't like the kind of life I'm leading now.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

Tsoeke-CAS/08 felt guilty for her subjection into child labour by her own mother. She said, “*I think it is because my father divorced her that is why she is treating me this way*”. Josh reported that one of his teachers always advised him to try and come to school despite his situation as a child labourer and that the teacher’s self disclosure had affected him so much so that he had decided to work and stay in school . He said:

...ever since my teacher told me that he was a child labourer himself but was determined to do something positive with his life so he studied hard to become a teacher, I resolved to come to school no matter what.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Other participants who employed emotion-focused strategies relied on understanding parents, friends and teachers for comfort and encouragement in the face of their daunting circumstances.

Problem-Focused Skills

Josh, Agbee, Tsoeke, and Eleanor were all attempting to solve their problems as child workers. These participants who used problem-solving strategies resorted to actions such as planning to return to their biological parent(s) where they were living with care-givers (Eleanor and Tsoeke) or

were determined to continue to work and at the same time, study hard so that they and their nuclear family would be better off in future (Josh, Prince, and Agbee).

Spiritually-Managed Skills

The participants who employed spiritually-managed skills sought divine intervention to their plight by praying constantly either on their own or with the help of men of God. This category of participants tends to surrender under the banner of God by laying all their difficulties and circumstances before God and resigning to their fate in the hope that the will of God be done in their lives. Chris was of the belief that:

I will like to become a musician in future. I have to go to school, learn, obey my father and mother, go to church for God to help me become a musician.

(Chris-CAS/04, 18 years, Form 1 Boy)

Some of the participants in this group also strongly believed that their God would surely send a help to them though from where and in what form they could not tell. They believed that by doing the will of God—respecting their parents and staying out of trouble—they would find help one day.

Research Question 6: What positive effects of child labour did these child labourers report?

This research question sought among other things, to find out whether child labour despite its well known debilitating effects on children, has

anything positive to offer children who engage in it in particular and society in general. It was to find out whether there are some benefits in it.

Too Busy to Err

One strong emergent theme of positive influence of child labour from data collected in this study is that child labour kept its victims out of harm's way. This theme, it is acknowledged, is little or non-existent in the literature on child labour. Working as a child though generally destructive, seems to have positively affected some participants' life apart from money making. Agbee-CAS/01 disclosed,

Because I work, I do not get the time to be idle and engage in trivial things that some of the boys of my age do. So I do not get into trouble.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Josh and Dan re-echoed similar attitude:

Madam, I don't go out to friends to play or do anything bad. You see, my friend is Agbee so if I have to go anywhere, I go to him and what we normally talk about is where to get some work to do to get money. Then we also talk much about how we can stay in school and make it in life. And I think because we work and we don't have time to engage in unnecessary things, so far we never had any trouble with anyone in the village.

(Josh-CAS/06, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

It is very important to note here that child labour does not always make children truants or delinquents as some writers (Dworetzky, 1999; Farrell & Hains, 1998; Municipal Education Directorate, Cape Coast, 2004;

Omokhodion et al, 2006) have reported. The statements above clearly reveal a very minor yet significant case that child labour, if managed properly, has positive effects on the child such as putting him in school and also keeping him out of trouble. However, two male participants reported that once a while they got involved in petty fights with their friends whom they believed intimidated them because of their situation. The female participants revealed that they could not get into trouble because most of the times, they were in their homes. If they went out and got into trouble there would be consequences for them at home should their care-givers get hint of it. For this reason, they as much as possible avoided trouble. However, it could be inferred from the data that in an attempt to keep out of trouble and concentrate on work, these children might as a result, suffer loneliness and social withdrawal which could pose developmental problems in future adult life.

Financial literacy and Money Making

The general underlying economic logic of children's engagement in child labour is to make money. It is the desire to go to school or to continue school and be like all other children that primarily drove many participants into work though this drive also brought in its wake the desire to make money. Agbee said,

So I started going to the beach doing small, small jobs to save some money. So when I started I began to make some money that I saved with an aunt but she spent it so the subsequent money I made I saved with my mother and that was what I came to see the headmistress here with and she put me in class one (P1).

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Dan revealed, “*Sometimes I make quite a lot of money and this makes me happy*” and Prince indicated that working brings him a lot of money. He shared,

I work because I wanted to make some money for myself. You see, when there is a bumper harvest, sometimes I make as much as GHC 40.00 or more in a day and I keep some and use the rest.

Chris, Ericus and Josh all worked to get money.

The money making venture was purposeful. In effect, there were three main aims; firstly, to go to school or continue schooling in order to acquire formal education, secure a good job, and get out of the financial straits. Secondly, to enable the participants help alleviate the financial burden on their mothers while they were still in school and eventually when they finish school. And finally, to make them belong and feel at home amongst their peers in terms of their material possessions.

Sending themselves to school or continuing schooling and possessing material wealth could be considered as immediate goals; finishing school and securing a good job in order to be well to do would be the ultimate goal. There is, however, a pervasive goal, that is, while the participant is still going to school, he or she will be providing for himself or herself at school and the mother at the same time. Agbee-CAS/01 said:

... you know, those days we were paying our own school fees so I used the money I got from work to pay my fees small, small and buy some other things like books and school bags, my dresses and then the rest for food and for my mother.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Josh-CAS/06 recalled,

When it gets to those times that we needed to pay those school fees and provide some items in school... I look for work to do and the money I make is what I have been using to look after myself.

(Josh-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

The money was also used for the provision of basic needs such as food, clothing, and education. One very important theme gleaned from the narratives of the participants is the issue of saving. Though these children were unfortunately exposed to work earlier than their peers from comparatively better economic homes, some of them learn the art of working for themselves and learning very early in life the rudiments of financial literacy which is saving. If this attitude is managed properly or nurtured by parents or significant others, these child workers are likely to grow on a sound financial management skills of working and saving or they could as well be introduced to investments that would ultimately see them financially sound in their adult lives.

Self-Support and Independence

Agbee-CAS/01 engaged in work to fend for himself by looking after himself at school, renting a room for himself and leaving the parental home and consequently parental control. He thus became independent in the true sense of the word. To stop depending on parents whose support was not forthcoming in solving his financial and educational needs. In fact, his basic needs were not catered for by his parents. The attraction of the returns of

working at the fishing community that seems to provide some sense of independence from unsupportive parents was very strong. To free himself from the shackles of an irresponsible father and unemployed mother, the prospect of the “*small small money*” made at the beach was worth the odds. Agbee stated:

Again, I work because when I asked my father for money or any help he did not want to give it to me so I decided to... work for myself... He did not mind me so I decided to work to take care of myself because I don't want to be a burden on my mother.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Josh-CAS/06 shared similar experience when he reported that he engaged in work because his father refused to provide for him after several appeals made to him. He said that though he lived with his aunt, he was virtually on his own. He intimated, “*I live with my aunt but I do everything for myself*”. In fact the expression, “*I do everything for myself*” indicates that Josh-CAS/06 is independent from his parents and even his aunt to a large extent. Prince-CAS/10’s experience was no different “*Me, I do anything I like*”, he said.

However, three male participants, Chris, Ericus, and Dan, reported that though they worked and earned some money, they still remained under their parents’ control. They indicated that they used part of their earnings on themselves but their parents also decide sometimes what they should use their money for. They went on to say that sometimes when their parents object to their work or the time they go to work it became very difficult for them to go

out to work. As Chris-CAS/04 framed it, “*She (referring to his mother) will insult me a...a ...a (referring to a long period of time) till I don’t go to work*”.

Many participants also engaged in work as children to care for themselves and be self sufficient. Three male participants Agbee, Josh and Prince believed that they were burdens on either their mothers or care-givers and for which they needed to work to support themselves completely. Agbee-CAS/01 said, “*I decided to work to take care of myself because I don’t want to be a burden*”. Josh-CAS/06 and Prince-CAS/10 shared similar idea that they worked so that they were not liabilities on anyone. Work has thus made these children their own bosses and they tend to control themselves. It is evident that there is loss of parental control as a result of paternal irresponsibility of fathers and economic hardship on the part of the mothers.

Dan-CAS/07 however shared, “*I decided to do something to help my mother look after us all*”. Chris-CAS/04 revealed, “*My father looks after me but when he says he has no money then I have to work*” and Ericus-CAS/02 was of similar opinion that

When I lost my father, I became a burden on my mother so I decided to work so that I will not be a burden on my mother alone.

(Ericus-CAS/02, 18 years, Form 2 Boy)

These other male participants were of the view that their engagement in child labour was to lessen the burden on their parents but not necessarily to make themselves fully self supportive. Their work was to supplement what their parents did for them.

Support for Parents and Siblings

Four boy participants did not engage in work for their good only. They worked so that “*it will be good for all of us*” as said by Agbee-CAS/01. At the tender age of 10, Agbee not only saw the need to work to send himself to school, but also assumed the responsibility of supporting his siblings by giving money to his mother. He indicated:

The money I make, I keep some for myself and give the rest to my mother to use in the home. Sometimes I also bring some fish home for my mother to use in cooking for us.

(Agbee-CAS/01, 19 years, Form 3 Boy)

Dan-CAS/07 also shared similar experience that “*When I work, the money I make I give some to my mother... the fish I bring home, my mother uses it to cook for us*”. Josh indicated that though he did not give his aunt money, he sometimes “*brings fish home for cooking*”. Chris’ mother confirmed,

In truth, this boy (referring Chris) sometimes brings me some money after e has worked. Sometimes he gives me about GHC 4.00 and I take it and use it to prepare evening meals for the family.

(CAP/04, Chris’ Biological Mother in an FGD)

Dan’s mother also corroborated this point by saying that

Dan mostly gives pocket money to his siblings to take to school in the morning. And this helps me a lot.

(CAP/07, Dan’s Biological Mother in an FGD)

It is clear that responsibility for siblings may not be either the pull or push factor for child labour in the fishing communities. However, most child

labourers support their families with what they earn and this makes their financial contribution to the family maintenance and survival very crucial.

It could be induced from the data that some of the participants have indirectly assumed adult responsibility of providing for their families: their mother and siblings-- a job for the family head-- the father. These children have, therefore, become the family breadwinners leading a premature adult life. The question therefore, is: Should children assume such responsibilities?

Discussion of Results in Relation to the Literature

This section attempts to bring together the major interpretations of the results and the relevant theoretical and empirical framework that formed the backdrop of this study. The salient findings in this study derived from the research questions are looked at viz a viz the literature reviewed in this study either confirming or disconfirming.

After a detailed analysis of Research Questions 1, 2, 3, and 4, this study found four defining characteristics of “child labour” that may serve as sign posts for child labour researchers, policy makers and activists. The presence of any one or a combination of these four characteristics may define child labour. These defining characteristics are seen where the child:

1. works to care for his or her basic needs including his or her own education,
2. works to an extent that he or she does not have time to learn at home, is physically exhausted and cannot concentrate in the classroom,
3. works as an income-earner for the family, and

4. does not attend school regularly or is frequently late to school because of work.

Another significant and exclusive finding of this study is the emergent theme of “too busy to err”. It was found that most participants were kept out of harm’s way because they engaged in child labour. The study found that participants did not engage in drug and alcohol use, and were not school drop-outs and social deviants as usually reported by researchers such as Dworetzky (1996), Eshun (2006), Omokhodion et al (2006), that adolescents who engaged in work during school years suffer more drug and alcohol use, and greater delinquency. This study found that the participants made good use of their situation by turning a negative situation into a positive one where they avoided bad company and other social vices.

It emerged from the data analysis that majority of parents find it difficult to draw the line between what constitutes “child service” to the home and what is “child labour” in their attempt to bring up their children to become responsible adults in the future. Parents could not tell when child training ends and where child exploitation sets in in bringing up their children. Parents interviewed in this study reported that the duties they made their children to perform that prevent them from going to school some days or make them tired or late for school sometimes, were all to instil discipline and a sense of hard work in the children when they reach adulthood so that these children could be independent and successful in society.

Again, it was found that parents value education and were aware of its prospects but were impoverished by their poor socio-economic conditions and were therefore, accommodating and or indulgent as regards their children’s

involvement in work which they use to fund their education and other basic needs of life so that they could secure a better future devoid of the child labour cycle.

Looking at the specific factors that propelled children into child labour, it emerged in this study that lack of parental support and neglect pushed many children into work at an early age. Fathers who either willingly or unwillingly did not financially support their children especially in the area of their education, indirectly pushed their children into child labour. This finding confirms studies conducted by Cornia et al (1988), Fukui (2000), Gharaibe and Hoeman (2003), Hawamdeh and Spencer (2001), MMYE (2008), Odebunmirey (1983), Phillips (1968) and Suryahadi et al (2005) that children often engage in economic activities in order to pay their school fees and in insuring the well being of the self.

Another category of factor that emerged was that the desire to acquire formal education put children into work. Children who perceive the benefits of education at an early age engaged in work to either start school or to continue school. At an early age, they could feel that they were missing on something whenever they saw their friends in their school uniform.

This study also found that some of the girls are pushed into child labour masked by kinship ties and that some biological parents do subject their own children to heavy work load at home that prevents them from studying effectively. This finding is supported by Donnellan (2002), UNICEF (1997). It emerged that many young girls are not directly pushed into child labour but loaned by their parents (mothers) to relatives who promised to take very good care of their personal and educational needs. These relatives instead, subject

the children to long working hours and heavy work load that deprived them of their rest, socialisation, and adequate learning hours. Though all these girls were in school, they were either irregular in school or come to school late thereby missing important lessons which eventually leads to their poor academic achievements. This finding confirms the assertion made by ILO (2004b), MMYE (2008), UNICEF (1997) and Ray (1999b) that most often, child labourers bear heavy loads which are completely and sharply incompatible to their strengths or that the children are most often unfit and incapable of certain adult works.

From the analysis of data it emerged that nine out of the 10 participants are from single-parent families where their mothers are the sole bread winners of the family thereby making these mothers tolerant of their children's involvement in child labour in order for these children to support themselves and the family. This finding resonates with Gharaibe and Hoeman's (2003) finding that children who engage in child labour are from broken homes.

In addition, it emerged from the data that desire for material possession as a status symbol and a sense of belongingness pulled some children into early work. This finding resonates with the assertion made by George, (1979) that child labour is an outcome of unsuccessful struggles to legitimately achieve societal goals especially as relates to money and power. This also confirms the works of Admassie (2003) and Zeiroid et al (2004) that child labour provides child labourers positive self-identity and self-reliance.

The study also found that child labourers suffer many forms of abuse from employers, care-givers, friends, and family members. This assertion resonates

with the findings of Al-Omouh (2008), Farrell and Hains (1998) and Ray (2004).

It emerged that child labourers suffer extreme anxiety and fear. They are anxious of their present predicament and fear for what their future holds for them. This confirms the works of Al-Omouh (2008) and Dworetzky (1996) that children who work suffer from anxiety and other stress related disorders.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations drawn from the research, beginning with an overview of the research methodology.

Overview of the Research Methodology

The main purpose of this qualitative research was to explore the socio-cultural context of child labour in fishing communities in the Cape Coast Metropolis in the Central Region of Ghana. This study employed the grounded theory method for data collection and analysis. The purposive sampling technique was used to select two accessible public schools in fishing communities in the Metropolis. The purposive, snowball and theoretical sampling procedures were used to select 13 students from the two public Junior High Schools for the study. Three students however, withdrew from the study leaving 10 who fully participated in the study.

Interview and focus group discussion guides were the instruments for data collection. The interview guides were researcher-designed and semi-structured.

Typical of grounded theory, inductive analysis of data evolved at the start of data collection. Relying on the paradigm model designed by Strauss and Corbin (1990), the analysis employed the open, axial, and selective coding

procedures to code categories and subcategories, determine relationships, and to develop a comprehensive and coherent story line that told the stories from the causes to the outcomes of child labour in fishing communities linking the elements of the theoretical model to the research questions. As recommended by grounded theory researchers (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Creswell, 1998), this study related the findings with the existing literature at the end of analysis of data. The findings are presented systematically along the emergent themes in response to each research question.

Summary of Key Findings of the Study

Research Question One sought to find out the specific factors that contribute to the occurrence of the phenomenon. The study found that factors that trigger off child labour may be categorised as “push” and “pull” factors. Push factors include parental neglect, single-parenting, and poverty while pull factors include peer pressure and desire to acquire material things.

The next research question was intended to examine the nature of the child labour experiences that child labourers in fishing communities report. The type of work the participants engaged in to either make money or to assist their parents and care-givers were examined. It was found that though fishing and its related activities abound in the villages, participants also engaged in farming activities such as cutting and selling thatch, and weaving and selling *kloba*. It emerged that cutting and selling thatch was more lucrative sometimes than fishing though it is very dangerous. Some participants performed other jobs such as working at construction sites, washing, and carrying loads for a fee. One other significant finding was that female participants who lived with

either their own biological parents or care-givers perceived their heavy work load in the home as a kind of child labour because their work though performed in the confines of their homes, and for the fact that the money they made were controlled by their care-givers and parents, these activities leave them very exhausted, deprive them of studying, and make them ill very often. It was found that all participants worked for long hours ranging from 8 to 12 hours a day and that most of them especially boys do not normally attend school on Wednesdays and Thursdays because of work. However, all of them were usually found in school on Tuesdays: a day that the communities do not go fishing.

The third research question required responses from both participants and their parents to find out the personal-social supports and barriers and consequences that impact on the lives of child labourers. Some of the difficulties or environmental barriers that the participants encountered in the course of their work were fatigue, anxiety and fear, and abuse. Change in relationship with significant others such as mothers, fathers, siblings, other family members, school authorities and friends, were found to be both supports and barriers to the participants in coping with their situations as student-child workers. It was found that mothers, school authorities and siblings were of significant help to the participants in managing their precarious situations. Fathers, other family members, and friends however, made things difficult for the participants in coping with their child labour conditions. It was again found that child labourers often fall ill as a result of their work which exact on their general health. They also suffer absent-mindedness and experience low self esteem.

The fourth research question was formulated to discover the effects of child labour on the educational and career aspirations of child labourers. One finding was that participants were irregular in school because of work and they also reported lack of concentration in class. It also emerged that participants have poor study habits, they do not read over their lesson notes and do not copy notes on lessons that they missed. All participants were over-aged students since some did not start school early due to poverty and parental neglect while others broke school to work at a time because they lack supporters.

On their educational and career aspirations, nearly all 10 informants had the desire to go up to the university and to pursue their dream careers. It however came out that these children, by virtue of their limited exposure and their environment they were limited in the various career choices available and were therefore, looking up to or matching their dream careers to what exists in the community. At the end of analysing Research Questions 1, 2, 3, and 4, the study identified four “defining characteristics” to help in defining and identifying child labour and differentiating it from child work.

The fifth research question required participants to describe the strategies they employed in managing their child labour conditions while in school. It was found that participants have difficulty coping with stressful situations such as abuse, teasing from friends and stigmatisation from some community members. To these stressful situations, it emerged that participants developed emotionally-coping skills, problem-solving skills, and spiritually-managed skills to handle their stressful conditions. It was found that each participant used two or three coping strategies such as the emotional and

problem-solving, or emotional and spiritual, or all to deal with their conditions.

The last research question addressed the positive effects of child labour that child labourers reported. An important finding in this study was that most participants used their time profitably by keeping out of trouble and were not social deviants. They reported that work kept them busy and the little time they had for themselves they used to plan the next money generating activity to do.

Conclusions

This study explored the socio-cultural context of child labour in fishing communities in Cape Coast Metropolis in the Central Region of Ghana. The following conclusions were drawn.

1. The four “defining characteristics” of child labour identified in this study may serve as definitions and sign posts for child labour researchers, policy makers and activists.
2. Parents value education and were aware of its prospects but were impoverished by their poor socio-economic conditions and were therefore, accommodating and or indulgent as regards their children’s involvement in labour which they use to fund their education and other basic needs of life so that they could secure a better future devoid of the child labour cycle.
3. Parents do not show any sign of stopping or preventing their children from engaging in economic activities since they benefit from the children’s earnings.

4. Majority of parents find it difficult to draw the line between what constitutes “child work or service” to the home and what is “child labour”. They could not tell where child training stops and where child exploitation sets in.
5. Participants did not engage in drug and alcohol use, and were not school drop-outs and social deviants. Rather, participants were kept out of harm’s way because they engaged in child labour. They turned a negative situation into a positive one where they avoided bad company and other social vices.
6. Children can get out of child labour if they are supported by parents. And those child labourers would manage their conditions better if environmental barriers such as poor relationship between father, friends, and members of the communities on one hand and the child labourers on the other are improved.
7. Lack of parental support and neglect, and desire to acquire formal education, among others pushed many children into work and that peer pressure and desire to acquire material things also pulled children into work at an early age.
8. The child labourers studied tend to have many negative personal and social problems such as anxiety disorders, forgetfulness, and bodily pains as a result of child labour. They however, do not exhibit violent attitudes. They are also not prone to drug and alcohol abuse. They, however, suffer social isolation, exclusion and exhibit suicidal tendencies.

9. Working children are exploited by their employers and their relatives who hide behind kinship ties and exploit and abuse these children.

In summary, children work for long hours with little time to rest or play, that cause great amount of strain on them and they cannot learn at home. The most prominent explanation as to why children involve themselves in child labour was related to their desire to have formal education and this was the reason for their continuance stay in school.

Recommendations from the Study

This study brings to light several important recommendations.

Recommendations in this study are threefold: Implications for Counsellors and School Authorities, Implications for Policy, and Theoretical Values gleaned from the study.

1. Implications for Counsellors and School Authorities

Based on the findings of the study, the following implications and recommendations for counsellors and school authorities have been identified:

- (i) Counsellors and other social workers should plan and carry out educational and social activities that explain to parents, children, and significant others, the hazardous nature of child labour and child work on pupils' education and optimum development.
- (ii) Guidance coordinators could assist all students especially those in fishing communities with the necessary career information

so as to broaden students' horizon on different career choices they can make.

- (iii) Counsellors could inform parents and care-givers to understand and value education so as to either reduce the workload placed on children, and or make time for these children to learn at home.
- (iv) Counsellors could provide information on coping, helping, enlightenment and empowerment. School authorities may assist these students in the school environment by teaching school children empathy and acceptance of one another.
- (v) Counsellors could also study and make use of the four “defining characteristics” identified in this study as sign posts in schools and communities.
- (vi) Finally, it enjoins on counsellors to help parents and care-givers to understand and respect the dignity of children by removing them from performing degrading jobs that make them lose their self-esteem and self-worth.

2. Implications for Policy

The study has identified the following implications and recommendations for Policy:

- (i) Policy makers could incorporate the four “defining characteristics” of child labour identified in this study and prepare government's blue print to serve as criteria for identification of child labour drawing a

distinction between what constitute child labour and what is child service/work to researchers, and NGOs .

- (ii) There is the need for NGOs in collaboration with the Ghana Education Service and Ministry of Education to plan and implement educational programmes targeting school children and parents in deprived communities especially those in fishing communities, to increase their awareness level about the long term effects of child labour on the individual child, family, and society.
- (iii) Government could intensify action on compulsory education and provide adult jobs.

3. Theoretical Values

As elaborated in chapter three, the goal of grounded theory research is to build theory.

Two theoretical contributions of this study are as follow:

- (i) This study contributes to our collective understanding of the meaning of child labour by providing “defining characteristics” of the phenomenon.
- (ii) It contributes to the theoretical foundation of the concept of child labour. It adds to our approach of investigating the phenomenon by delineating it from the usual statistical approach that seems to place more emphasis on figures than rich description of events and their contexts. The use of grounded theory to build knowledge on lived experiences makes this study most valuable in that it provides a snapshot of what *is*, not what we want or think things to be. A most

critical piece toward understanding child labour education is an understanding of victims' behaviours (and the contexts in which they occur) that students are exposed to and reflect upon in the discussions. In this way, this study builds on our knowledge of beliefs about child labour practices in socio-cultural contexts.

Areas for Further Research

The current study explored the socio-cultural context of child labour in fishing communities in Cape Coast Metropolis in the Central Region of Ghana. The following recommendations for further studies are provided:

1. The present study was confined to one geographical location of the Cape Coast Metropolis. It is, therefore, suggested that the study is replicated in other parts of the country and other communities to find more information on the problem.
2. Using the grounded theory approach, a comparative study should be done on effects of child labour on school-going children and non-school going children in fishing communities.

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APPENDIX A

University of Cape Coast

Faculty of Education

Department of Educational Foundations

Date:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

NYUIEMEDI AMA AGORDZO is a postgraduate student of the University of Cape Coast. She is required to carry out a research study towards the fulfilment of the requirements for the award of M.Phil Degree in Guidance and Counselling.

The research topic is: SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF CHILD LABOUR IN FISHING COMMUNITIES IN THE CAPE COAST METROPOLIS: IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND SCHOOL COUNSELLING.

I will be grateful if you would give her the necessary assistance with collection of data.

Thank you,

Dr. Kafui Etsey.

APPENDIX B

University of Cape Coast

Faculty of Education

Department of Educational Foundations

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT: STUDENTS

Dear participant,

I wish to invite you to participate in a research project involving students' perceptions and stories about child work. The project is part of my M.Phil programme at the University of Cape Coast on the topic: *Socio-Cultural Context of Child Labour in Fishing Communities in the Cape Coast Metropolis: Implications for Policy and School Counselling.*

Through this letter, I wish to have your permission and that of your parents, care-givers, and teachers for you to take part in this all-interesting project as we tell our individual stories and share in the stories of our friends.

I wish to also assure you that the information you would provide would be solely used for academic purposes and that your identity and valued information would be handled with utmost care. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Nyuiemedi Ama Agordzo

M.Phil Student

UCC

Cape Coast.

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT FORM: STUDENT

I fully understand the purpose of this study and its benefits to me. I understand that participation is voluntary and that my real name will not be used in this study. I have read/ it had been read to me about the peculiar nature of this study and I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time I so wish. I also understand that any issue that I do not understand would be explained to me in the course of the study and that I can also contact Nyuiemedi on Tel. 0244679719/ 0203303374

PARTICIPANT'S PERMISSION

Name:.....

Address:.....

Phone:.....e-mail:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

APPENDIX D

University of Cape Coast

Faculty of Education

Department of Educational Foundations

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT: PARENT/CARE-GIVER/TEACHER

Dear Participant,

I wish to invite you to participate in a research project involving students' perceptions and stories about child work. The project is part of my M.Phil programme at the University of Cape Coast on the topic: *Socio-Cultural Context of Child Labour in Fishing Communities in the Cape Coast Metropolis: Implications for Policy and School Counselling.*

Through this letter, I wish to have your permission to engage you and your child/ward in this all-interesting project as we share in the experiences of our children and their work and school.

I wish to also assure you that the information you would provide would be solely used for academic purposes and that you and your child/ward's identity and valued information would be handled with utmost care. Thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Nyuiemedi Ama Agordzo

M.Phil Student

UCC

Cape Coast.

APPENDIX E

INFORMED CONSENT FORM: PARENT/CARE-GIVER/ TEACHER

I fully understand the purpose and benefits of this study. I understand that participation is voluntary and that my real name or that of my child/ward will not be used in this study. I have read/ it had been read to me about the peculiar nature of this study and I also understand that I am free to withdraw or to ask my child/ward to withdraw from the study at any time I so wish. I also understand that any issue that I do not understand would be explained to me in the course of the study and that I can also contact Nyuiemedi (The researcher) on Tel. 0244679719/ 0203303374.

PARTICIPANT'S PERMISSION

Name:.....

Relationship with Participant:.....

Address:.....

Phone:.....e-mail:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

APPENDIX F

Letter from professional counsellor

Counselling Centre
University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast,
12th November, 2009

Nyuiemedi Ama Agordzo,
C/o Counselling Centre,
University of Cape Coast,
Cape Coast.

Dear Nyuiemedi,

UNDERTAKING – EMERGENCY COUNSELLING SERVICES

This is to confirm that I will be available during the period of your data collection to provide any emergency counselling services that might be needed of your participants in your M.Phil research project. You may contact me on the following numbers: 0244786680 or 04234615. I wish you all the best in your study.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Linda Dzama Forde
(Sn. Lecturer/Counsellor)

APPENDIX G

CHILD LABOUR ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW GUIDE- STUDENTS

(CLAIG-S)

PART I

INTERVIEW NO.:

Age Now:.....Then:.....

Gender: Male [] Female []

School.....

Form.....

Residential Data (Living with):

 Mother [] Father [] Other: []

 Care-giver [] Both parents []

Level of Education of Parents/Care-giver:

 Mother:.....

 Father:.....

 Care-giver (*In case of those living with Care-givers*):.....

Occupation of Parents/Care-giver

 Mother:.....

 Father:.....

 Care-giver (*In case of those living with Care-givers*):.....

No. of Siblings:

 Sisters [] Brothers []

My Parents are:

Separated [] Divorced []

Living together [] Widowed []

My Care-giver is: Divorced [] Married []

Single [] Widowed []

Date of 1st meeting:.....

Date of 2nd meeting:.....

Total Duration of interview:.....

PART 2

In recent times the work done by children both at home and outside the home have been seen as difficult and having certain effects on these children. This study hopes to gather the experiences of children who are in school and at the same time, work and to find out from the children themselves what led them to work, the problems they faced in the course of their work, what effects they believed their work have on them, and how they have been managing their life. This study again, hoped to make the voices of these children known to school counsellors and policy makers to develop school curricula and policy frameworks that would help assist these children for a better future life.

Thank you and let us move on with our discussion.

Qt 1: I understand you work as a child. Can you please share with me your experiences as a student and a “child worker” in this fishing community talking about the work you do?

Qt 2: Can you please share with me what led you into working, and how you got the work you do?

Qt 3: Can you describe to me exactly your life as a working child looking at a typical week of your life?

Qt 4: How long have you been working now? OR When did you start work?

Qt 5: It is often believed that working children face certain problems as they work. Describe the problems or difficulties you face and how you manage to solve/overcome those problems.

Qt 6: What are some of the benefits you derive from the work you do?

Qt 7: Do you know whether your father or mother or any other person in your family engaged in work when they were children?

Qt 8: As a “child worker”, would you please tell me how you combine schooling with your working life talking about some of the problems you encountered or interesting things you remember?

Qt 9: Can you please tell me what you think about yourself as a “child worker” and those children who work?

Qt 10: In your view as a child worker, how do you relate with people in your community and vice versa? (parents, siblings, teachers, friends, and other family members).

Qt 11: Can you please share with me your plans for school and future work?

Qt 12: I would want to know whether you have counsellors in your school and what discussions you have had with him or her concerning your problem as a student worker and what help you received from him or her?

Qt 13: Is there anything you wish to tell me again?

APPENDIX H

CHILD LABOUR ASSESSMENT INTERVIEW GUIDE- PARENTS

(CLAIG-P)

PART I

INTERVIEW NO.:

Relationship with Participant:.....

House Identification Number:.....

Tel Number:.....

Level of Education :

Occupation :.....

Number of children:.....

Marital status:

Single [] Separated [] Divorced

[]

Married [] Widowed []

Date of meeting:..... Duration:

PART 2

In recent times the work done by children both at home and outside the home have been seen as difficult and having certain effects on these children. This study hopes to gather the experiences of children who are in school and at the same time, work and to find out both from the children themselves and their parents or care-givers what led them to work, the problems they faced in

the course of their work, what effects they believed their work have on the children, and how these children manage their lives. This study again, hoped to make the voices of these children known to school counsellors and policy makers to develop school curricula and policy frameworks that would help assist these children for a better future life.

Thank you and let us move on with our discussion.

Qt 1: I understand that your child/ ward works. Can you please share with me what led your child/ward into working in this fishing community?

Qt 2: It is known that children work along their parents in our communities as a way of helping in the family, would you say that it helps the children to learn how to grow into adulthood and in doing so, do you think it affects them in any way?

Qt 3: It is often believed that working children face certain problems as they work. Describe the problems or difficulties your child/ward seems to face and how he/she manages to solve/ overcome those problems?

Qt 4: Can you please tell me what your child/ward does with the money he/she makes?

Qt 5: What are some of the benefits you think your child/ward derives from the work he/she does?

Qt 6: In your opinion, how would you say your child/ward combines school with work and what are some of the problems he/she encountered?

Qt 7: Can you please share with me if you or anyone in your family had ever worked as a child?

Qt 8: Can you tell me about how “child workers” in this fishing community, relate with people in the community and vice versa? (i.e. parents, siblings, teachers, friends, and other family members).

Qt 9: What do you think is the way forward to solving this problem of child labour?

Qt 10: Is there anything you wish to tell me again?

Thank you very much for your time. I appreciate it.

APPENDIX I

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION- STUDENTS

At the start of the discussion, the researcher introduced herself and the study and asked participants to introduce themselves by their first names.

Three broad questions guided the discussion.

1. How is it like working and going to school at this age?
2. How can you tell the difference between household chores and what people call “child labour”?

The participants were then given a paper and pencil to:

3. List at least three ways, both negative and positive, that working as a child and going to school has affected different aspects of your life.

APPENDIX J

**FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION- PARENT/TEACHER/IMMEDIATE
NEIGHBOUR**

At the start of the discussion, the researcher introduced herself and the study and asked participants to introduce themselves by their first names.

Three broad questions guided the discussion:

1. What works or services do children/wards do/render in helping parents at home?
2. How can you tell the difference between household chores and what people call “child labour”?
3. Do the works children do at home affect their life negatively and what can be done to solve the situation?

APPENDIX K

CASE PROFILE OF THE 10 PARTICIPANTS

Agbee-CAS/01

Agbee-CAS/01 is a Form Three student and the school's boys' prefect in ABA school in the fishing communities of Cape Coast. He was 10 years old when he started work as a child labourer and has been working for 9 years now and lives on his own. He is the third of 6 children of the same mother but born to three different fathers. His mother holds a certificate in Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) but is unemployed. The father, though a fisherman, is said to have abandoned him very early in life so he could not tell his father's level of education but believes that the father might not have gotten to the JSS "looking at the kind of English he spoke" said Agbee. He has high educational and career ambitions of going to the university and becoming a mechanic in life and has a will to end well in life: to break the cycle of poverty and child labour in his nuclear family.

At age 10, Agbee was still not going to school but felt the need to go anytime he saw his friends going and coming back from school. He felt he was missing something. The mother reported that he became a "restless soul anytime he saw his friends in school uniform. He asked me several times to send him to school but because I don't work and have no money, I could not send him to school. When I asked the father too for support to send this boy to school, he did not do anything about it". He consequently engaged in work and sent himself to school. He said that the money he makes helps to alleviate the financial burden on his unemployed mother by providing for himself and three other siblings living with her.

Agbee entered child labour through running errands for adults at the beach and with time he graduated into fishing work. He performs tasks ranging from rowing boat, scooping water from the boat, diving on high sea to disentangling nets, fencing, sorting fish, and carrying fish among others. Agbee revealed that he does not attend school on Wednesdays and Thursdays since these are busy days at the beach.

The dangers he encounters during the performance of his economic activities include fatigue, fear of getting drown, excessive cold on high sea, and hunger. Other problems he faced are sickness, inadequate remuneration, and verbal abuse from peers, community adults and employers. He lamented he could not go to school always and misses on lessons taught. He said this affects his performance in class and this worries him a great deal.

Agbee recalled how he manages what he earns. He sells some portion of his fish and sends the rest home for his mother to use in cooking for the family. He also gives her some money and uses the rest to pay his school fees, buys books and provides his personal effects. CAP/01, Agbee's biological mother, confirmed that the son helps provide for the family through what he gets from work.

Agbee is not happy with the way most of his family members treat him especially one of his aunties whom he said wished him evil. He said that she sometimes went to the headmistress and asked her to cancel his name from the school register anytime there was a problem at home. He disclosed that due to lack of money on the part of his mother and unsupportive nature of members of the extended family, his elder brother dropped out of school at class 5 and had since engaged in fishing work to support himself. Agbee is sad that his

mother did not go to school instead she worked for her aunty whose children went to school and are “big people” today. CAP/01 recalled her life with her maternal aunty who “used” her and did not live her with anything in life. Agbee expressed bitterness on why his father did not provide for his education at least.

Agbee intimated that his teachers understand his situation and offer him advice and help. He said they treat and talk to him well and that they also respect him and he reciprocates this by being respectful and hardworking on the school compound.

Ericus-CAS/02

Ericus-CAS/02 is a Form Two student aged 18 years in ABA school. He started work as a child labourer when he was 12 years and had been working for 6 years now and lived with his mother. He is the second of five children (the first boy) of the same mother but born to three different fathers. His mother has no formal education and is a gari- processor (petty trader). The father completed JHS and worked as a fisherman but died 6 years ago. Ericus was uncertain about the future of his education and career even though he wished he could be a mechanic in future. After the death of his father, Ericus saw that it was becoming increasingly difficult for the mother to single-handedly look after the five of them to continue school so he and his junior brother started work by going to the grandfather’s coconut trees where they pluck and sell coconuts, weave *kloba* (a kind of fence mat made with coconut branches) and sell, catch and sell crabs, and carry load for people (porters) and help their mother in processing gari. He reported that he attends school from

Monday to Friday but misses school some days and goes to school late most of the times because of work. Part of the money that Ericus makes is used to take care of his school needs, his personal effects and the rest is given to the mother to add to whatever she has.

The problems he faces ranges from drowning in wells (*gedze e3eme*), falling from coconut trees, snakes bites, fever, and burning. He also lamented over the low payment that some people give to him and others also decide to pay in kind instead of cash that he needs to solve his financial problems. Ericus reported that to choose between school attendance and work when there is no money at home, he normally chose the latter. He indicated that his work affects his studies both at home and in school. He reported that he sleeps in class and most of the time his mind “goes far away in class”. Ericus performs poorly in both English and Mathematics in school but indicated he started performing poorly after the demise of his father and when he started working. CAP/02 (biological mother of Ericus-CAS/02) reported that the son is very helpful to the home management but quickly added that she constantly encourages all of them to go to school regularly and learn hard. She however conceded that when there is a lot of work like processing gari at home the children stay home to help her to work.

Ericus expressed disappointment in society for using wealth as a measure of respect for people in the community. He said that parents who do not have anything and their children also work, show respect to him and he also respects them but those who have do not talk well to others who do not have and this makes him sad. He recalled poignantly how he and his mother were verbally assaulted by some neighbours who are seemingly rich and were

searching for their lost duck and came to their compound. He lamented that their neighbours insulted his mother just because she is poor. Ericus also said that children from relatively good homes also took up after their parents and abused him and other children who work. Due to this, Ericus intimated that he does not play with them because they shun his company.

He reported that his father's relatives do not treat him and his sister well. He is of the view that it is because they do not want to be responsible for him and his sister so they (extended family) completely distanced themselves away from them by refusing to respond to their greetings let alone have anything to do with them.

Ericus worries about his future. He regretted being born into this world to suffer untold hardship. Even though he is determined to do well, he is uncertain about what tomorrow holds for him. He believed that if nothing serious happens to take him away from work and assist him to finish school well to get a good job, then, they would continue to be poor since his mother, father and a maternal aunt all worked as children and he and his younger brother are also working. His mother, CAP/02, confirmed this story.

Inno-CAS/03

Inno-CAS/03 is a 15 years old Form One female student. She was in class one when her mother asked her to come and live with her maternal aunt. She has been working for 6 years now. She is the third of 7 children of same mother but born to two different fathers. Her mother has no formal education and is a petty trader in her hometown while his father never went to school and she does not know what he is doing for a living. The aunt has also not

gone to school and is a food vendor on her school compound. Inno has no future aspirations in terms of educational and career ambitions. Inno reported that she has no regulated life and that she does whatever is assigned to her to do at any given time. She said she is on call 7/24 by her aunt and dares not complain else she would receive beatings. Her work ranges from sweeping, washing, cooking, fetching water, shopping, running errands, and selling.

Apart from work at home, Inno sells various items for her aunt ranging from Milo, sugar, roasted groundnut, to *kaklo* (cassava chips). She travels long distances to several other villages to sell her wares. She is normally woken up by her aunt by 4am averagely to start her duties. She has to finish sweeping and fetching water then join the aunt in the kitchen to continue cooking the *akple*, rice, and yam that the aunt sells on campus. Here, she grinds pepper, chops okra, onion, and dresses fish to be used in preparing the soup and stew that go along with the food. She goes to school only after the dishes were ready and she carries it to school. This makes her late for school even though she goes to school every day. On the school compound, she continues her work by washing bowls which her peers eat from and packs the basins back home after school. After school, Inno goes to sell her wares and this makes it very difficult for her to study at home since she returns from her business late and very tired. She again prepares the evening meal.

Due to fatigue, Inno sleeps most often in class. She reported that she often fell ill because she never rest enough from her work but her aunt calls her lazy. She is mostly refused food as punishment when she lost money when she went shopping or could not account properly for her sales. In some cases she works for three days without food following a problem.

Inno intimated that even when she was living with her mother her father did not provide for her and her mother believed that if she (Inno) stays with her aunt she (Inno) would no longer be her mother's burden. She revealed that though she is not paid, her aunt provides her school needs sometimes and also sends her mother some provisions during Christmas and Easter. She indicated that since she came to live with her aunt for 6 years, her mother has never visited and she has never heard of the father.

Inno does not know when she would leave her aunt because she is not aware of the discussion between her mother and aunt concerning her stay. She reported that her mother had narrated her life experiences to them and indicated how she suffered working for her aunt when she lost her mother. Inno also related that her younger siblings are all (scattered) living with people and she has not seen nor heard from them. When CAP/03 (an Immediate Neighbour) was contacted, she confirmed that Inno is a good and hardworking girl. CAP/03 believed that Inno will become a good person in life if she gets assistance.

Chris-CAS/04

Chris-CAS/04 is an 18 year old Form One boy living with both parents. Even though he lives with both parents, he works as a child and has been working for the past five years now. He is the second of four children born to same parents. He has ambition of finishing school at the SHS level and becoming a musician. The mother dropped out of school in class four when her father could not provide for her and she had worked as a child to support her mother who was a fishmonger. Chris' father worked as a child to see

himself through school to the SSS level but does not have any job apart from fishing in the village. CAP/04(Chris' mother) lamented over her inability to continue school which she blames on her father and which she said has resulted in her unemployment today. She also confirmed that Chris' father worked to support himself when he was going to school.

Chris reported that his work is only a supplement to what his parents do for him. He said that even though the parents provide for him, their provision is not enough or sometimes they complain that they do not have money so he and his younger brother work. His work ranges from carrying things (porter), fetching water, and washing for university students, to weeding. He also works at the beach pulling net, carrying dirty net to the village, and carrying and preparing fish. He recounted that when he washed about 25 jerseys, he is paid GHC 1.50p or GHC 2.00. He said the university students mostly give him dresses, books, and other items such as video games and cassettes. He uses part of the money he makes and gives his mother some. CAP/04 confirmed this story saying that sometimes Chris gives her about GHC 4.00 or GHC 5.00 to use at home. She said that she does not sanction her children's work because some neighbours embarrass her for allowing her children to be *kayaye* (head porters). She reported that she went to the porters of the various halls in the university and asked them to stop or arrest her children when they come to work.

Chris reported that his school work suffer most when university students either reopen or close down for vacation. In times like these, he said, he either does not come to school at all or comes but run away before closing.

He intimated that he does not perform well in English language and Mathematics because he does not study them enough.

What makes Chris sad is how his peers, some teachers and adults in the community disregard him because he is a porter. He is however happy that some few friends respect him and both his parents and siblings respect him. Some teachers also sympathise with him and help him with money and advice.

Dzidzor-CAS/05

Dzidzor-CAS/05 is a female Form One student living with her maternal aunt. She was 10 years old when she came because her mother said her aunt was looking for somebody to stay with her. She is 15 years old now. Her mother, father, and aunt have had no formal education but are petty trader, carpenter, and fishmonger respectively. She is the fifth of seven children born to the same parents who still live together as husband and wife back in their village.

Dzidzor was brought by her mother to stay with and help her aunt to look after her till she finishes her secondary education. There are six other people who are older than her staying with her aunt making them 8 in a two bedroom house. She performs all household chores, helps in smoking fish, and sells kerosene on the street at night. She said work at home puts a lot of pressure on her school attendance and performance. She said, *“Though I attend school every day I often get to school late and tired”*.

Dzidzor reported that her aunt, her aunt’s husband and their children often insult and shout at her and the husband also beats her up at the least provocation. She said she is not allowed to go near them whenever they are

doing something new (with some sadness in her voice). Her intension is to pay them back one day when they come to her for any help but she said that after a second thought she changed her mind not to pay evil with evil. She revealed that she is not happy with the way she is treated at home and said, “...*I want to go to my parents in the village hmm..., hmm..., (sobbed)*”.

On her educational and future career aspirations, Dzidzor indicated that she would like to attend SHS and proceed to nurses training to become a nurse in the future but her aunt’s husband keeps telling her aunt that “children who stay with others should not be sent to further their education but should be put to some trade (voice down close to tears). She concluded that she believes God would send her a help one day since she has always prayed to Him.

Josh-CAS/06

Josh-CAS/06, a Form Three boy, recalls how he started work 9 years ago because his father has separated with his mother and has married another woman. He said he was then in class 3 and was 10 years old. Josh reported that his mother has no formal education and she is a petty trader who moved to Enchi after his father divorced her. She has not remarried since. His father holds SSSCE and works at the University of Cape Coast library but does not provide for him. His father, at the time of divorce, threw his mother and all her children out from his house and brought in his new wife. Josh moved with his mother to Enchi to stay with his mother’s cousin who operates a chop bar. Because of this, he had to break school after class 3 to work with the mother at Enchi. After a year at Enchi, he decided to come back and continue his education. When he returned, his father did not allow him to live in the same

house with him so he sought refuge with his paternal aunt who asked him to move in to her house. He recounted that he had to repeat P3 because he was away from school for a whole year. Josh revealed that initially, his aunt was very helpful in paying his school fees and providing his basic needs but along the line she stopped because she was also looking after her six children alone who were all in school then. According to Josh, things became difficult for him so he joined some of his friends who were working in the community.

Josh reported that he works at the beach as **k4mp1niviwo** (a term used to refer to young boys who accompany fishermen to sea) in throwing net, rowing boat, scooping water from the boat on high sea, diving into water to disentangle net on fishing expedition, and swimming with one end of the rope to the shore. He recalled very sadly his experience on one night when he was asked to swim to the shore:

One day when we were on sea around 2 am, I was asked to swim to the shore with one

end of the rope that was tied to the net and wait for the boat to dock. I swam and landed at a place near St. Augustine's college. When I reached there, I sat down and leaned against a coconut tree because I was very tired. Just some few minutes later, I saw something moving like a wave... ei...hmm, gbafa 5om (I felt frozen for sometime) before I regained consciousness. I felt sick afterwards with some blisters all over my mouth. This incident scared me for a long time but ah...well... there is nothing I can do about my situation so I continued going.

He continued that sometimes when the boat docks at a different place far away from their shore, then they the “k4mp1niviwo” have to go and hire

trucks from the town to cart the net to the village before drying it and they are paid GHC 10.00 or less depending upon the size of the catch/harvest for the day. Some days when the harvest is poor they are given only some fish to go home with.

Josh also reported that apart from fishing, he cuts and gathers thatch for sale in the company of others both young and old from the village. He said that they face so many challenges during work. According to him, people steal their thatch, farmers sometimes set fire into the thatch, and some people call them thieves and truants. He said snakes have also been their enemies in the bush sometimes biting them. He recounted how he was bitten once by a black cobra in the bush and his colleagues had to carry him to the village before he was treated with herbs or traditional medicine. He continued that even though they wear long sleeved shirts to the bush the thatch still cut their skin making it look and feel rough.

He intimated that sometimes he does not attend school in a whole week. And the days that he went, he sometimes went late. Josh finds it difficult to learn at home because of work. He said at the moment, all his aunt's children are in various boarding schools and work places so he lives with her alone in the house so he has to do the household chores alone until they return on holidays. But he was quick to add that household chores do not prevent him from going to school or work outside.

Josh said some teachers understand his situation and encourage him to try and be regular in school and learn hard to become somebody while others refer to him as "*kob4l4*" (a truant and street child). He said a teacher told him that he had also worked as a child but was determined to do something with

his life so he studied hard. Ever since, Josh said he has been determined to study hard and he believes that he will end well to become an engineer.

On the account of his relationship with both adults and his peers in the community, Josh said majority of the people in the village do not regard him because he works. He said this is a general attitude of the people in the community towards child workers. His peers who do not work are spiteful and do not like to move with them but those who work are his friends and he is happy with them.

Dan-CAS/07

Dan-CAS/07 is an 18 year old Form Three student boy who lives with his mother and three other siblings of which he is the second born. The four children are of same mother but born to two different fathers. His mother remarried after his father died when he was just three years old. He was 12 years old when he started work as a child labourer. He has a dream of finishing SHS and becoming his own boss as a fitting mechanic. His mother has no formal education and sells *kaklo* (cassava chips) in the village. Even though the mother remarried, she lives with her mother because her husband has a first wife. Dan could not talk about the father's education and occupation but his mother reported that the father dropped out of school at class 6 and became a carpenter by profession.

Dan revealed that after his mother has remarried, he was brought to live with his step father and his other wife at Elmina. According to him, his step father maltreated him. He said,

There (referring to his stay with his step father and wife together with their children) I did everything in the house while his children sat down and watched TV. Yet he was not providing for me. He did not give me `dik4ba (pocket money for the morning) and he shouted at or insulted me at the least provocation so I came here and stayed with my grandmother till she died before I came to my mother. Hmm..., I suffered there a lot. I remember one day after school I asked the children to go with me to the borehole site to fetch water down for use of the following day so that we would not go to school late the next day but one of them z7 e3egbea2e 2e `utinye (used a kind of Ewe on me - interpreting insult) telling me that I don't have my parents here and their father was trying to care for me an orphan and I asked them to go and fetch water. It pained me and I spanked her and that was the day he sacked me.

He went on to say that when he came to his grandmother he had to break school because there was no money to pay his fees then. So he started working to make some money to continue his education and to help his mother because “what she does for a living is nothing, she finds it difficult to provide for the four of us”. Dan carries concrete for masons at building sites and sometimes weaves *kloba* and sells. For the concrete job, he moves with the masons to places like Abura, Pedu, Elmina, and other surrounding villages.

Dan continued that his employers shout at them and force them to work even when they are visibly tired and cannot work. Again, his employers do not pay them well. Even though they work on daily basis, sometimes, a whole week after work before they are paid. He said,

We have to go begging him (the employer) before he will pay us the money and this sometimes prevents me from coming to school. When we carry concrete we are paid GHC 7.00 a day but we are paid GHC 5.00 when we carry mortar. Again, by the nature of the work, we leave home early say around 4am or 5am and we are not given any money like advance to buy food until the end of the day before we are paid so if you don't have anything from home and take along you will stay hungry for the whole day and become very weak. And again, some of the places we go to are far away from town so even when you carry money on you, you will still go hungry.

Dan went on to recount an experience. He said,

One day at the site I was seriously injured by a nail and my leg got really swollen so I stayed home for about three weeks neither going to school nor work. It was really difficult for me. I didn't have enough money to go to the hospital so some elders in the village used some herbs to treat it till I got well. Hmm..., sometimes too we tripped and fell with the concrete and the pan could hit your leg seriously and when this happens, you have to get up fast and collect the mortar from the ground so that the foreman or the mason does not see it because when they do they will not pay you your money at end of the day.

Sometimes when we climbed the coconut tree, we fell. Once I held onto a branch not knowing that the branch was weak, I fell from the tree and landed heavily on my back. I hurt seriously then but I'm ok now.

He intimated that because he is not the same father with his two other siblings, they do not respect him because of how his step father talks to and

treats him. As for his peers he said that he do not play with them because they easily resort to insulting child workers' background as paupers and then making fun of them. He indicated that his teachers have been good to him and he listens to their advice.

Tsoeke-CAS/08

Tsoeke-CAS/08, a 16 year old girl in Form 3 lives with her mother, three siblings and a step father. After she and her elder brother were born, her parents divorced and her mother remarried with two children. Her father also remarried two other women with whom he made five other children. Both parents have no formal education but the mother is a petty-trader while the father is a fisherman net-owner in Half Asini fishing community. The step father works at Ameen Sangari factory here in Cape Coast but lost that job and became a fisherman in the village.

Tsoeke narrated that she works to help her mother in frying and selling *koliko* (fried yam or sweet potato) and Accra kenkey at the road side so that her mother could support her education. According to her, she joins her mother at the road side after close of school to sell *koliko* and kenkey. Since their house is located by the road side, it is easy to shuttle between frying and selling *koliko* at the road side, and grinding pepper and packing the kenkey from the home to the road side for her mother to sell. She recalled that sometimes if her mother has something doing or somewhere going, then she has to sell both the kenkey and the *koliko* at the same time. She went on to reveal that she sells till 6.30pm or 7.00 pm before moving to the house to

prepare the evening meal for the family and finishes her household chores around 10 pm. She said,

Sometimes if I were not tired then I learn small but most often I sleep without learning. Let us say in a week I learn in the night on two days at most”.

She narrated how her mother refuses her pocket money for school whenever she is tired and could not finish her household duties or when she has school work that prevents her from helping her at home. She said, *“I always have to help her or finish my duties at home every evening else she will refuse to give me pocket money for school the following day. I’m given 70p for school every day that I spend on food and studies”.*

Tsoeke normally wakes up early about 5 am, sweeps the compound, fetches water, baths her four year old brother, buys food for him, before she prepares herself for school. Tsoeke said that even though she complained to her mother about her work load which not only makes her very tired but also prevents her from going to school on time and makes it impossible for her to study, her mother usually shouts at her and insists that she does all her work at home. With a sad voice she narrated,

Hmm..., sometimes I get very tired due to work at home. Sometimes, in a week I come to school late on two or three days. I sometimes complain to her or even when I get tired in doing something and I tell her that I want to rest a little before I continue she will not agree but she will shout on me and insist that I do the work that time and because I’m the only girl I have to do everything. My mother says that

the rest are all boys so I have to do everything as a girl. Even my brother who is older than me my mother does not allow him to do any work to help at home.

Tsoeke reported that even though she helps the mother to be able to support her education, her mother does not supply her school needs. She said her mother does not buy books, school uniform, or sandals for her. Whenever she needs something and requests from her to give her, her mother would give a lot of excuses that she has no money or that she owes people that she has to pay or the money she has at that time was for a neighbour. Tsoeke said her father and grandfather are the people who provide for her.

Due to work load at home, Tsoeke said she could not stay on campus after school to attend the free extra classes organised by some teachers in the school for them. She reported that she is mostly ill prepared for class tests and examinations and this affects her performance. She also recalled that she sleeps in class sometimes and thinks of why her own mother treats her the way she does. About her step father, Tsoeke said that,

He does not see me as his own child because he does not treat me the way he does his own children. This disturbs me and I think that if my father were here he would have given me or treated me as his own... (broke down and sobbed...for a long time).

Concerning her friends, Tsoeke said that they respect her and are willing to share their things with her. What she however, observes is that, though her friends also live with their own mothers who are traders, they do not always sell for their parents so they stay on campus and learn. She said this makes their performance in class better than her own but not because they are

brighter than her. She intimated that she would become a banker after her university education.

Eleanor-CAS/09

Eleanor-CAS/09 is a 16 year old female Form One student who lives with her maternal aunt. She came to her aunt when she completed her primary education. According to her, she did not attend school the first two years when she came to her aunt and that it was in the third year that she started school. Her parents are still married and live in Abidjan together where they work as chop bar attendants. She is the first born of five children two of whom are also living with other people. She has a strong desire to become a nurse in the future.

According to her, even though she lived with her parents who are chop bar attendants, she was not involved in their work. She began selling when she came to live with her aunt. She recalled that she lives with 6 other children in the house of whom she is the youngest. She said that she is the first to wake up and the last to go to bed. She works from 4. 30 am and goes to bed around 10 pm. She recalled that her work involves sweeping, washing bowls and clothes, cooking, and selling *gbelim*- (cassava dough). According to Eleanor, even though her aunt does not beat her personally, she watches on unconcerned when her children beat her. She narrated one event when she was ill and could not cook the evening meal and her cousins came back from school hungry and angry at her and beat her up. That evening, she was denied food. She reported that anytime she does anything wrong, or could not complete a task at home she is either severely beaten or refused food for days. She went on to say that

when this happens she usually goes to a neighbour who is sympathetic to her plight and eats there.

Eleanor reported that every day after school and on Saturdays and Sundays, she walks to neighbouring villages including Okyeso, Kpedome, Duakor, Apeosika, Amamoma, and the university community to sell her cassava dough before coming home to cook the evening meal.

She stated that she is not among the best in her class since she came to live with her aunt. She also disclosed that she does not learn at home and does not come to school on days that she follows her aunt to purchase cassava dough from a neighbouring village. Other challenges she faces are when creditors refuse to pay and her aunt insults her and sends her out to collect the money. Sometimes, she said some men pretend to buy her *gbelim* in their rooms but she always declines to sell to them in their rooms. She reported that some men offered her about GHC 1.00 to sleep with them but she refused to collect their money. Eleanor feels that she is being overworked but believes that God would bless her one day. She also expressed her desire to return to her parents after her BECE examinations.

Prince-CAS/10

Prince-CAS/10 is an 19 year old Form 2 student boy who lives with his mother and six other siblings of which he is the second born. The seven children are of same mother but born to two different fathers. His mother remarried after she and his father separated some years ago. He was 14 years old when he started work as a child labourer. He reported that none of his

parents has any formal education but both engage in fishing activities. He is however, uncertain of the future.

Prince has been working for the past five years and going to school at the same time. He goes to sea, fetches water from the canoe, and dives to drop the rope and bring it to the shore and tie it to a coconut tree at the beach. He also paddles the canoe, pulls net, carries the net home after work, disentangles rope, folds the rope and carries it home on his shoulders with his colleagues, or they sometime cart the rope home on truck.

Prince disclosed that he cuts thatch in the bush in the company of some other boys for sale. In a day he gets about four bundles of thatch for sale and this fetches him GHC 20.00. He intimated that it is a lucrative job.

Prince recalled that they suffer from snake bites, and that he has been bitten by a snake once. He also said that the blade of the thatch cuts them. He indicates that in order to avoid the cuts, *“we put on long sleeved shirt and trousers even on a very hot day. We sweat, but we have to wear those dresses to prevent at least the blade of the thatch from wounding us. As for the snake we put on boots but even that we are not safe”*.

He reported that people steal their thatch when they leave them in the bush to dry and that at times, farm owners or some other persons set them ablaze. Sometimes the farm owners accuse them of stealing their farm produce, *“so they insult us and threaten to beat us or take us to the police station”*.

Prince revealed that sometimes he does not go to school for well over one week. He said there is lot of money in the work he does and that if not for the mother’s insistence that he should complete school, he would have

dropped out. He is quick to add that he knows that when he manages to finish JHS and moves on to senior high school his life would be better but for now, he has to work at the same time go to school so that he can provide for himself and his family. He indicated clearly that he cannot stop work now to continue school because he does not come from a home where parents have to look after their children. He said, " *But I cannot go to school every day like other kids who have, whose parents are looking after them. So they do not have to go and look for money to pay their school fees and also look after their sibling and their mother*".

He said he most often feels so tired and does in class. He reported that he is aware that his performance at school is not very good no matter how hard he tried because he is not regular at school and does not ask his friends to teach him what they learnt while he was away from school.