

**CHILD LABOUR IN PETTY TRADING (HAWKING BUSINESS) IN GHANA: A
CASE STUDY OF MADINA AND ABOKOBI AREAS IN GA EAST DISTRICT.**

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ABBREVIATIONS

ILO INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

IPEC INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME ON THE ELIMINATION OF CHILD LABOUR

NGO NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

FCUBE FREE COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL BASIC EDUCATION

GSFP GHANA SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAM

NYEP NATIONAL YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMME

UN UNITED NATIONS

DOVSU DOMESTIC VOILENCE AND VICTIM SUPPORT UNIT

MOWAC MINISTRY OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN AFFAIRS

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, Beatrice Odei, and my brother Frederick Appiah as well as all children involved in child labour in Ghana.

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis discusses the conditions of child hawkers involved in child labour in the areas of Abokobi and Madina in the Ga East District as well as measures taken to assist child hawkers and the challenges, in the Ga East District.

It employed three analytical frameworks which is the poverty model, norm or cultural model and the institutional model using Winter's integrated model of policy implementation. Three independent variables were derived from the three analytical model namely the socioeconomic model, cultural model and institutional model to explain the reasons for the influx of child hawkers in the areas and the challenges facing the implementation of child labour programs and laws.

The study employed the mixed method research design by the use of case study, interview and the design of questionnaire. The total number of respondent were 103 made up of 50 parents, 50 child hawkers and 3 government officials involved in the implementation of child labour laws and programs. Purposive sampling method was used to select respondent and data collection tools such as face to face interview, direct observation and documentary sources have been employed.

The result of the study found that poverty, low socioeconomic status of parents, gender and culture as well as the nature of economic activities within the areas have contributed to the influx of child labour in the Ga East District. The study also identified some effects of child labour on child hawkers in terms of education, health, physiology and psychology. The study also address some interventions adopted by the government to address the issue of child labour which are the introduction of the 1998 Children's Act, the FCUBE, among others and their challenges.

The study finally discussed the main challenges facing the implementation of child labour programs and laws using Winter's integrated model of policy implementation. These are problem with coordination and cooperation among implementing agencies, ambiguity of roles and functions by some government ministries and departments, inadequate resource and target group behaviour.

CHAPTER 1.0: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. INTRODUCTION

“It is the exploitation of childhood which constitutes the evil... most unbearable to the human heart. Serious work in social legislation begins always with the protection of children” by Albert Thomas, first director of the ILO (“The International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, What it is and what it does”: May 2007)

Efforts are made by international community and Ghana to ensure that children are properly developed to contribute to national and international development. These efforts include access to education, quality health care programmes, and improved water and sanitation facilities. In spite of these efforts, some parents and guardians due to poverty, and large family size among other factors have ignored the need to protect and support their children. Rather, they have engaged them in child labour such as child domestic servitude, child potters, child miners, child prostitution, child petty traders or hawkers, to mention but a few. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_mas/---eval/documents/publication/wcms_149835.pdf.

(accessed on 31st october, 2012).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines child labour as any work that deprives children from their childhood, dignity and potentials, and which is dangerous or harmful to their physical and mental development. In other words any work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to the Children, that intrude on their education, desist or deprive them chance to go to school, forces them to quit their education prematurely or obliges them to try to combine their education with extensive and heavy work.. <http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm>

(4th October, 2012).

It is important to note that a child assisting her parent in her spare time (could be on holidays from school, closing from school, weekend days etc) is not considered child labour. It becomes child labour only when it impedes on her educational, moral, psychological wellbeing and when the activity is also harmful to her health.

Child Labour particularly child petty traders or hawkers is very common in Ghana. These child hawkers carry different types of consumable goods and sell them in the market, by the road side, traffic jams chasing their customers in moving vehicles and mostly run the risk of being hit by cars. Most of them sell throughout the whole week especially during school hours. Aside these children involved in hawking of goods are those that are involved in illegal mining activities called the “galamsey operation”, others are also involved in the quarry sector breaking huge stone with simple tools like harmer for a meager wage. Some act as shoe shine boys mending people’s torn or worn out shoes. <http://www.iearn.org.au/clp/archive/write83.htm>. (Accessed on 16th October).

While some of these children combine their education with this work, others are made to completely ignore their education and focus on the work in order to raise more income to support the family. The combination of work and education by children often lead to “low grades, late enrollment, repetition and early dropout”. (Kielland and Tovo 2006:140).

The issue of child labour in Ghana has been a major concern of both the government of Ghana, Non-Governmental Organizations, and International Organizations who have made collaborative efforts to help curb the problem. The government of Ghana for example introduced the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education Programme (FCUBE) in 1995, launched in 1996, which promised universal free education to all children by year 2005. The main aim of this program was to develop the faculties of children with respect to education and their human empowerment. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03050060902920534>. (Accessed on 10th October, 2012).

In addition, the Ghana government also introduced the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) initiative which also began in 2005 with the aim of reducing hunger and malnutrition, increasing children’s enrollment in school, retaining children school attendance and boosting local food production. http://www.cleancookstoves.org/resources_files/ghana-school-feeding.pdf.

(Accessed on 30th October, 2012).

Moreover, the National Youth Employment Scheme introduced in 2006 aimed at developing the human capital of youth, equipping them with good employable skills through vocational training in their respective field of interest and also offers employments to the youth.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Youth_Employment_Program.

(Accessed on 10th October, 2012).

Apart from national and governmental initiatives, Some NGOs in Ghana such as Freedom from Hunger Project, Save the Children Fund, World Vision International Action Aid, to mention but a few, have taken it upon themselves to empower women the rural poor especially with regards to financial independence by given them loans to start up small business of their own. (Ansoglenang 2006:27).

<http://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/310/thesis.pdf?sequence=1>

(Accessed on 31st october, 2011).

Despite all these efforts made to help develop children, and empower parents to be in a better position to take care of their children, lots of children are involved in child labour. There are still a growing number of child hawkers all over in the Ga East District with regards to the areas of Madina and Abokobi. This is because most of these programmes and efforts as a result of several challenges have not been able to fully achieve its set objectives.

With the case of the FCUBE for example, incidence of late entry of children, average attendance and poor household need for child labour has been some of the major threats facing the success of the programme.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03050060902920534>.

(Accessed on 10th october,2012).

Similarly, with the National Youth Employment Scheme and the Ghana School Feeding Programme Initiative, some major challenges like inadequate resource on the part of the government to effectively implement these programmes as well as little commitment on

the part of successive governments towards the program have impeded on the programmes set objectives.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Youth_Employment_Program.

(Accessed on 10th October, 2012)

The effect of implementation failures of these programs could result in social problems related to children. These include the influx of child petty traders or hawkers which has become a common sight especially in the Ga East District.

There have been several studies related to Child labour in Ghana. An example is Kuyini and Mahama study on “Implementing Child Rights and Protection Law in Ghana : A Case Study” that talked about the challenges of implementing the 1998 children’s Act aimed at safeguarding the rights and welfare of children such as protecting children from child labour.

http://www.cevsghana.org/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/ImplementingChildRightsProtectionLawinGhana.26070718.pdf.

(Accessed on 11th October, 2012)

In addition, Kaushik Basu in his work “Child Labour : Cause, Consequence and Cure, with Remarks on International Labour Standards” extensively discussed the issue of child labour, causes, effects and some proposed remedies in the light of the international Labour standard.

<http://www.fordham.edu/economics/mcleod/Basu-99-Child1.pdf>.

(Accessed on 8th October, 2012).

This study will particularly look into the working conditions of child hawkers and programmes and policies implemented to assist these child hawkers as well as the implementation challenges of some of these programmes in the Ga East District.

In the theoretical framework, I developed three analytical frameworks: the luxury axiom or poverty model which argues that parents engage their children in child labour because of poverty; the norm or cultural model which argues that the influx of child labour occurs when the practice of child labour is widely accepted and have less negative connotation within a particular community; and lastly the institutional model which employs Winter’s integrated model of policy implementation to explain the challenges or

reasons why child labour policies and programmes have not been able to address the issue of child labour among child hawkers in the district. Out of these three models, three independent variables, the cultural variable, socioeconomic variable and the institutional variable were derived for the study and the dependent variable is more or less cases of child hawkers.

With regards to methodology, the study employed the mixed method research design which embraces the use of case study, interviews and administering of questionnaire. There were three groups of respondents: child hawkers(50), parents or guardian(50) and some government officials(3) involved in the implementation of child labour policies and programmes, thus making the total sample size of the study to be 103 persons. Purposive sampling was used to select respondent(s). Data collection tools were face to face interviews, direct observation, and documentary sources.

1.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CHILD LABOUR

Child Labour has not always had a negative connotation. It has existed since time immemorial especially in the early ages of agricultural societies where children helped their parents on the farms. Children working was seen in some traditional societies as a way of training the child and giving him or her some sort of profession eg., farming, carpentry, fishing , etc which took the form of informal education. In that era, a child working had a positive or neutral connotation.

<http://www.buzzle.com/articles/history-of-child-labor.html>.

(Accessed on 8th October, 2012).

The negative connotation of Child Labour as a social problem rose in the era of rapid industrialization and capitalism , the industrial revolution which occurred within the period of the 18th and 19th century. During the late 1700s, and early 1800s, power driven machines replaced hand labour for the production of manufactured goods and services. This era saw the enormous proliferation of factories all over the world particularly in England, U.S, Germany, Canada, France etc. Interestingly, a new source of labour (Children) were discovered by factory owners to run this power driven machines which required little strength and less labour cost compared to adult labour. Hence, there was high demand for Child Labour by factory owners because of the enormous profit

accumulated. The rate of Child Labour rose throughout the world especially in countries experiencing rapid industrialization and capitalism and thus became a major societal problem by the mid 180(s).

<http://www.scholastic.com/teachers/article/history-child-labor>.

(Accessed on 8th October, 2012)

Some children for example might work for 12 to 18 hours a day, six days a week to earn a dollar and some of these children worked even before the age of 7. Approximately about 2,000,000 school age children in the year 1810 were working for 50 to 70 hours in a week, tending machines in spinning mills, hauling heavy loads, working underground in coal mines etc, mostly under precarious conditions. According to some historians, boys under 12years for example were kept in a barbed wire fenced glass factory carrying hot glass throughout night ours for a wage of 40 cents to 1.10 dollars per night. (ibid).

Some societal associations and groups were alarmed by such cruelty which led to lots of reforms. The poor and demeaning conditions of child labour was criticized by popular writers like Karl Marx and the English Writer, Charles Dickens who published the cruelty of Child Labour in his novel “Oliver Twist”.(ibid)

Lots of countries began passing laws to regulate the problem of Child Labour with Britain being the first to pass such law. In U.S, about 28 states had passed child labour laws which emphasized education in 1899. By 1938, the U.S congress enacted the Fair Labour Standard Act which fixed the minimum ages of Children working to 16 during school hours, 14 for some kind of jobs after school, and 18 for hazardous jobs. (ibid)

Other developed countries like Canada, France, and Germany etc., also passed laws to regulate the problem of Child Labour which helped curb the situation in these countries. Even though still exists some form of child labour in the developed countries especially among the Children of Migrants in the U.S with little legal protection, Child Labour is most prominent in the Third World Countries particularly in Asia and Africa and remains a serious problem which has attracted the attention of International Organizations, and most Countries in the developed world to join force with the Third World in order to curb the problem. (ibid)

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Child petty trading is a common business in the areas of Madina and Abokobi in the Ga East District in Ghana. It is important to note that not all child petty traders are child labourers as mentioned earlier. A child petty trader or hawker is involved in the child labour if that activity impedes on his or her educational, moral or psychological wellbeing and affects his or her health. The focus here is those child hawkers involved in child labour.

These children are mostly located at the market places by the road side carrying their goods in trays and pans on their head selling to customers especially during school hours. Some of them constantly miss classes and some completely drop out of school and engage in hawking as full time business. Most of the things they sell range from biscuit, sachet water, kola nuts, fruits of all kind, and different types of vegetables such as tomatoes, carrots, cabbages etc, dried tilapia, yam, cassava, tissue, etc. They sell almost anything consumable. (Kielland and Tovo 2006:98-99).

They move from house to house and have several customers who are saved from the task of going to the market place to get these items. Those who go from house to house sometimes stand the risk of being raped or harassed by some unscrupulous male customers. Some wholesalers also give out some of their goods to these children to sell and pay them less amount of money as commission than what they fairly deserve. These child petty traders or hawkers operate in different areas or places selling their goods through the scorching sun for long hours and sometimes in hunger especially for those who do not make any sale or those who make little sale . (ibid)

Most of them hawk in traffic jams showing their items to the rich folks and other passengers in moving vehicles. Some customers patronize these hawkers while others also take advantage of them and go with given item in the moving vehicle without paying for them. Some of these children are knocked down by cars especially by those unscrupulous drivers who over-speed while pursuing or running after bad customers who do not want to pay for their goods. They sometimes suffer healthwise as a result of hawking on dusty roads (especially the Madina road) in the scorching sun for long hours.

<http://www.learm.org.au/clp/archive/write83.htm>.

(Accessed on 16th October, 2012)

As mentioned earlier, efforts have been made by the government through the District Assemblies to assist these children involved in petty trading business in the district and to reduce child labour. Some of these efforts as mentioned earlier include the FCUBE helping to enroll children in school, GSFP initiative providing food to these child in school, NYEP equipping youth or parents of these children with employable skills of offering them employment and above all, the implementation of the 1998 Children's act aimed at safeguarding the rights and dignity of all Ghanaian children and to reduce child labour. It is important to note that children in Ghana traditionally have little or no say in family decision. Parents mostly decide on behalf of children, so most of these child hawkers probably do have consent of their parents or guardians. Despite the implementation of these programmes and policies meant to curb child labour in the district, they are still a growing number of child hawkers in the district. In the light of this problem, this study seeks to answer the research questions below.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What account for the influx of child hawkers in the areas of Madina and Abokobi in the Ga East District?
- To what extent has child labour affected child petty traders or hawkers in the areas of Abokobi and Madina with respect to their education, health, etc.?
- What are the efforts taken by the government to help parents and child hawkers in the areas of Abokobi and Madina and how successful have these measures been?
- What are some of the implementation challenges faced in implementing child labour laws and programs in the district

1.4. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The two main objectives of this study are the causes of child labour, government or institutional response to child labour which will be elaborated in the following discussions:

- Throw more light on the conditions of the child hawkers (involved in child labour) in the areas of Madina and Abokobi in the Ga East district

- Elucidate the efforts made by the government to assist these children and their parents and assess the fruitfulness of these efforts or measures.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

- The study will contribute to existing literature on Child Labour in Ghana by broadening the literature base in that field of study. It would make tangible contributions to the aspects which are not dealt with in Child Labour literature. In the field of Public Administration, This study could contribute Child Labour Implementation Laws and programs.
- Since the study aims at throwing more light on the condition of the child hawkers in the areas of Madina and Abokobi, the findings of this study could be useful for the District Chief Executive in the Ga East District to put certain measures in place to help these children and their parents or guardian.
- The findings could also help the District Chief Executive in the District to revise existing measures to effectively redress the condition of these child hawkers.

1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis is divided into five main chapters. This Chapter provides an introduction, statement of the problem, research questions, aims and objective of the study, significance of the study, organization of the thesis and a conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 2 discusses the Theoretical Framework which comprise an introduction of the chapter, use of theories, concepts and perspectives on Child Labour, the study's analytical framework which is basically the Luxury Axiom or Poverty model with reference to theoretical writings of philosophers like Karl Marx, Alfred Marshall, Pigou Arthur , and John Stuart Mill on child labour, the "norm" or cultural model Winter's integrated model of policy implementation, operationalization of the dependent and independent variables, hypothesis and a conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 3 also explains the methodology of the study, that is the target population, selection of respondents and the sample size of the study, data sources which comprise

face to face interviews, direct observation , and documentary sources, addressing the issue of reliability, validity and generalization in the study, challenges encountered during field work, ethical consideration and a conclusion of the chapter.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses the findings (data), and Chapter 5 constitutes the concluding part of the study.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study which is Basu's basic model (with particular reference to the luxury axiom which I prefer to call the poverty model), the cultural (norm) model as well as institutional model with reference to Winter's integrated model of policy implementation, supplemented by Van Meter and Van Horn's theory of Policy Implementation and their application and relevance to the study. It also discusses the dependent and independent variables and how they have been operationalized in the study, the hypotheses of the study and the conclusion of the chapter.

It is important to note that this study argues three types of perspective or models of child labour as mentioned above. There is sociological and political economy approach to Child Labour by Basu and Humphries with reference to the Poverty and Cultural Model which explains the causes of child labour. Because of the necessity of this research, I have supplemented these models with an institutional perspective using Winter's Integrated Model of Policy Implementation further supplemented by Van Meter and Van Horn's theory of Policy Implementation.

This to some extent establishes a dialogue across discipline. This is necessary because these models do not only highlight the problem but also responds to the problem in terms of Policy implementation or government action. The use of these diverse models reflects on the diversity and complexity of child labour which in reality is tackled from different front. There are government responses, economic responses, social responses, to mention but a few, to child labour in Ghana.

2.2. THE USE OF THEORIES

A theory according to Neil J. Salkind is "a set of statements that predict things that will occur in the future or explain things that have occurred in the past" (Salkind 2006:8). He argued further that by the very nature of theories "they can be modified according to the result of the research based on the same assumptions on which the theory is drawn" (ibid: 8-9).

King et al also opined that “theories usually imply several more specific descriptive or causal inferences and that a theory should be consistent with prior evidence about a research question” (King et al 1994:19).

2.3. MODELS AND PERSPECTIVES OF CHILD LABOUR.

2.3.1. THE BASIC/STATIC MODEL

According to Jane Humphries (2010), there are two assumptions that are crucial and also founded the basic static model of labour market with child labour. These are the Luxury Axiom and the Substitution Axiom (Humphries 2010:26 citing Basu and Tzannatos 2003). The Substitution Axiom according to Jane Humphries (2010) argues that “adults and child workers are substitutes subject to some adult equivalency correction” (ibid). This Axiom argues that it is always possible to replace adult labour with Children and since adult labour cost more, some employers aiming to maximize profit would switch to children. It is important to note that for the purpose of this study, I restricted myself just to the Poverty model (luxury axiom) which best fits or apply to the situation of the child hawkers within the areas of Abokobi and Madina in the Ga East District.

The Poverty model (Luxury Axiom) argues that parent or household send their children to work because of poverty and that children’s “non work, school attendance or leisure” (ibid) is a luxury commodity household cannot afford. Families or household with low income cannot afford to disengage their children from working in order to survive. This is because children work in this case brings in surplus income that helps to sustain the family together with adult income. Children, according to this assumption are only kept out of productive activity when adult income rises above the subsistence level. Hence, there lies implicitly altruistic view of parents and guardians who have negative disposition towards their children working but have to consent to the act because of poverty and the household’s survival (Humphries 2010:26).

In the view of Basu (1999), Karl Marx’s writing coincides with the period when child labour was at its peak during the industrial revolution. In his work called “Capital”, he developed a model explaining the causes of child labour.

According to Marx, the rise of a new technology which he specifically referred to it as “machinery” led to the practice of employing persons “whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all more supple” (Marx 1867:372 cited in Basu 1999:1094).

In the view of Marx, Ideally the existence of machinery should have resulted in more time for leisure but since machinery is owned by one agent(capitalists) and labour by the proletariat (including adults and children of the working class), “a diminished need for labour would lead to decline of wages to a higher extent, therefore it would be beneficial for the capitalist to freely utilize labour on one hand, and also equally important to have workers and their entire household (family) work to satisfy their subsistence consumption (Marx 1867:373 cited in Basu 1999 :1094).

In this way, machinery tends to depreciate the labour power of men because in order for families to satisfy their subsistence consumption, there is the supply of not only labour but surplus labour for the capitalists (ibid). In other words, all members of the family has to engage in some sort of economic activity that brings income, in order to secure their subsistence consumption. This happens because of the declined in adult wages stemming from the strong competition occurring in the labour market during the era of the British Industrial Revolution (Humphries 2010:25). Marx also noted the long term consequences of child labour.

In Humphries (2010) view, “poverty is the main cause of child labor even though it may have some other non economic causes and could also be affected by the changing conception of childhood and the value of children (Zelzer 1985 cited in Humphries 2010:28). He argued that during the industrial revolution which saw a boom in child labour, only children belonging to the elite class did not work and Humphries(2010) citing Nardinelli (1990), Cunningham (2000) and Heywood (2001) further stated that “the incidence of child labour tended to fall as countries became richer and their economies advanced” (Humphries 2010:31).

Citing examples, he asserted that “by the last quarter of the 19th century, very young children between the ages of 5-9 years old were no more found working in the British economy and older child workers between 10-14 years old in the labour market were brought to the barest minimum (ibid).

Similarly, Alfred Marshall also noted some effect of child labour. In Marshall's view, "the moral and physical misery and disease caused by excessive work under bad conditions reached their highest period in the first quarter of the 19th century... and that the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings (Basu 1999: 1094).

According to Marshall, if faculties of children are not developed well, they would not be able to realize the importance of developing the faculties of their own children, hence, limiting their ability or power to do so. Therefore any change ascribed to the workers of one generation with regards to satisfactory wages and good opportunities that help to develop their human potentials would go a long way to increase the material and moral advantages with which they are likely to help their children (Marshall 1920: 468, cited in Basu 1999:1094).

It must be noted that there have been several scholars who have argued for a ban on child labour as a policy prescription to solving this problem. For example, Basu and Arthur have argued that the consequences of such ban could cause less privileged households to live below their subsistence consumption level and as such argued that such a ban should incorporate the provision of social welfare to such sect of the population by the government. (ibid)

In the view of Basu (1999), a child's non schooling implies the denial of benefits not only for the child but the society to a larger extent. Basu (1999) quoting Marshall (1920:470), noted that "Whoever may incur the expense of investing capital in developing the abilities of the workman, those abilities will be the property of the workman himself: and thus, the virtue of those who have aided him must remain for the greater part of its own reward" (Basu 1999:1095).

Similarly, John Stuart Mills also argued for the positive externalities that come with education. In his opinion, it is a breach of duty against both the child and community for a parent or a guardian denying his child education. According to him, in the long run, both the child and the community will bear the consequence of ignorance and lack of education. In other words, if the District Assembly and parents of these child hawkers do not promote the educational advancement of these child labour victims, in the long run, both these children and the entire community of the Ga East District will suffer the consequences of ignorance which may result in lack of employment or some of these children may grow up to indulge in criminal activities as a means of survival. Therefore

children must be protected from overworking themselves which is tantamount to child exploitation (Mill 1848:319&323, cited in Basu 1999:1095), hence the essence of externalities.

Thus, Grootaert and Kanbur (1995) in their work noted the essence of government intervention to direct children's involvement in child labour to schooling (ibid) which is the ideal policy for solving the problem of child labour.

In Ghana, the government has introduced the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education, Ghana School Feeding Programme Initiative, among other social interventionist policies and the District Assemblies are expected to carry out in the implementations of these programmes in order to benefit children especially the poor ones engaged in child labour. It is important to note that even though some of these programmes are being implemented in the Ga East District, there still exists a great number of children within the district, specifically the areas of Abokobi and Madina involved in child petty trading or hawking.

The basic model has certain significance. Firstly, it has been employed by development economists to assist policy prescriptions and to specifically discover the circumstances or conditions under which protective labour laws would constitute a "benign intervention" (Humphries 2010:28). In other words, after its previous impact, it may become dormant and could be abolished without reversal (ibid).

Secondly, with regards to this study, it provides a good framework for analyzing the situation of the child petty traders or hawkers within the areas of Madina and Abokobi in the Ga East District

2.3.2. THE CULTURAL(NORM) MODEL

Albert Hirschman, according to Basu (1999) argued that the decision of whether or not to send one's child to work has, to some extent, something to do with social norms. A parent's decision to send a child to work makes that parent incur a social stigma cost. If the society or area of residence has lots of child labour, the stigma cost is smaller and it may even be advantageous to each parent to send their child to work. On the other hand, if a particular society frowns upon or consider it socially unacceptable for parents sending out their children to work, then most parents would find it embarrassing sending their

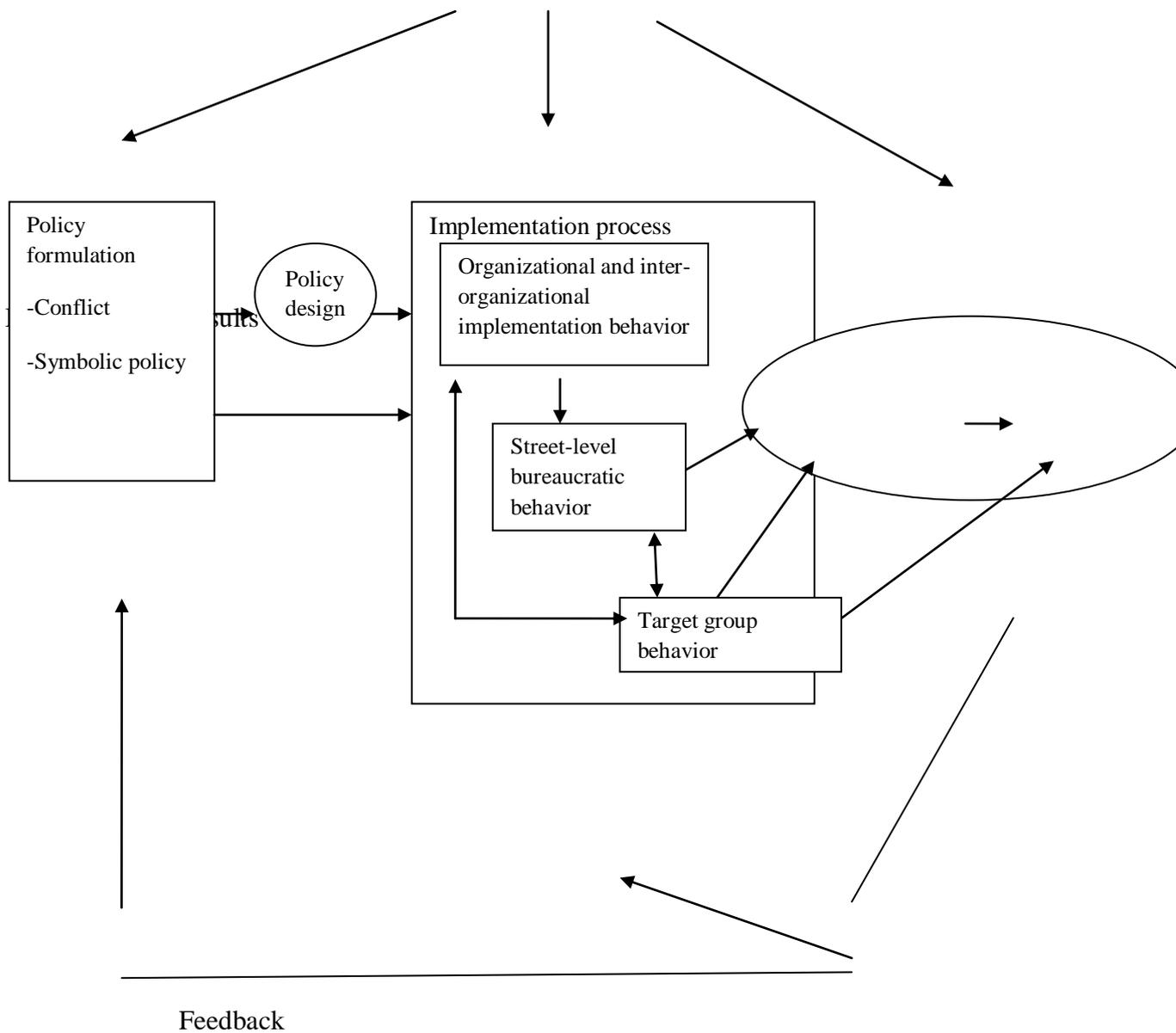
child to work since the social stigma cost is high in that particular society (Basu 1999:1103-1104).

2.3.3. INSTITUTIONAL MODEL

This model basically explains the challenges of child labour programmes and policies implemented in the district to deal with the problem of child labour. Winter integrated model of policy implementation was employed to explain these challenges.

AN INTEGRATED IMPLEMENTATION MODEL BY WINTER.

Socio-economic context



Source of diagram (Winter 2003:207).

It is important to note that, this study employs some variables of Winter which include Policy Formulation, Policy Implementation, Bureaucracy and Target Group for the purpose of this study. It leaves out the other variable some of which are catered for by the Poverty and Cultural Model discussed above. The justification for this is to prevent overlapping of the models since theories are simplification of the real world to help us understand issues.

According to Winter (2003), as a dependent variable and standard for evaluating the results of the implementation process, this model focuses on the performance and outcome in relations to the official policy objectives.

He argues that the first set of factors that affect the results of implementation are policy formulation and policy design and that the root of implementation problems can be found in prior policy formulation process. Citing Bardach (1997), he contends that conflict in policy formulation often continue in the subsequent implementation process as well as lack of attention among the coalition partners passing the law can lead to implementation failures. (Winter 2003: 208-209)

Winter (2003) citing Peter May argued that policy design is important in affecting the incentives of intermediaries to carry out their requisite tasks especially in affecting their commitment and capacity and by signalling desired actions. Ineffective designs may not necessarily be attributed to the lack of knowledge of policy designers but due to the fact that the design of instruments and organizational structure is a political process in which political actors, both opponents and proponents maximize their interest including selecting an organizational structure that will permit them maximum control of the implementation process (ibid).

The next set of factors according to Winter focus on how the implementation process affects the results. The implementation process he argues, are represented by organizational and interorganizational behaviours representing different degree of commitment and coordination (ibid). Here, the key words are commitment and coordination which will be discussed further in relation to my study.

Not only this but also, Winter argues that the behaviour of street level bureaucrats are also important for the implementation of most policies, in which he included Lipsky's insight on street level bureaucracy in his discussion of his model. (ibid)

Finally, Winter argues that target groups of public policies which include citizens or firms also play important role both on the effects of the policy and also in affecting the performance by street level bureaucrats through positive or negative actions in co producing public services.(ibid)

In this Study, the issue of Resource is also addressed in the discussion of factors or Challenges facing successful implementation of Child labour laws and programs. Since Winter's integrated model of Policy Implementation did not address this Challenge, the Study instead employed the Resource factor from Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn's model of the policy-implementation process (Hill and Hupe 2009:47). Thus, Winter's integrated model is supplemented by Van Meter and Van Horn's theory of Policy implementation.

In Conclusion, the application of the three analytical frameworks discussed above which are the Poverty model, Cultural model and the Institutional model are mutually exclusive theoretical, that is they are distinct in theory but in reality, there is a combination of these three models explaining the complex issue of child labour.

2.4. OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES.

2.4.1.1. DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The dependent variable of my hypothesis is "child labour" and this would be measured in terms of the more or less cases of child hawkers or petty traders within the areas of Abokobi and Madina in the Ga East District.

2.4.2. INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

From the above discussed models of child labour, I generated three main independent variables. These are:

Cultural variable- The cultural variable has to do with the extent of the acceptability of child petty trading or hawking within the two areas of Abokobi and Madina and this would be measured in terms of the disposition of both child hawkers and parents towards the act.

Socioeconomic variable- Socio economic variable has to do with the social and economic status of parents and guardian of the child hawkers in Madina and Abokobi and how they influence the rate of child petty trading or hawking within the two areas. This would be measured in terms of occupation, and educational level of parents and guardian

Institutional Variable- This variable is defined in terms of the adequate availability of resource at the disposal of the District Chief Executive in the Ga East District to enable them implement the policies and programmes designed to reduce child labour and to help parents and child hawkers involved in child labour. This is measured in terms of the nature of assistance these child hawkers and their parents have received from the district assemblies.

2.5. HYPOTHESIS

Hypotheses 1- This is implicitly derived from the Cultural Model: The more the acceptance in society about child labour, the more the occurrence of child hawking.

Hypotheses 2- This is derived from the Poverty Model: The lower the socioeconomic status of parents and guardians of child hawkers, the more the occurrence of child hawking.

Hypotheses 3- This is derived from the Institutional Model: The availability of adequate and the appropriate resources at the disposal the government to successfully implement child labour programmes and policies would go a long way to help the situation of child hawkers and their parents.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the methodology of the study such as the study areas, the research strategy and research design which basically assume mixed method (a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research design). It further discusses the target population which includes parents whose children are involved in child petty trading or hawking as well as the child hawkers within the areas of study. It also talks about the selection of respondent and the sample size of the study, the data sources which include face to face interview, direct observation and documentary sources on child labour and school enrollment.

It further discusses briefly the data analysis process and how the issues of validity, reliability and generalization have been addressed in the study, the challenges encountered during field work, ethical considerations in the study as well as a conclusion of the chapter.

3.2. A BRIEF PROFILE OF GHANA AND THE GA EAST DISTRICT

The word “Ghana” means “Warrior King” and it was the title accorded to the Kings of medieval West African Ghana Empire. The name Ghana was adopted as the legal name for the Gold Coast. Ghana before independence (6th March 1957) was called the “Gold Coast” a name given to her by her first colonial master, the Portuguese who first arrived in the country during the 15th century as a result of their discovery of so much gold between River Ankobra and the Volta and later named it the “da Mina” meaning “the Mine”

The country became a Republic on 1st July 1960. Ghana is a democratic country with the Neopresidential system of government. It has ten administrative regions with Accra as the capital located in the Greater Accra Region. The land area of Ghana is about 238,538 square kilometers. It has a population of about 24million (2011 estimate) and a population growth rate of 1.8%.

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/>,

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/>

(Accessed on 31st October, 2012)

The major ethnic groups in Ghana are the Akans (45%). Other ethnic groups include Ewe, Ga Adamangbe, Gurma, Dagaaba, Frafra, Dagomba, Guang, Mossi, Hausa, Gurusi, Bissa, Fulani, to mention but a few. Christianity is the major religion of the country which accounts for 69%, Islamic religion accounts for 16%, traditional and other religion accounts for 15%. The adult literacy rate in 2007 was 65%. English is used as official language and language for education.

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/>.

(Accessed on 31st October, 2012)

Ghana is endowed with so many natural resources such as gold, diamonds, bauxite, manganese, oil, timber. It is also a major producer of cocoa, coffee, pineapple, cashew, rubber, etc. Ghana has more than twice the per capita output of the poorest countries in West Africa. The Ghana Stock Exchange is the third largest in Africa after the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the Nigerian Stock Exchange. Ghana attained a middle income economy on November 2010 and is ranked as a low-middle income economy by the World Bank. According to the 2009 failed states index, Ghana is ranked the 53rd least failed state in the world and the 2nd least failed state in Africa after Mauritius. Ghana has 170 district administrative set and assemblies which is administered by assemblies of directly elected and appointed members.

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/>.

(Accessed on 31st October, 2012).

The District Chief Executives who act as heads of the assemblies are appointed by the incumbent president and approved by the District assembly. Formerly, there were 110 districts and in 2006, 28 more districts were created splitting some of the former 110 districts making them 138 districts. However, after November 2008, the numbers have increased to 170 districts in Ghana (ibid).

The Ga East District is among one of the 28 newly created districts after 2006 and it is located north west of the Greater Accra Region. It is bordered on the north by the Akuapem South District (Eastern region), the south by Accra Metropolis District, the east by the Tema Municipal District and the west by the Ga West District.

Some towns in the district include Abokobi, Adenta West, Ayi Mensa, Taifa, Ashongman, Bansa, Madina, Pantang, Dome, Haatso, Oyarifa, and Kwabenya. Abokobi is the capital of the Ga East District and it has important historical relevance because of the Presbyterian missionary activities.

Madina on the other hand is considered the biggest market town in the district.

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/>.

(Accessed on 31st October, 2012)

3.3. THE STUDY AREAS

As already indicated in the brief profile of Ga East district, Madina and Abokobi are some of the areas located in the district. Madina is known to be the biggest marketing centre in the district with a lot of both commercial and economic activities predominantly taken place daily. The area has a population of about 137,162. Madina remains the highest and largest area among the other towns in the district and its largest population equally supports economic activity. The Islamic religion is quite predominant in the area. Abokobi on the other hand, is the main capital of the District and it is expected to be more cosmopolitan. It is approximately 29 kilometers from the country's capital city, Accra (Prince Antwi-Agyei 2009: 40).

<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/>.

(Accessed on 31st October, 2012)

3.4. TARGET GROUP POPULATION, SELECTION OF RESPONDENT, SAMPLE SIZE AND SAMPLING METHOD FOR THE STUDY

My target group population was divided into three main groups. The first group constituted the working children, that is, the direct victims of child labour involved in hawking or petty trading within the areas of Abokobi and Madina in the Ga East District. The second group also constituted the parents or guardians of these child hawkers in the two areas mentioned above. The last group comprises some government officials

involved in the implementation of laws and programmes aimed at dealing with the issue of child labour such as child petty trading. These officials were from the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Ministry of Education, Department of social welfare and the Head of the Child panel of Accra Metropolis.

The justification for choosing this category of persons was that first, the parents and guardians of the child hawkers as well as the child hawkers themselves were the best people to provide information about their situation as well as the involvement of their children in child labour. Interviewing them gave me more insight into their condition. The government officials were selected because I wanted to find out from these officials the necessary steps taken to redress the issue of child labour and the challenges of these measures especially those within the two areas in the district.

The selection of respondents was based on their relevance to the topic under study. I used the purposive sampling method for the selection of respondents. This is because the research was a focused one on working children involved in petty trading or hawking. So I carefully selected specific people who fall under these three categories of respondents who are child petty traders or hawkers, their parents or guardian. I also selected some government officials mandated to deal with the problem of child labour. These people were required to provide specific information, relevant or pertinent to the study based on their place of residence which is Madina and Abokobi areas in the Ga East District.

The study was conducted basically at the two market centers within the district, specifically Madina Market and Abokobi Market where you find so many cases of child hawkers or petty traders and some parents also selling with their children. At the market places, there were all sorts of traders from the various areas within the district because of the high mobility of labour, particularly Madina market. So I purposively selected only parents and Children residing in Madina and Abokobi out of the many areas. I choose Madina because it have one of the biggest market in the capital as such there are so many cases of child hawkers or petty traders thus , making it easier for me to identify my target group. I also selected Abokobi because, it is the capital of the Ga East District and expected to be more cosmopolitan and I feel it would be interesting to study the condition of these child hawkers in the capital of the district.

The total sampling size was 103 all of which were face to face interview and the Interview lasted not less than 15 minutes for parents and children, and not less than 45 minutes for the government officials. Each of the three target group answered different set of questions relevant to the topic under study. I selected 103 respondents because I wanted to have variety of opinion with regards to the topic under study.

3.5. RESEARCH STRATEGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Yin (1989) defined a case study as “an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. (Yin 1989:23). According to Yin (1989), Case study can use both quantitative, qualitative and all kinds of data (ibid).

The study adopted the case study strategy which according to Yin (1989), allows the use of mixed method research design. That is, it employed both qualitative and quantitative methodology and methods. Creswell (2009) defines mixed method research as “an approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms. It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches or the mixing of both approaches in a study.”(Creswell 2009:4).

Neither the qualitative nor the quantitative methodology could adequately meet the objectives of the research, that is, comprehensive analysis of the problem of child labour in petty trading or hawking business in the Ga East District. The Case Study strategy was the appropriate strategy for the purpose of this study as it provided me with a close examination and scrutiny of the problem as well as the collection of great deal of detailed data (Salkind 2006: 205-206).

Yin (1989) also noted the importance of Case Study by the use of multiple source of evidence (Yin 1989: 23) which enhances reliability and validity of a study. As noted by Hill and Hupe (2009) citing Allison (1971), argue that in the study of complicated events, it is crucial to triangulate account (in this case data), (Hill and Hupe 2009: 59). That is using different sources of information and strategy to give a satisfactory

explanation of a problem or an issue of concern. This study employs multiple data sources which are discussed above

3.6. DATA SOURCES

King et al (1994) defined data as a “systematically collected elements of information about the world” (King et al 1994: 23). There are two main types of data and they are the primary and the secondary data.

The study resorted to both primary and secondary source of data which assumed both quantitative and qualitative form.

3.6.1. FACE TO FACE INTERVIEW(INDIVIDUALS)

I conducted face to face interviews with 103 individuals. Three Government officials from Department of Social Welfare, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs and the Ministry of education were interviewed. These people’s views were crucial because of the positions they occupied. The above named department and ministries are directly involved in the implementation of laws and programmes on child labour. The interview was basically semi-structured with open ended questions.

I further interviewed fifty (50) children involved in child labour (child hawkers) and fifty (50) parents some of whose children were victims of child labour. The two groups were selected based on the former’s relevance in the study as the subject matter (child hawkers) and the latter’s (parents or guardian) supervision of the former’s activities. The interview questions were basically close ended questions so they were put together in a form of questionnaire but respondent went further to talk more about their situations with regards to every follow up question. It was more of an informal engagement with both the parents and children with regards to the topic under discussion. I spent at least fifteen minutes with each person I interviewed for the parents and children.

3.6.2. DIRECT OBSERVATION

Direct observation enabled me study my informant in their natural environment and it also gave me a sense of the condition under which they live and work.

3.6.3. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

I used some documentary sources as my secondary source of data. These documents included Ghana Child Labour Survey (2003) prepared by the Ghana Statistical Service from the Research Department at the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Some executive summaries from the same Ministry. I expected to get the statistics of child labour in Ghana for the past couple of years as well as the statistics of Child labour in the Ga East District, particularly child hawkers. Unfortunately, I could not get this information because of inadequate resource to conduct more research in that field as stated by the Research Department from the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs.

I also obtained a National, Regional and District Statistics of School enrollment, Educational Institutional Profile, Gender Profile of Educational Institutions , to mention but a few, from the Ministry of Education. I also resorted to scholarly books, articles, journals, reviews, newspapers on child labour issues so as to get more information on the topic under study.

These documents serve as a supplement to the direct observations and the interviews conducted as my primary source of data.

3.7. DATA ANALYSIS

The data was analyzed based on the responses received during the interview sessions with the implementing officials of child labour programmes. For the parents and child hawkers, since the interview questions took the form of close ended questions along with further informal discussion on the questions asked, the total number of the responses received from the 100 persons were analyze with Statistical Package for Social Science(SPSS).

Also, the statistical Reports and documents as well as the Executive summaries from the various Ministries and Department were all used in the analysis. The responses

of the government officials were placed side by side with the responses of Children and Parents to get a fair idea of the situation from both sides.

3.8. ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND GENERALIZATION IN THE STUDY.

Yin (2009) noted the objective of reliability which is if a new researcher will follow the same procedures as described by a previous researcher, and conduct the same case study all over again, then the later researcher should be able to arrive at the same findings and conclusions. The goal of reliability, according to Yin, is to minimize errors and biases in a study. In this regard, Yin presented one requirement for reliability which is needed to document the procedures followed in an earlier case study (Yin 2009: 45).

In my study, I developed a case study protocol which would have a documentation of field procedures such as my sources and types of data, etc, an overview of my research such as objectives and topical issues discussed, the questions asked, to mention but a few (Yin 1994:64). The case study protocol to a larger extent enhance the reliability of my study if another researcher should replicate my study, since all the necessary steps being taken during the research has been documented.

It is important to note that not all respondent answered all the questions asked because of the sensitivity of the topic under study. It was difficult to ascertain the truth in the answers respondents, particularly parents gave. Children however, have less reason to lie compared to parents. This challenge however affects the reliability of the study.

According to Neil J Salkind(2006), synonymous words like truthfulness, accuracy, authenticity, genuiness, and soundness describe what validity is all about. Validity, he states is established when the test or instrument you are using actually measures what you need to measure. Thus, the validity of an instrument, he argues, is defined within the context of how the test is being used.

In the light of this, he explained three aspects of validity which include: first, validity refers to the results of a test, and not to the test itself. Thus, we can only talk of validity in the light of the outcomes of a test. Secondly, just as reliability, validity is never a question of “all or none”. The results of the test are not just valid or invalid. Instead, the progression occurs in degrees from low validity to high validity.

Third, the validity of the result of a test must be interpreted within the context in which the test occurs (Salkind 2006: 113-114).

There are three main types of validity according to Yin (2009). They include construct validity, internal validity and external validity. Construct validity, he argues, is when we are able to identify the correct operational measures for the concepts being studied. This is because more often, most researchers fail to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures and resort to using subjective judgments to collect data (Yin 2009: 40).

He therefore identified three tactics to help us avoid this problem and increase construct validity which include: first, using multiple sources of evidence in a way that lead to a convergent lines of inquiry during data collection. That is, evidence collected should confirm your study's proposition or data (Yin 2009:42).

In this study, both the dependent variable (child labour) and the independent variables which include cultural or norm variable, socioeconomic variable, and resource variable and indicators (refer to the operationalization of variables) are provided to measure these variables.

I also resorted to multiple sources of evidence by triangulating my data and respondent from different sources such as interviews, books, statistical reports, questionnaire etc on one hand, government officials, child hawkers and parents on the other hand. This to some extent enhanced construct validity in my study.

Yin (2009) further argues that internal validity is when a researcher tries to explain how and why event x caused event y, and that if causation is not observed and she incorrectly concludes that there is a causal relationship between x and y without knowing some other third factor (z), then the researcher is said to have failed to deal with threats to internal validity (Yin 2009: 42).

In my study, I addressed the problem of internal validity with pattern matching by comparing my theoretically based pattern (hypotheses) with my observed pattern.

External validity (Generalization) in the view of Yin (2009) deals with the problem of knowing whether a study's findings are generalizable beyond the immediate

case study. Case studies basically resort to analytic generalization where the researcher generalizes a particular set of results to some broader theory.

A theory as emphasized by Yin (2009) must be tested by replicating the findings in a second or third case, that is, where the theory has specified that the same results should occur. He continues that once such direct replication have been made, the result might be accepted as providing strong support for the theory even though several replications have not been performed which aid in analytic generalization (2009: 43).

This study aimed at analytic generalization, which is “when a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of a case study (Yin 2009:38). Generalizing the results to other districts may be limited because of the difference socio economic and sociocultural conditions that exist among the districts, unless a particular district within the region share similar socio economic and cultural conditions as the Ga East district.

3.9. THE CHALLENGES OR LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA COLLECTION PERIOD.

One major challenge I faced during field work was inadequate co-operation by some government officials and some parents and guardians of the child hawkers. Some of the parents or guardians for whatever reasons were giving signals to their children not to answer certain questions so there were some discrepancies between the answers given by both parents and child hawkers to the same question asked. It was difficult to ascertain which group of people (parents or child hawkers) was answering truthfully thus threatening the reliability of the study to some extent.

Secondly, the main challenge during field work was access to information which was challenging especially with regards to the statistical reports on both child labour. The latest statistical report I obtained on child labour from the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs was carried in 2003 and the reason was inadequate fund to carry further research.

The other limitation or challenge during field work was inadequate resources such as time and money. The data collection period (two and half months) was quite a short period to collect all the necessary information I needed because of the constant

disappointment of having interview date with some government officials with busy schedule and the reschedule of several interview appointments with these officials.

3.10. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE STUDY

I obtained an introductory letter from the Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen and this letter was distributed to the Departments and Ministries from which I obtained information. This was to ascertain my personal authenticity and that of my study.

Also, I sought the permission of my respondents and explained to them the purpose of the research and its significance to the Areas of Abokobi and Madina with regards to bringing their condition into bare and also encouraged them to help with the answering of the questions.

I treated the response of my respondents with confidentiality and anonymity so as to enable them to freely express themselves

Moreover, permission was sought from government officials before using voice recorder to record conversations.

CHAPTER 4: DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter constitutes the data finding and analysis section of the study. Data was analyzed by both statistical packages for social science (SPSS) from the questionnaire designed for parents and child hawkers as well as the use of content analysis from the interview with government officials.

It further portrays the background characteristics of respondents and explains the reasons for the influx of child hawkers in the two areas in the light of the analytical framework discussed in the theoretical chapter. It also discusses the effects of child labour on child hawkers, measures taken by the government to assist child hawkers and their challenges. It lastly explains the challenges of implementation of child labour laws and programs using Winter's integrated model of policy implementation.

4.2. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT AND HOW THEY INFLUENCE THE INFLUX OF CHILD HAWKERS IN THE AREAS.

The characteristics considered were sex, age of parents and child hawkers, occupation and educational status and level of parents.

It is important to note again that the total number of respondent for both parents in the two areas were 50, which is 25 parents from Abokobi and 25 parents from Madina. Likewise child hawkers but not all respondent answered certain questions making the total number of responses to certain questions less than the selected 50 respondents for each group.

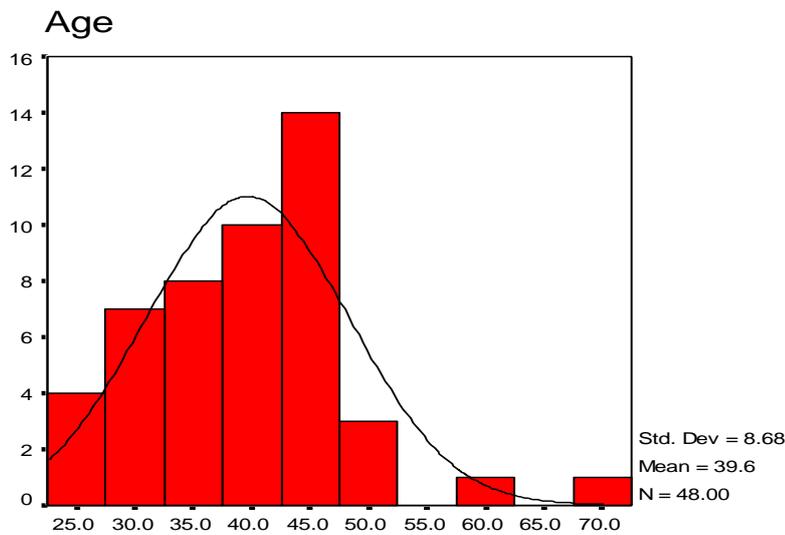
Under the demographic data of parents, the age of parents ranges from 26 to 68years with the average age of 39 years old (figure 1). Most (38) parents accounts for a total of 76% females while the rest (12) parents accounts for 24.0% males.(refer to figure 2). Most of these women during the interview section stated that they were single mothers

and other divorced. 85.7% of parents are Christians while 14.3% are Muslims (refer to figure 3).

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF PARENTS OR GUARDIAN: - 5.1

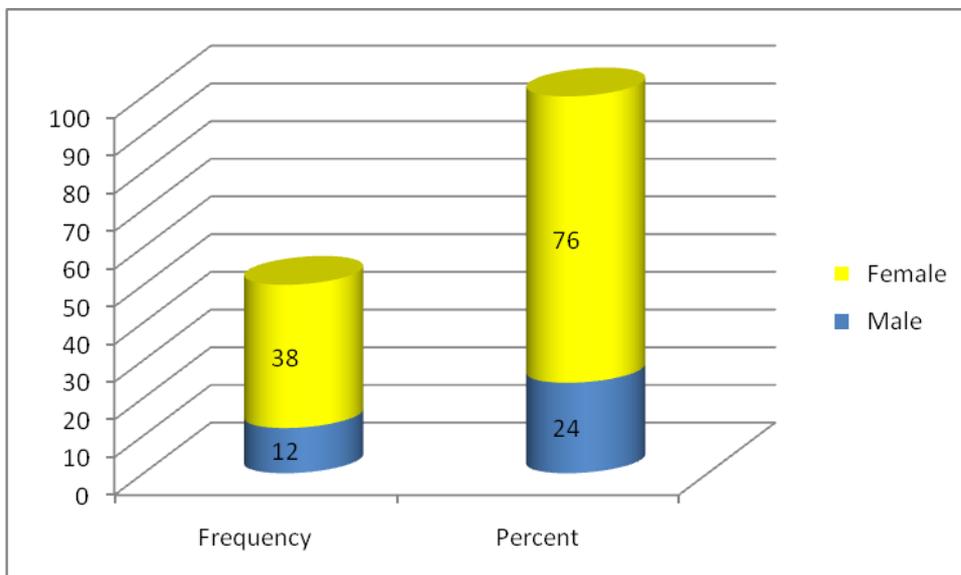
The ages of the respondents range from 26 to 68 years. The average age is 39 years old. See figure 1.

Figure 1: Age of respondents



Sex of respondents: Most of the respondents 38 representing 76% are females and the rest 12 (24.0%) are males. See figure 2.

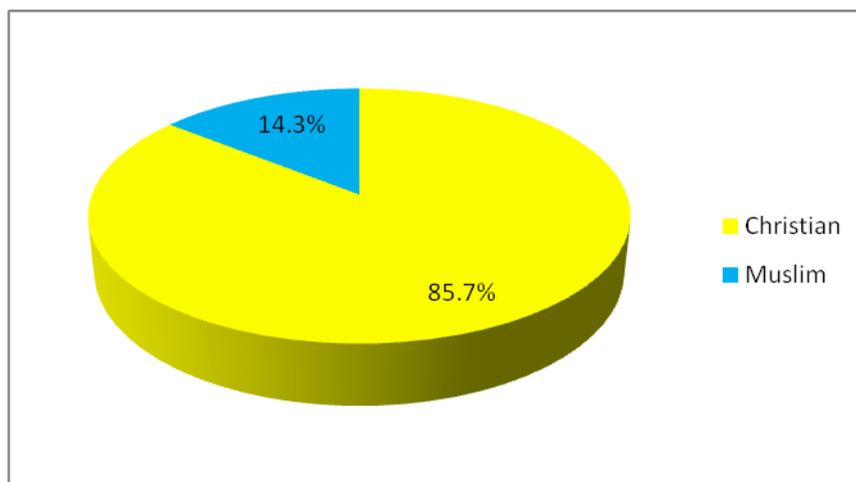
Figure 2: Sex of Respondent's



Religion

The findings reveal that, majority of the respondents 42(85.7%) are Christian whiles 7(14.3%) are Muslims. Figure 3

Figure 3: Religion of Respondent's



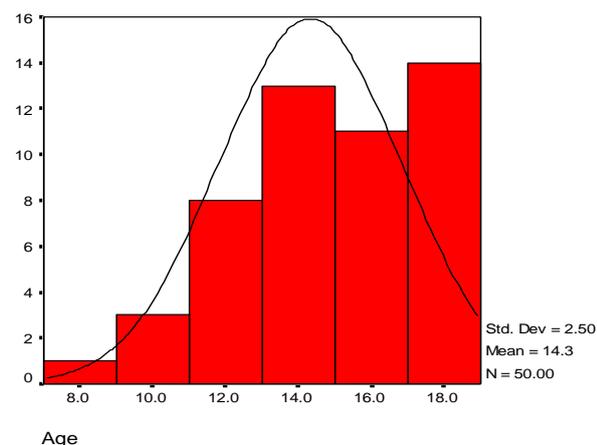
Place of Residence

	Frequency	Percent
Madina	25	50.0
Abokobi	25	50.0
Total	50	100.0

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FINDINGS OF CHILD HAWKERS: 5.2.

Age of Respondent's: The ages of the respondents range from 8 to 18 years. The average age is 14 years. See figure 4.

Figure 4: Age of Respondent's



Place of Residence

	Frequenc y	Percent
Madin a	25	50.0
Aboko bi	25	50.0
Total	50	100.0

4.2. REASONS ACCOUNTING FOR THE INFLUX OF CHILD HAWKERS IN THE TWO AREAS

4.2.1. POVERTY

Poverty was found to be the main reason driving children to child hawking. Most parents do earn enough especially in petty trading business, thus are not able to properly take care of their family. The result is sending out their children to hawk the items or

goods they sell for them to bring extra income for the family. The study found out under the demographic data for parents that majority of the children have the consent of their parents' n-11(97.1%) to engage in child labour while n-1(8.3%) of children did not have consent of their parents.(refer to table 1)

It is important to note that a total of 12 parents out of 50 parents answered this question. Like I mentioned earlier in the methodology, most respondents especially parents refuse to answer certain questions because of the sensitivity of the issue under discussion. Some felt embarrassed answering certain questions about their children involvement in child labour. In addressing this challenge, similar questions that parents refused to answer were asked by government officials involved in implementation of child labour laws and programs. During the discussions, lots of answers were given with regards to some of this sensitive questions that did not were not answered.

Table 1: (Do your children have your consent to do this work?) Cross tabulation

		Do your children have your consent to do this work?		Total
		Yes	No	
Place of Residence	Madina	6	0	6
	Count			
Abokobi	% within Place of Residence	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Count	5	1	6
Total	% within Place of Residence	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	Count	11	1	12
		% within Place of Residence		100.0%
				91.7%
				8.3%

The study further revealed that parents, $n=6$ (60.0%) encourage the children to get in the child labour because of poverty while 4(40.0%) said it is a form of training. (See table 2 for details.) Out of 50 respondents, only 10 respondents answered this question leaving out 40 parents refusing to answer this question.

Table 2: (why do you encourage them to do this work?) Cross tabulation

		why do you encourage them to do this work?		Total
		Poverty	A form of training	
Place of Residence	Madina	Count 4	2	6
		% within Place of Residence 66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Abokobi		Count 2	2	4
		% within Place of Residence 50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Count 6	4	10
		% within Place of Residence 60.0%	40.0%	100.0%

In sum, most parents push their children into child labour because of poverty. When you look closely at the background characteristics of parents, it was found out that majority of these parents are involved in low paid jobs especially small scale trading such as the sale of tomatoes, pepper, meat, etc., mostly in the market centre of Madina and Abokobi, as such do not earn enough to take proper care of their family, hence, the involvement of this children in child labour.

The luxury axiom or the poverty model perfectly explains this reason as discussed in the theoretical chapter. The study interestingly found out that majority of the parents have negative disposition towards their child's engagement in child labour. This brings to

mind Basu's implicit altruism of parents in the luxury axiom which implies that if parents were able to meet the subsistence consumption of the family, most children would be withdrawn from Child labour. In this situation, withdrawing a child from child labour is a luxury to the household and a child's engagement in child labour is the only choice for poor household to meet their subsistence consumption. (Refer to table 3 for parents' disposition of their children's engagement in child labour).

The data revealed that the largest of respondents of parents' n-20(69.0%) describe the situation as negative act, while n-7(24.1%) had positive disposition to the situation and n-2(6.9%) were indifference.

Table 3: (what is your disposition towards this situation your child finds himself or herself?) Cross tabulation

		What is your disposition towards this situation your child finds himself or herself?			Total
		positive	negative	indifference	
Place of Madina Residence	Count	4	6	1	11
	% within Place of Residence	36.4%	54.5%	9.1%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	3	14	1	18
	% within Place of Residence	16.7%	77.8%	5.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	7	20	2	29
	% within Place of Residence	24.1%	69.0%	6.9%	100.0%

It is interesting to note from the above table that n-7(24.1%) of parents saw their children's engagement in child labour as positive while n-2(6.9%) were indifference. Thus, a total of 29 parents answered this question out of 50 parents. Thus, 21 parents did

not answer this question. This explanation will be link the norm model explaining the influence of culture in the subsequent discussions.

Still on the discussion of poverty under the demographic data or responses of child hawkers, this study reveals that majority of child hawkers, 23 (92.0%), residing in Madina had parents who were aware of the respondents' engagements in child labour against 20 (95.2%) respondents from Abokobi. Only a few respondents (3) with 2 (8.0%) from Madina and 1 (4.8%) from Abokobi indicated that their parents were not aware of their engagements in such acts. Thus, within the two areas, majority of parents (93.5%) are aware of their children's involvement in child labour while 6.5% of parents in both areas are not aware of their children's involvement. Thus out of 50 respondents, 46 answered this question while 4 respondents did not answer this question.

I asked the two target groups which are parents and child hawkers this same question to ascertain the reliability of responses from both sides. But I realized that in both answers given by the two target group, the affirmation of knowledge of child labour by parents were high.

Table 4-(Are your parents aware of your involvement in child labour?) Cross tabulation

		Are your parents aware of your involvement in child labour?		Total
		Yes	No	
Place of residence	Madina	Count 23	2	25
		% within Place of residence 92.0%	8.0%	100.0%
Abokobi		Count 20	1	21
		% within Place of residence 95.2%	4.8%	100.0%
Total		Count 43	3	46
		% within Place of residence 93.5%	6.5%	100.0%

Similarly, when child hawkers were asked the reason for their involvement in child labour, majority of the respondents from Madina, 23 (95.8%) commented that their involvement was as a result of poverty as compared to 22 (95.7%) respondents from Abokobi, thus making it a total of 95.7% in both areas. Only one respondent each showed that they were led into this child labour by leisure and as means to support family (2.1%) from Madina and Abokobi respectively. Out of 50 respondents, 47 answered and 3 respondents did not answer the question. (Refer to table 5).

Table 5 -(What led you into child labour?) Cross tabulation

		What led you into child labour?			Total
		Poverty	Leisure	to support the family	
Place of residence	Madina	Count 23	1	0	24
	% within Place of residence	95.8%	4.2%	.0%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	22	0	1	23
	% within Place of residence	95.7%	.0%	4.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	45	1	1	47
	% within Place of residence	95.7%	2.1%	2.1%	100.0%

” While work for children may seem unacceptable in a more affluent society, it represents a real option for children with limited resources and a lack of alternative opportunities” (Bass 2004:33).

There is also the issue of large family size which is linked to poverty of parents. When parents have many children with limited resources to properly take good care of all of them especially in the area of education, some of the children may drop out from school and involve in child labour or parents may send off some of their children to serve as domestic servants in the homes of rich relatives and some of these children may end up engaging in child labour. This argument was confirmed by the interview discussion with Florence Esi Kwartey, program officer from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs who stated that “the bigger the family size, the more likely children would involve in child labour in poor families. Low economic status of parents will make unable to support all their children. Other children may draw back naturally and get involved in child labour to extra income to the family” (interview on 12th July, 2011).

4.2.2. SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF PARENTS

The socioeconomic status of parents is also another factor that determines the influx of child hawkers in the areas of Abokobi and Madina in the Ga East District. The socio economic status of parents was measured in terms of education of parents, occupation of parents, and their sources of income and income level of parents.

Parents were asked to rate their income level based on their ability to support their family with their earnings.

Those who could hardly support their family basic necessity including food and education rated their income low. This category of parents claims to live from hand to mouth. To these people, education is a luxury and their children mostly have to miss classes and work to bring home money or sometimes have to drop out of school completely in order to help the family survive.

Those parents who rated their income status “middle level” were those who could afford to meet the basic necessities of their family including their children’s education or vocational training with their income. But these children still assists their parents when they close from school in petty trading and during holidays from school.

Those parents who rated their income level high were those who could afford the basic necessity with their income and therefore child labour of their children or caregivers is an option. It was interesting to find out that few parents belonging to this category had some children although may not be biological living with them and still have to engage in some sort of petty trade. Some see this as a form of training which will be discussed further under the issue of culture.

This study found out there is a link between the educational level, occupation type and income level of parents. Majority of parents were involved in small scale trading in the market which is mostly seen as low income job. Most of these parents also had low educational level which also explains the kind of job available for them.

It is assumed that high educational level of a person attracts a good paid job or occupation.

The study also found a link between low socioeconomic status of parents and poverty. Mostly, parents with low socioeconomic status tend to be live in poverty.

This evidence would be seen in the table showing socio economic status of parents.

With parents occupation,(see table 6) trading accounts for the major(70%) occupation type of parents while the rest of the parents fall under the following category : seamstress(2%), government workers(2%), drivers(4%), business men or women(2%), technical workers(4%), susu collectors (2%), caterer(2%), revenue collector(4%), potter(2%), educationists(4%), medical practitioner(2%).

Looking at the occupational types of parents, majority of them are low paid jobs. Parents thus do not earn enough to take good care of their household hence, has to involve the labour of their children as well. It is also common to find a child whose parents are involved in petty trading assisting in hawking some of the items for sale on the street. Interestingly, most of these occupations are linked to the booming commercial activities in the two areas especially in the market centre.

Table 6: Occupation of parents or guardians (Cross tabulation)

		Occupation											Total	
		Trading	Seamstress	Government worker	Driving	Business Man	Technical Worker	Susu Collector	Caterer	Revenue Collector	Porter	Educationalist	Medical Practitioner	
Place of Residence	Madina	17	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	25
	Count	17.5	.5	.5	1.0	.5	1.0	.5	.5	1.0	.5	1.0	.5	25.0
	Expected Count	68.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	4.0%	4.0%	.0%	4.0%	8.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	% within Place of Residence													
Abokobi	Count	18	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	25
	Expected Count	17.5	.5	.5	1.0	.5	1.0	.5	.5	1.0	.5	1.0	.5	25.0
	% within Place of Residence	72.0%	4.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	4.0%	4.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	8.0%	4.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	35	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	50
	Expected Count	35.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	50.0
	% within Place of Residence	70.0%	2.0%	2.0%	4.0%	2.0%	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	4.0%	2.0%	4.0%	2.0%	100.0%

The parents' educational levels within the two areas were relatively low. 20.9% of parents completed only their primary education, 41.9% of parents completed their Junior Secondary School education, 14.0% completed their Senior Secondary School education, 2.3% completed their A-Level education, 9.3% completed their O-Level, and 11.6% of parents are illiterates. Thus, 43 respondents out of 50 answered this question. 7 parents did not answer the question. (Refer to table 7)

Table 7: educational status and level of parents- What category describes your educational level? (Cross tabulation)

		What category describes your educational level?						Total	
		Primary	JSS	SSS	A Level	O Level	Illiterate		
Place of Residence	Madina	Count	5	8	2	0	3	3	21
		Expected Count	4.4	8.8	2.9	.5	2.0	2.4	21.0
		% within Place of Residence	23.8%	38.1%	9.5%	.0%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%
Abokobi		Count	4	10	4	1	1	2	22
		Expected Count	4.6	9.2	3.1	.5	2.0	2.6	22.0
		% within Place of Residence	18.2%	45.5%	18.2%	4.5%	4.5%	9.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	9	18	6	1	4	5	43
		Expected Count	9.0	18.0	6.0	1.0	4.0	5.0	43.0
		% within Place of Residence	20.9%	41.9%	14.0%	2.3%	9.3%	11.6%	100.0%

With parents' sources of income, the findings reveal that, majority of the respondents 37 representing 78.7% get income though trading. 47 parents answered this question while 3 parents did not answer out of 50 parents. See details in table below

Table 8-(What are your sources of income?) Cross tabulation

		What are your sources of income?								Total
		Trading	Carpentry	Catering	Driving	Portraying	Trading And Spouse	Electrical Works	On salary	
Place of Residence	Madina	19	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	25
	Expected Count	19.7	.5	.5	1.1	.5	1.1	.5	1.1	25.0
	% within Place of Residence	76.0%	.0%	4.0%	8.0%	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%	.0%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	18	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	22
	Expected Count	17.3	.5	.5	.9	.5	.9	.5	.9	22.0
	% within Place of Residence	81.8%	4.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.5%	.0%	9.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	37	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	47
	Expected Count	37.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	47.0
	% within Place of Residence	78.7%	2.1%	2.1%	4.3%	2.1%	4.3%	2.1%	4.3%	100.0%

		How would you rate your income level?			
		Low	middle	High	Total
Place of Madina Residence	Count	14	9	2	25
	% within Place of Residence	56.0%	36.0%	8.0%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	14	7	2	23
	% within Place of Residence	60.9%	30.4%	8.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	28	16	4	48
	% within Place of Residence	58.3%	33.3%	8.3%	100.0%

58.3% of respondents rated their income level low. This group cannot afford the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, and clothing etc, thus, living below their subsistence consumption. A total of 33.3% of parents (16) rated their income level as middle level which could enable them meet their subsistence consumption while 8.3% of parents (4) rated their income level as high. In all, 48 parents answered this question while 2 parents did not.

According to Bass (2004), "household income in Ghana stands as a predicator of child labour. Children from the poorest of households are more likely to engage in work and less likely to attend school. Then gender and rural-urban differences in child labour force participation are linked to poverty. The cultural norms that determine what is acceptable for girls and for boys differ by income levels, with girls in lower-income households participating in work that, due to its duration, makes school attendance unlikely and difficult" (Bass 2004:100).

The role of socioeconomic status of parents determining children's involvement in child labour was further reinforced by an interview discussion of the topic under study during data collection period with Florence Esi Kwartey, Program Officer at the Department of

Children, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs. She stated that “Child labour is a phenomenon that has its own push and pull factors. The push factors are the immediate conditions surrounding the child that may make him or her vulnerable to involve in child labour. These include poverty, economic status of parents, family size, etc.

Discussing further on the issue of economic status, she stated that “if the kind of income available to support the child especially in terms of education is low or not available at all, the child may be pushed to involve in any activity to bring income to the family in order to survive. Survival is a right and no person in his right mind who knows he can do something for himself to survive will sit down and die without doing something to help his situation”.(interview on 12th July 2011 at the Department of children, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs).

From the foregoing evidence and discussion, it can be deduced from this data findings on socioeconomic status of parents that, low educational level or the absence of education of parents also may have effect on child labour because, illiterate parents or parents with low education may have also have lived in poverty as children and perhaps have to struggle through life in order to survive through child labour.

When they finally grow up in the same low economic situation, involving their children in child labour may be seen as a normal option or a normal way for a child to contribute to the survival of the family irrespective of whether their involvement impedes their educational advancement because of the less developed faculties of such parents most of who do not appreciate and understand the essence of education in the lives of their children.

Such parents are concerned with the immediate benefit of child labour to the household and do not appreciate and understand the long term benefit of education to the family. In the long run, this situation may result in a generation of ignorant or less developed faculties of parents who will in turn give birth to children likely to pass through the same circle.

In the words of Alfred Marshall under the discussion of the theoretical chapter, if faculties of children are not developed well, they would not be able to realize the importance of developing the faculties of their own children, hence, limiting their ability or power to do so. Therefore any change ascribed to the workers of one generation with

regards to satisfactory wages and good opportunities that help to develop their human potentials would go a long way to increase the material and moral advantages with which they are likely to help their children (Marshall 1920: 468, cited in Basu 1999:1094).

4.2.3. Culture and Gender

Gender ascribed roles by culture plays an important role in determining children's involvement in child labour. Culturally, a child is expected to assist her parents in whatever occupation they are involved in be it farming, trading, fishing etc. This culturally is seen as a form of training inculcating the spirit of hard work, maturity, and independence in the child. Sometimes it is seen as some form of informal education because the child is expected to take over the particular occupation of his or her parents once they are dead or when the child grows into adulthood. The above point made was reinforced by Bass (2004) that in Africa, children have been historically involved in agricultural and domestic work alongside with their parents or guardian. This kind of work is regarded as a form of vocational training. Contemporary, it is more common among rural children and it is seen as informal training and socialization into their adult roles (Bass 2004:22).

In the light of this, Bass (2004) noted "Child labour in Africa is often viewed in terms of instilling responsibility and knowledge of a trade or way of life. Rather than engender a negative association, child labour in Africa presents itself historically as a means of social reproduction and useful training for children...this reality describes the rural rather than the urban sentiment"(ibid).

This form of training or work sometimes impedes on the child's education. Some children may miss classes for helping out their parents to work while others may completely drop out of school to help parents and this act especially in the rural or traditional areas is seen as normal and accepted. But in the legal definition of what constitutes child labour, it is an act of child labour which impedes on the right of the child to education especially.(interview on 12th July,2011).

There have been arguments of the contradiction of the legal definition of child labour and culture. An interview with Florence Esi Kwartey from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs also highlighted this issue. She stated that

“Sometimes people say there is difference between child labour described in the law and non-formal training of children. It is normal for a child whose father is a farmer for example to accompany his father and work with him and finally take over from his father when he is no more”.

She again stressed that “A child may follow his father to work during school days when legally he is not supposed to go there because of the ignorance of the law on the part of the parent. Now there has been lots of public education explaining the effect of some of these issues to illiterate or rural parents to appreciate the essence of education and to know that denying your child education is detrimental to his or her future wellbeing. So sometimes, in our quest to do traditional things, we overlook what the law says about child labour” (interview conducted on the 12th July, 2011).

This culture attitude of some parents with regards to the acceptability of child labour could go a long way to promote the influx of child labour in the district. With the data findings on parents with the question “Why do you encourage your child to involve in child labour?” 40% of respondent stated that it was a form of training for the child (see table 2). This reinforces the idea that culture may influence the influx of child labour especially where in areas where the social stigma cost related to child labour is low as expatiated in Basu’s norm model under the theoretical framework discussion.

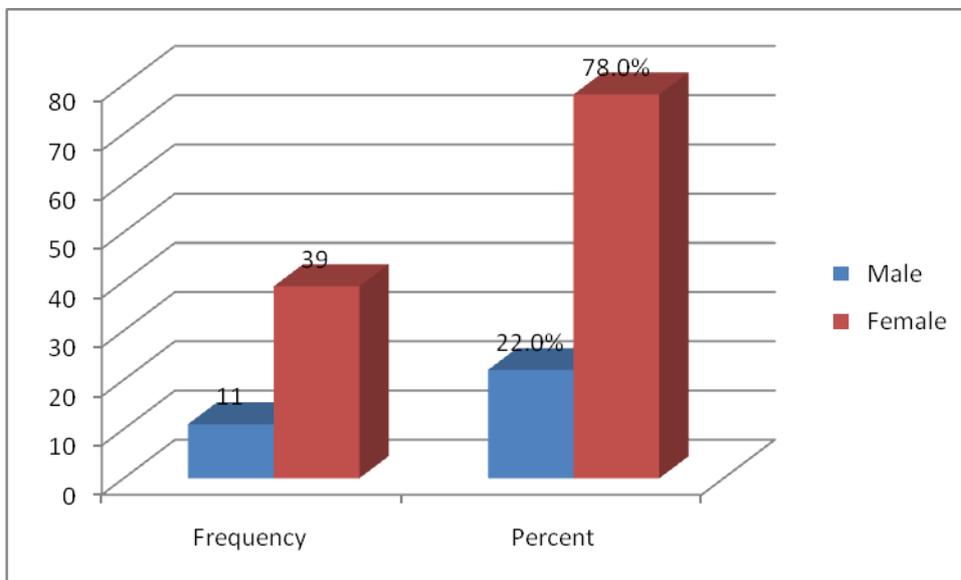
In the view of Bass (2004), “the gender stratification process framing children’s work and earning potential has its root in a history of African Patriarchy, and often has overlays of Islamic teachings and colonial patriarchy. The stratification by gender provides the framework by which work and social lives are largely separated by sex”(Bass 2004:23).The patriarchal society that characterize Ghana sets gender roles with the male gender as the head of the household and the female gender looking up to the male gender. “In the context of extreme gender inequality that characterizes most areas of sub-Saharan Africa, it is mostly the female child’s interest that is subsumed in those of the collective” (Laird 2002:p.900).

Culture attitudes to education specifically female education affect the readiness of those with parental responsibility to send their children to school (Laird 2002:p.896). Laird (2002) argues that household especially in the poor urban areas are denied utilities due to the unequal distribution of utilities in the country (Ghana). This situation result in household using the services of children, particularly girls to carry out time consuming

and monotonous task such as fetching water and firewood, cooking, washing etc. She concluded that” it is the labour of girls which replaces the refrigerator, the cooker, and the washing machine of homes in developing countries” (Laird 2002: p 897). Citing example, she stated that “by age 7, many girls are already helping their mothers or older female relatives with income generation, often in the form of petty trading” (ibid).

In the data findings of child hawkers within Madina and Abokobi in the Ga East District, it was found out that majority of these child hawkers were female (39) representing 78.0% and the rest 11 (22.0%) are males. See figure 5.

Figure 5: Sex of Respondent's



Similarly to this finding, according to Laird (2002) in respect to a survey conducted by Akuffo (1987) showed that “out of 125 school girls, 80 per cent of them were economically active. Of the 100 who were engaged in trading, 60 per cent agreed that this interfered with their schooling resulting in absenteeism, insufficient time for study and chronic fatigue”(Laird 2002:p897).Thus, “for household that are struggling to meet basic survival needs, children constitute a vital domestic and financial resources(ibid).

Not only but also the program officer at the Department of Children under the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Ghana, Florence Esi Kwartey during the interview section on the discussion on gender asserted that “Gender of the child plays an important role in

influencing the child's engagement in child labour. We live in a patriarchal society where most people believe in an empowered man than an empowered woman.

Where parents have to choose between the Girl child and the boy child educational pursuance with their limited resources, the boy is likely to be chosen because of the believe that the girl would one day leave the house and build up a home with a man or husband who in turn will be responsible for her upkeep. While the boy would stay in the house and help his parents"(interview on the 12th July, 2011).

In the words of Laird(2002) arguing in the same light as Florence Kwartey, she stated that "In most communities in Ghana, girls education is viewed as less relevant than boys with reason that the girl is destined to marry, take on domestic responsibilities and care for dependants(Laird 2002:p898).

In the light of this gender biased mentality reinforced by the patriarchal culture of the Ghanaian society, specific roles are assigned to the sexes. A girl child for example is trained in the domestic chores of the household and assists her parents in petty trading. She is expected to build her home with such skills. A boy child is also trained in the area of farming, fishing etc, and he is expected to carry this skill in adulthood and live off it as an occupation.

This argument is further backed by the statement of Florence Kwartey when she stated that" the kind of training given to the sexes will determine which aspect of child labour the child is likely to be involved. Where the main activity of the area is trading, girls are more likely to be involved in such activities, where the activity within the area is fishing or mining, boys are more likely to be involved in such activities"(interview on 12th July 2011).

4.3.4. THE NATURE OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WITHIN THE AREA.

The nature of economic activity within an area influences the influx of child labour. As already discussed under the methodological chapter, Madina is known to have one of the biggest marketing centre in the Ga East District bursting with lots of economic or commercial activity while Abokobi is the capital of the Ga East District which is also characterized with commercial activities. This can draw household especially poor

household to partake in the booming economic activities in the two areas by engaging in trading or other activity that brings income. It is not surprising that the above data findings on the occupation of parents showed that majority of parents were involved in small scale trading in the markets within of both Madina and Abokobi.

This argument was further supported by Florence Kwartey, the program officer at the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs during the interview section. In her opinion, “Child labour has both push and pulls factors. The pull factors are the things within the community that pulls the child to involve in child labour. For example if there is a market place that is bursting with activities, most families will see as a way of making money and may involve their children to partake in this activity in order to make money.

In mining places for example, most boys especially from poor homes will aspire to be involved in such activity where there is recruitment of children for that purpose. In most communities, it is the rich guy that becomes the role model and not necessarily education. A uneducated gold dealer who may have been involved in child labour in mining community and has grown up to have lots of money may be considered as a role model to many children in such poor communities and most of these children would aspire to be such person.

If the kind of trade in the area is labour intensive and more hands are needed, children are likely to be involved or recruited. For example cocoa farming, palm plantation etc. “(interview on the 12th July, 2011).

4.4. THE EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOUR ON CHILD HAWKERS

4.4.1. EDUCATION

The effects of child labour on the life of child hawkers are many. The first effect this study found out was on their education. According to Kielland and Tovo (2006), labour demands by household sometimes keep African children out of school who try to combine work with school (Kielland and Tovo 2006:140). As Bass (2004) pointed out, “an examination of national-level statistics for child labour and school attendance shows that school and work are not always mutually exclusive options. Of the estimated 28 percent of Ghanaian children who work, more than two-thirds of these children

concurrently attend school” (Bass 2004:99). This finding of Bass (2004) is similar to the findings of this study with regards to child hawkers schooling status. 42 children out of 50 children combined school with work.

It is interesting to note the puzzling relationship between children’s employment and primary education as some children are able to effectively combine their schooling with work while others lack this ability(Bass 2004:103). According to Bass(2004),”research from Togo contends that a decrease in school attendance affects rural areas in particular and that decreased rates of school attendance are both cause and effect of the premature employment of rural children in household labour tasks”(ibid). Children’s work may help to finance their education and to support the family at large (ibid).

It is more likely for household with low parental educational background and employment status to value work over their children’s education. Mostly the educational system especially in the rural areas does not provide convincing returns to household which can form a push factor leading children into the labour market due to the lack of appreciation of children’s formal education as future security of their children(Bass 2004:108). Thus “poverty and culture provide the lens by which parents may value education but must send their children to work rather than to school” (Bass 2004:110).

Some of the child hawkers I interviewed claimed they do not go to school because they have to drop out completely and work to survive because of poverty. (See table 9 below)

Table 9- (Are you in school?) Cross tabulation

		Are you in school?		Total	
		Yes	No		
Place of residence	Madina	Frequency	21	4	25
		Percent	84.0%	16.0%	100.0%
Abokobi		Frequency	21	4	25
		Percent	84.0%	16.0%	100.0%
Total		Frequency	42	8	50
		Percent	84.0%	16.0%	100.0%

The findings revealed that 21 (84.0%) respondents, each residing in Madina and Abokobi respectively, were in school whereas as 4 (16.0%) respondents, each residing in Madina and Abokobi were not in school. In general, the majority of respondents (84,0%) were in school while as low as 8 respondents(16.0%) were not in school.(See the table above for details).With the child hawkers who were not in school, 100% of these children claimed they were not in school because of poverty during the interview conducted with them.

With child hawkers who were in school, majority of them confessed that they absented themselves from classes sometimes to work (refer to table 12).

Table 10: child hawkers school type-“If yes', which category describes your school?”
(Cross tabulation)

		If yes', which category describes your school?		Total
		public	private	
Place of residence	Madina	Count 17	4	21
	Abokobi	Count 16	5	21
Place of residence	Madina	% within 81.0%	19.0%	100.0%
	Abokobi	% within 76.2%	23.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	33	9	42
	% within Place of residence	78.6%	21.4%	100.0%

Further inquiry to find out which categories of schools were attended by the respondents revealed that the majority of 17 (81.0%) respondents from Madina attended public schools as against 16 (76.2%) respondents from Abokobi. As much as 5 (23.8%)

respondents from Abokobi against 4 (19.0%) respondents from Madina attended private schools. In general, more of the respondents attended public schools (78.6%) than private schools (21.4%). Respondents from Madina attended public schools more than those from Abokobi whereas respondents from Abokobi attended private schools more than those from Madina. Out of 50 respondents, 8 respondents did not answer this question. (See the table above).

Table 11: child hawkers’ educational level- Which category describes your educational level? (Cross tabulation)

		Which category describes your educational level?				Total
		K' Gee	Primary	J.S.S	Completed JSS	
Place of residence	Madina	1	10	8	2	21
	% within Place of residence	4.8%	47.6%	38.1%	9.5%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	1	8	9	3	21
	% within Place of residence	4.8%	38.1%	42.9%	14.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	2	18	17	5	42
	% within Place of residence	4.8%	42.9%	40.5%	11.9%	100.0%

The study found out that majority of the respondents (18) was in the Primary level. Out of this, as many as 10 (47.6%) respondents resided in Madina whereas the rest 8 (38.1%) resided in Abokobi. Out of 17 respondents who fell in the JSS level, 9 (42.9%) and 8 (38.1%) resided in Abokobi and Madina respectively. Only 5 respondents made up of 3 (14.0%) and 2 (9.5%) respondents residing in Abokobi and Madina respectively had completed JSS. The least number of respondents (2), one (9.5%) each from Madina and

Abokobi showed that they were in the K’Gee level. Again 8 respondents out 50 respondents did not answer this question.

Table 12- (Do you sometimes absent yourself from class?) Cross tabulation

		Do you sometimes absent yourself from class?		Total
		Yes	No	
Place of residence	Madina	Count 20	1	21
	% within Place of residence	95.2%	4.8%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	17	4	21
	% within Place of residence	81.0%	19.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	37	5	42
	% within Place of residence	88.1%	11.9%	100.0%

In finding out whether respondents did sometimes absent themselves from class, the findings show that the majority of respondents did absent themselves from school (37) as compared to those who did not absent themselves (5). Most of the respondents, 20 (95.2%), from Madina were sometimes absent from school more than respondents from Abokobi, 17 (81.0%). The majority of respondents 4 (19.0%) who did not absent themselves came from Abokobi as against 1 (4.8%) from Madina. Thus, the total number of absentees as against those who attended school regularly was 88.1% against 11.9% respectively. 8 respondents out of 50 respondents did not answer this question (See the table above)

Table 13- (If yes' how often do you absent yourself from class in a week?) Cross tabulation

		If yes' how often do you absent yourself from class in a week?				Total
		Once	twice	thrice	the whole week	
Place of residence	Madina	Count 6	5	3	5	19
	% within Place of residence	31.6%	26.3%	15.8%	26.3%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	6	6	3	2	17
	% within Place of residence	35.3%	35.3%	17.6%	11.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	12	11	6	7	36
	% within Place of residence	33.3%	30.6%	16.7%	19.4%	100.0%

Most of the respondents were absent from school for only once (12) with 6 (31.6%) each coming from Madina and Abokobi. As many as 6 (35.3%) of respondents residing in Abokobi more than 5 (26.3%) residing in Madina absented themselves for twice, 3 (17.6%) respondents each from Abokobi and Madina absented themselves thrice, whereas 5 (26.3%) from Madina were absent for whole week more than 2 (11.8%) respondents from Abokobi. 14 respondents out of 50 respondents did not answer this question.(See table above).

Kielland and Tovo (2006) highlighted the adverse effect of child labour on the education of children: late enrollment, low grades, repetition and early dropout”(Kielland and Tovo 2006:140). In citing examples of this effects on surveys conducted on some African countries,

they argued that “Survey of children working on cocoa farms in Cote d’Ivoire shows that those who combined school with work were on average 1.6 years older than children who only went to school, presumably because of later enrollment and because they had higher

repetition rates. Similarly, a study on school children in Tanzania found that labour systematically reduced their reading abilities and mathematical skills. In Ghana, children who worked scored worse than non working children on basic reading and math test, with children who worked outside the household performing particularly poorly” (ibid).

The above argument by Kielland and Tovo (2006) support the findings on the effects on child labour on child hawkers in this study. When Child hawkers were asked during interview discussion the effect their activity had on their overall wellbeing. They stated that it affected their education, health, physiology and psychological wellbeing. (Refer to table 14).

Table 14-(In which aspect of your life does child labour pose threat to you?) Cross tabulation

		In which aspect of your life does child labour pose threat to you?				Total
		Educatio n	Health	Psychologi cal	Physiolo gical	
Place of residence	Madina	14	8	0	3	25
	% within Place of residence	56.0%	32.0%	.0%	12.0%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	8	9	2	4	23
	% within Place of residence	34.8%	39.1%	8.7%	17.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	22	17	2	7	48
	% within Place of residence	45.8%	35.4%	4.2%	14.6%	100.0%

Further probing revealed that, to a larger extent engagement in child labour posed threat the respondents' (22) educational life (45.8%) in both areas. 14 respondents (63.6%) from Madina agreed that child labour posed threats to their education compared with 8 (34.8%) from Abokobi. 2 respondents did not answer this question.

An interview conducted with Florence Kwartey on the possible effects of child labour on the education of child hawkers stated that "There is a link between child labour and school enrollment. Children who are not involved in labour are most likely to attend school regularly, have mental health to pay attention in class, and enjoy the full course of academic work. Children who are involved in child labour may suffer such effects as dividing her time between academic work and school by missing classes.

Even in school, such children may be thinking about labour activities and may not concentrate on their studies. For example a child miner may miss classes and only attend school when parents may have chased them to school. Some of them even make more money than their teachers and may challenge these teachers when they chastise them. They are not interested in schooling. The labour and the accompanying economic benefits no matter how meager have supplanted their educational interest. They may sometimes fall sick due to heavy and long hours of work" (interview on 12th July, 2011).

Kielland and Tovo(2006) highlighted the importance of education to African countries by arguing that "education is the probably the most important path to development in Africa, and even when the returns to education cannot be documented in economic terms, their social returns may be equally valuable...., because labour prevents children from going to school, and leads to repetition, poor performance, and early dropout, the children who work today are likely to become even more disadvantaged compared to their peers than yesterday's working children already are. With its high child labour rates, Africa is similarly likely to become even more disadvantaged compared to the rest of the world" (Kielland and Tovo 2006:143).

4.4.2. **HEALTH**

Most of the child hawkers during the interview discussion stated that their activity sometimes affected their health when they hawk for many hours in the scorching sun and dusty roads. They claimed they get tired and the dust especially makes them sick. Some

confessed to hawk for many hours on empty stomach and this they claimed made them weak (interview on 18th June to 2nd August 2011).

The result of the SPSS analysis when child hawkers were asked to state which aspect of their life they were affected by their activity, showed that 9 (39.1%) and 8 (34.8%) respondents from Abokobi and Madina respectively stated that child labour affected their health. Thus, within the two areas, 35.4% of child hawkers were affected health wise. (Refer to table 14 above).

Kielland and Tovo (2006) study about the effected of child petty traders concluded that “besides spending long hours in the streets, it exposes them to pollution, accidents, and harassment from adults, street children and even the police (Kielland and Tovo 2006: 99).

A similar study conducted by Mensah et al (2012) highlighted the health risk children working in gold mining in Ghana face. This “range from spinal injuries and deformities, resulting from carrying heavy loads, to potentially fatal rock fall and chronic diseases. These are compounded by environmental hazards related to mercury spillage (Mensah et al 2012: 29).

Kielland and Tovo (2006) again noted the effect children involved in pesticide application in cocoa farm in some countries in West Africa. This, they argue, could result in severe developmental effect and the subsequently affect the internal organs and physical growth of this children either in the short or long term. They also noted the serious risks of accidents of child workers especially at construction and mining sites without wearing proper protective tools and equipments (Kielland and Tovo 2006:128).

From the above discussion, it is evident that child labour poses potential health risks to its victims. This risk may vary depending on the nature of work children do. It is more pronounced in more exploitative kind of work like mining, quarrying etc. and still happens to children involved in hawking or petty trading as discussed above.

4.4.3. PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECT

Physiological effect of children involved in child labour is somehow linked to their health. “A child’s skeleton is soft and not yet fully shaped. The nervous system-including the brain -is still developing. Physicians, biologists and physiotherapists have

for decades examined these developmental process, leading to an extensive knowledge about what can harm and what can promote a child's healthy physiological development"(Kielland and Tovo 2006:126).

Victims of child labour suffer physiological effect and this varies from the nature of job they perform. Those who are likely to suffer greatly from this effect are those who are exposed to harmful or toxic substance, accidents, environmental hazards, to mention but a few.

Also, children who work too hard for example for long hours especially child hawkers may also suffer physiological effect. It is expected that a child working for long hours should have not just adequate food but a good balanced diet for his proper development. The absence of this affect may affect the child (ibid).

During the interview discussion with child hawkers, most of them claimed they hawked for long hours sometimes on empty stomach. Lots of these children, I observed looked malnourished. They complain that they mostly suffer from bodily pain as a result of carrying heavy goods for long hours hawking from one place to the other in the scorching sun(interview on the 18th June to 2nd August 2011). The result of the SPSS analysis above showed that 4 (17.4%) and 3 (12.0%) respondents from Abokobi and Madina respectively stated that their activity affected their physiological wellbeing. Thus in both areas, a total number of 14.6% of children stated that their activity posed a threat to their physiology.(Refer to table 14).

4.4.4. PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT.

"Good mental health implies not only the absence of mental illness and psychiatric disorders, but also balanced self-esteem and sound self-confidence-that is, a realistic perception of one's own capacity as well as the ability to analyze constructively and respond adequately to one's surroundings"(Kielland and Tovo 2006:129).

Child labour affects most children psychologically in Africa. Children who lack love and affection may have problem with their self esteem and confidence which could expose them to exploitation and in the long run, transfer this abuse to whoever they may have power over in future be it their children or spouse. Children with bad childhood

experience can have physiological manifestation expressed by adrenaline rush, heart palpitations or trembling at the slightest provocation which may adversely lead to irrational fear, aggression and high stress (Kielland and Tovo 2006:130).

Children involved in child labour could sometimes be humiliated by those at the bottom of the societal ladder which affects their self esteem and confidence (Kielland and Tovo 2006:132). Interview discussion by child hawkers revealed that their activity affected their psychological wellbeing (4.2%). (Refer to table 14). Some of them noted the negative effects of child labour on their overall wellbeing and wished they could regularly attend school and enjoy full education. However, the level of poverty in their homes gives them no other option than to engage in child labour. (Refer to table 15).

Table 15- (what is your disposition in respect to your involvement in child labour?)Cross tabulation

		What is your disposition in respect to your involvement in child labour?			Total
		Positive	negative	indifference	
Place of residence	Madina	5	20	0	25
	Count				
	% within Place of residence	20.0%	80.0%	.0%	100.0%
Abokobi	Count	6	17	1	24
	% within Place of residence	25.0%	70.8%	4.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	11	37	1	49
	% within Place of residence	22.4%	75.5%	2.0%	100.0%

Few child hawkers (22.4%) from both Abokobi and Madina had positive disposition to their involvement in child labour, thus, 25.0% and 20.0% each from Abokobi and Madina respectively. A total of 2.0% of child hawkers (from Abokobi only) were indifference about their involvement in child labour while majority of the child hawkers (80.0% from Madina and 70.8% from Abokobi) were not happy about their involvement. Thus, a total of 75.5% in both areas had negative disposition towards their involvement in child labour. 1 respondent out of 50 respondents did not answer this question. (Refer to table 15 above for details).

From the above discussion, it is evident that majority of child hawkers in both areas were not happy with their involvement in child labour probably because of their negative experience. This could affect their self esteem and confidence which is destructive to their psychological wellbeing.

4.5. MEASURES TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST THE CHILD HAWKERS AND THE CHALLENGES OF THESE MEASURES.

There has been several interventions by the Ghana government to safeguard and protect the wellbeing of children including those involved in child labour. These interventions range from laws, policies and programmes which will be discussed below. This study focuses on two of such interventions.

The first intervention among others was the introduction of the 1998 Children's Act, also known as the Act 560 which was passed by parliament of Ghana in June 1998(Kuyini et al 2009:4). This Act was passed in conformity with Ghana's commitment to the principles of the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child. Ghana was the first country to ratify the CRC on 5TH February, 1990. <http://unchildrights.blogspot.no/2011/01/chronological-order-ratifications-crc.html> .(accessed on 30th October, 2012).

The main idea of the 1998 Children's Act is that the interest of the child remains important and paramount in all matters. It states several rights of the child including education, health, parental property, social activity, to mention but a few and the

protection of the child from exploitative labour, discrimination, torture, degrading treatment etc. (Kuyini et al 2009:4-5)

The Act also mandated certain institutions and individuals in implementing its objectives in order to ensure the wellbeing of all children and this specifically include children involve in child labour. These institutions among others are the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Children, Ministry of Education and all institutions involved in child issues in Ghana (ibid).

In the view of Kuyini et al (2009), there are several challenges facing the implementation of the 1998 Children's Act. The first challenge or barrier they argue is structural and work process barrier. The structural barrier includes the establishment and working of child panel and their collaborative efforts in managing child abuse cases. The work process barrier also include resource for stationery, transport, computers, materials etc for child abuse programs as well as the inadequate training and shortage of qualified staff to assist their work. Kuyini et al(2009) also identified lack of community or parental cooperation in supporting the work of child protection. They argue that some parents refuse to notify authorities about abuse of children by other family members to avoid embarrassment and public ridicule. This behaviour is influenced by cultural values (Kuyini et al 2009:14).

The above challenges impedes on successful implementation of the 1998 children's Act with the major challenge being inadequate resource by government. This argument was again reinforced by Kuyini et al (2009) who argue that "Social spending in Ghana is low relative to African averages, is skewed towards recurrent costs and heavily dependent on external donor support. Thus, achieving effective implementation of government social policies in prevailing situation where key implementing agents such as the Department of Social Welfare, and the Department of Children are under-resourced, due to government revenue not catching up with demands for social support services, and fluctuating external donor support remain doubtful (Kuyini et al 2009:23).

http://cevsghana.org/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/Implementing_Child_Rights_and_Protection_in_Ghana_2.27760927.pdf.

(Accessed on the 30th October, 2012).

The second intervention is the introduction of the Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) in Ghana in 1995 which promised universal education by 2005(Akyeampong 2009:175).

Akyeampong (2009) commenting on the explanation offered by the Ghana Educational Service on the FCUBE programme argues that “under FCUBE programme, the government provides free tuition, textbooks, teaching and learning materials and subsidizes the cost of exercise books. It also supplements Basic Education Certificate Education (BECE) fees for both public and private candidates...(but) parents... are expected to send all their children of school-going age to school, feed them and provide them with school uniforms, school bags, stationery and transport when necessary”(Daily Graphic, Friday, November 17, 2000, 19; cited in Akyeampong 2009:181).

In the view of Akyeampong (2009), compulsory basic education is a very important part of basic public services. However, compulsory legislation is not a precondition for achieving the goal of universal education for all especially in the presence of lack of political will and implementation challenges. Political commitment alone is not enough to implement compulsory legislation but also requires “collective influence of local authorities and peer groups which gives real practical meaning to universal achievement and not state coercion. Thus, without strong local community advocacy and support, such legislation is rendered practically impotent” (Akyeampong 2009:176).

Even though the FCUBE resulted in “steady and consistent growth in school enrollment, it sent confusing signals about free education, left schools with a hole in revenue for basic school learning inputs, and created conditions that increased the gap in quality provision between urban and rural areas... Poor communities ended up with poor schools..., primary school attendance deficit continues to be concentrated among children from poorest household (Akyeampong 2009:182).

Hence, the input of FCUBE could not go far to offset the opportunity costs of schooling for poor families” by abolishing all form of fees, and reducing significantly the indirect costs associated with school. The incidence of late entry, overage attendance and poor household’s need for child labour also posed a further threat to the benefit FCUBE promised”(Akyeampong 2009:175).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03050060902920534>.

(accessed on 30th October, 2012).

In discussing the measures taken by the government to redress child labour during an interview session, Florence Esi Kwartey from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs stated “There have been so many interventions by the government to address child labour. Under the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, there is a Labour Department and within the Department, there is a Child Labour Unit that aims at dealing with child labour issues in the communities” She stated that “The government have recently launched a new action plan spreading their tentacles to other ministries or departments involved with children.

Now Child Labour is tackled from different fronts. We have the Ghana Employers Association, Trade Union Congress, Agriculture Workers Union (that employs the largest number of people in the informal sector), Non Governmental Organizations, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit of the Ghana Police Service, Religious bodies such as the Christian Council, Ghana Labour Organizations to mention but a few all coming together to deal with issues of child labour.” She again asserted that

“There has been public education especially in the agriculture sector. Children for example working in cocoa farming areas have been discouraged to partake in the harvesting, spraying session. They are however permitted by law to assist their parents by fetching water for the spraying a night before and not to partake in it because of the dangerous chemicals involved. Child Monitoring Committees within the communities have also been established to monitor issues of child labour. Thus, the community people are involved in the advocacy of child labour”. (Interview on the 12th July, 2011).

Similarly, an interview discussion with Marian Mensah, the Accra Metro Director of Department of Social Welfare reinforced the above point made by Florence Kwartey. She stated that ”The Department of Social Welfare has been working in cooperation with other agencies and units such as the Metropolitan Municipal and District Assemblies, the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, the Ghana Police, private sector, NGOs in dealing with issues of child labour. We coordinate and collaborate with each other by organizing seminars, training workshop for staffs. We work with NGOs such as Arch Foundation, International Needs Ghana. When we are able to identify these children, we assist them into vocational training or enroll them in formal education. Currently, we are

working with International Needs Ghana to assist children involved in sexual exploitation” (interview on 3rd August, 2011).

This shows that efforts have been made to deal with issues of child labour in Ghana.

4.6. CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTATION OF CHILD LABOUR LAWS AND PROGRAMS

Despite interventions like the introduction of the Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education, the 1998 Children Act as well as the effort of implementing agencies in cooperating and coordinating among themselves in effectively implementing some of these child labour law and programs discussed above, it is evident that the implementation have not been successful to a larger extent which has resulted in the inability of these programs and law to successfully achieve its objectives. These challenges are discussed below

4.6.1. PROBLEM OF COOPERATION AND COORDINATION AMONG IMPLEMENTING AGENCIES.

According to Winter (2003), the implementation process he argues is all about organizational and interorganizational behaviours representing different degree of commitment and coordination.(Winter 2003:209).

Here the key word is commitment and coordination. From the foregoing point made by the two government officials with regards to implementing agencies, it becomes clear as to how they cooperate among themselves by organizing seminars, workshop, public education etc to deal with child labour issues. It is evident that cooperation and coordination by all stakeholders involved is crucial for achieving successful implementation of child labour laws and programs.

As Winter(2003) noted, “decision points are not independent of each other but successful implementation results can be stimulated by an early agreement on basic understandings, which can promote bandwagon effects in later decisions, and decisions can be merged by crafting package deals” (ibid).

The importance of cooperation among the implementing agencies for successful implementation was again stressed by Marian Mensah, the Accra Metro Director of the Department of Social Welfare “When other agencies and organizations are providing

financial support and logistic for child labour programs, we, the Department of Social Welfare do not have any. So we support them with personnel. We are trained social workers. We know what child labour entails and its causes. We identify victims of child labour and other victims of child right abuse, give those counseling, help them with training and the aftermath follow up, that is, monitoring and evaluation. We do not have funds that is why we coordinate and collaborate with them to work” (interview on 3rd August, 2011).

Florence Esi Kwartey from the Department of Children, Ministry of Women and Children Affairs emphasized the above point made by Marian Mensah from the Department of Social Welfare that “the rate of coordination between implementing agencies has been improved now for the past three years. Even if you don’t have money to engage in child labour activities and programs and other agencies have that, you could link up with them and contribute your input.”(12th July, 2011).

It is important to note that some implementers have stressed certain challenges they encounter in their bid to cooperate with each other. In an interview with Florence Esi Kwartey, she further noted that ”The activities of most ministries and organization involved in child labour have been fragmented without coordinating properly with similar ministries also involved in child labour. When the cocoa initiative, for example, was introduced, the Ministry set up a desk, but the units within the ministry were not informing the Ministry what it is doing. ILO, IPEC were also supporting some NGOs for reintegration and rehabilitation of children involved in child labour in the fishing sector and they were not really informing or coordinating with each other.”(12th July, 2011).

Discussing what has been done to address the challenge of coordinating and cooperation of implementing agencies to deal with child labour, Florence Kwartey stated that ”About three years ago, in every quarter of the year, every organization is asked to bring performance report as to what it has achieved so far as far as child labour is concerned. Biannually, we meet and discuss issues such as the challenges, new areas cropping out in respect to child labour.

This directs the areas that require funding for the subsequent years and this has been hugely successful. It was based on this that a New Action Plan was drawn and a memorandum of understanding was signed by all partners involved in implementation. Each ministry, agent or organization were given distinct role to play and the kind of

report or contribution expected from each agency or organization and this is to be presented for annual assessment.

So in the new plan it is expected that for every child labour program conducted, there should be a recording of the number of people targeted, the number of communities visited, the number of men, women and children for reference purposes”(interview on 12th July, 2011)

From the above statements made by these two implementing officials, it is evident that despite the problem implementing agencies face in cooperating and coordinating with each other, efforts is being made for their effective cooperation and coordination to effectively implement child labour laws and programs.

4.6.2. AMBIGUITY OF ROLES AND FUNCTIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS.

In the view of Winter (2003), the first set of factors that affect the results of implementation are policy formulation and policy design and that the root of implementation problems can be found in prior policy formulation process. Citing Bardach (1997), he contends that conflict in policy formulation often continue in the subsequent implementation process as well as lack of attention among the coalition partners passing the law can lead to implementation failures.(Winter 2003:209).

The study found out that there is ambiguity of function or roles between government ministries and departments. Marian Mensah, the Accra Metro Director of the Department of Children expressed her concern for this when she stated that “There is an ambiguity of functions between the Department of Social Welfare and Ministry of Women and Children Affairs. There are no clear or defined roles for each of us. We the Department of Social Welfare also do the same thing as the Department of Children under Ministry of Women and Children Affairs. We go to the field to work and we see personnel from Ministry of Women and Children Affairs also doing the same thing. You do not know who is doing what? This makes the issue of responsibility and accountability quite problematic.”(Interview on 3rd August, 2011).

The above concern expressed by Marian Mensah was reiterated by Florence Esi Kwartey who pointed out that “in 1998, when the 1998 Children’s Act for example was passed, there was no Ministry of Women and Children Affairs. So the implementation of the Act was mainly put under Department of Social Welfare. When Ministry of Women and Children Affairs was established, there were also involved in the implementation of the Act. So there was a multiplication of the same function performed by our ministry and the Department of Social Welfare.”(12th July, 2011).

Winter (2003) citing Peter May argued that policy design is important in affecting the incentives of intermediaries to carry out their requisite tasks especially in affecting their commitment and capacity and by signalling desired actions. Ineffective designs may not necessarily be attributed to the lack of knowledge of policy designers but due to the fact that the design of instruments and organizational structure is a political process in which political actors, both opponents and proponents maximize their interest including selecting an organizational structure that will permit them maximum control of the implementation process (Winter 2003: 208-209).

From the foregoing discussion made on the ambiguity of roles somewhat question the design of 1998 Children’s Act aimed at dealing with issues such as child labour. Ambiguity in roles of implementing agencies in policy design could affect the implementation process by their commitment to roles because responsibility is unclear which could affect accountability and the subsequent failure of policy implementation.

4.6.3. INADEQUATE RESOURCES

Inadequate resources have been a major challenge in implementing all policies and law in Ghana. This challenge has been a major impediment in the successful implementation of child labour laws and programs in Ghana.

This argument was highlighted by Florence Esi Kwartey from the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs when she complained that “there is the problem of funding. We do not get adequate funds from the government. Most of the funds are derived from external donors like the American Embassy and other NGOs who came in with their specific focus which sometimes do not fit into our national plan.

As an officer, you cannot sit down and say i would not take the money. You also have to work and if you are not getting enough funds from the government and there is a ready

donor, you accept the offer and reframe your national plan to suit your donor” (12th July, 2011).

This reality painted by the interview discussion with Florence Kwartey with regards to inadequate availability of funds could be said to be a major challenge facing the success of child labour programs. The issue of reframing national plan to suit external donor could lead to inconsistencies in child labour programs and could thwart the success of these programs. Reframing national plan to suit the interest of external donors again can divert the goal or focus of child labour programs in Ghana.

The problem of inadequate resource to implement child labour programs and laws was also highlighted by Marian Mensah of Department of Social Welfare. She stated that “It is not only the 1998 Children’s Act that face the problem of inadequate resource or funds but rather all laws and programs in Ghana. With respect to the 1998 Children’s Act, there are so many institutions and agencies mandated to carry out the objectives of the Act. For example looking at the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies, some of them have set up child panels to look into minor and criminal cases against children but they are not working because of inadequate or lack of funds.

In Accra Metropolis, the Child Panel have been inaugurated and have not yet started working because we do not have secretariat or complain officer or desk to report cases of child labour and other child abuse cases because of the lack of funds. Some implementing agencies either do not even have knowledge of the 1998 Children’s Act or have little idea about it.

The Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit of the Ghana Police Service use the Criminal Offense Act (1960) in dealing with cases of child right abuse including child labour. Most of them do not know the 1998 Children’s Act. That is why when they are face with serious issues of child labour they refer them to the juvenile courts, family tribunals or the Department of Social Welfare.

There are not enough resources or funds to train some of these implementing agencies. I believe implementers should be well trained and abreast with the 1998 Children’s Act and other laws and policies aimed at solving child labour.”(3rd August 2011).

The above concern raised by Marian Mensah from the Department of Social Welfare raises lots of questions and suspicion with regards to implementation of child labour laws

and programs. The question is “If implementing agencies have little or no knowledge about a law they are implementing, how do they implement in the first place? This situation makes most of their activities aimed at implementing child labour laws and programs very questionable.

As Winter (2003) pointed out, the behaviour of street level bureaucrats are also important for the implementation of most policies, in which he included Lipsky’s insight on street level bureaucracy.(Winter 2003:210).

Like Marian Mensah from the Department of Social Welfare mentioned, there should be the organization of seminars and training for implementing officials so that they know what they are doing. But then the question is-”In the face of inadequate resource, how do we give implementing officials the required training and education needed to implement child labour laws and programs? This I believe dwells the danger of implementation failure of child labour programs and laws.

4.6.4. TARGET GROUP BEHAVIOUR.

Winter(2003) argues that target groups of public policies which include citizens or firms also play important role both on the effects of the policy and also in affecting the performance by street level bureaucrats through positive or negative actions in co producing public services.(ibid)

In the case of child labour laws and programs such as the 1998 Children’s Act, the target group are victims of child labour and their families. The behaviour of the target group of a policy or law goes a long way to affect its implementation As discussed above under Gender and Culture on the reasons for influx of child labour, it is evident that the Ghanaian traditional culture somehow reinforce the influx of child labour and some parents do not see anything wrong with their children involved in child labour.

This was asserted by Florence Esi Kwartey from the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs when she stated that “We are faced with the problem of traditional training of the child and the law with regards to child labour. Some parents especially those in the rural areas through advocacy activities on child labour have argued that their children are their property. They (parents) engaged in child labour as children and yet they did not die, so why are their children different?

I was shocked to learn from some educated people through our advocacy activities whom I expected to support the fight against child labour argued that, they engaged in child labour when they were children but struggled through life and made it today with a profession like doctor, public servant etc. I replied to them by telling them that you turned out well but may not be the same for most people” (12th July, 2011)

From the above statement made by Florence Kwartey, it is evident that a person who is so much stuck or entrenched in some cultural norms finds it difficult accepting changes with regards to a practice considered harmful or illegal by law. It takes time and intense public education to change such mindset. In this case the problem is not just with implementing agencies but also the target group.

Marian Mensah from the Department of Social Welfare also noted the challenge with culture by stating that “Some implementing agencies themselves especially those working in the public sector such as the ministries do have children as house helps assisting in domestic chores in their homes and by extension of their household duties, some hawk goods such as the sale of water, pastries, etc to generate income for their madam” (3rd August, 2011).

This statement made by Marian Mensah with regards to attitudes of some implementing agencies which is informed by culture is very interesting. The question is “If implementing agencies mandated to deal with issues of child labour are perpetrators or instigators of child labour in their respective home, how do they implement child labour laws and programs?. What kind of attitude will they have towards implementations of law and programs to deal with issues of child labour?

I think there should be serious public education to educate public, target group as well as implementers on child labour laws and programs in order to create public awareness of child labour. This may go a long way to change the perception some people especially those in the rural areas have about child labour.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

5.1. MAIN FINDINGS

The study found out poverty was the major cause of child labour accounting for (60%) in the two areas. Parents send their children to work because of household poverty. Majority of the parents are involved in low paid jobs especially small scale trading. 69.0% of parents had negative disposition towards their children's involvement in child labour.

Another factor that was identified to cause the influx of child labour in the two areas is low socioeconomic status of parents. The study shows that majority of parents are traders(70.%) and their educational level is relatively low with 41.9% and 20.9% having completed Junior High School and Primary School respectively. 78.7% of parents get their income from petty trading and 58.3% parents had low income earnings. The low socioeconomic status of parents is a push factor that pushes children into child labour.

Another factor identified was Culture and Gender. Culture and Gender play an important role in contributing to the influx of child labour in the areas of Madina and Abokobi. Culturally, a child is expected to help her parents in their occupation be it farming, fishing, and trading, to mention but a few. This is regarded culturally as a form of training or informal education instilling the spirit of hard work, maturity and independence in the child which is also crucial for the child's future survival and prepares him or her for adulthood.

This training or mindset may hinder or impedes the child's schooling as some may miss classes or completely drop out from school which is not good for the achievement of the child's educational advancement in respect to formal education.

Also, the patriarchal society in Ghana sets gender role with the male gender as the head of the household and the female gender looking up to the male gender. Culture attitudes to education especially female education affect those with parental responsibility to send their children to school. Most household uses the services of children especially the female child to do household chores like washing, cooking and sometimes assisting parents in petty trading by hawking.

This culturally is considered as normal and accepted especially in relation to the female gender. This issue of culture and culture attitudes towards the female gender could promote the influx of child labour in the areas of Madina and Abokobi.

The last factor influencing the influx of child labour is the nature of economic activity within the two areas. An area booming of economic activities can pull children from poor household to engage in child labour in order to raise extra income for the family. For example an area with a big marketing centre could draw high number of child hawkers. Madina and Abokobi are known to be bursting with both economic and commercial activities especially Madina. It has the biggest market in the Ga East District.

Chapter 4 further discusses the effects of child labour on child hawkers. These effects are summarized below.

Firstly, child labour affects the education of child hawkers. The study found that majority of child hawkers in school (84.0%) in the two areas sometimes miss classes (88.1%). Those who try to combine their work with school according to Kielland and Tovo (2006), could lead to late enrolment, low grades, repetition and early drop out (Kielland and Tovo 2006:140). A total number of 45.8% of child hawkers in the two areas stated their activities affected their education among others.

Secondly, the study findings show that the activity of child hawkers affected their health. 35.4% of child hawkers within the areas of Abokobi and Madina claimed they get tired for hawking for many hours, sometimes on empty stomach coupled with pollution from the dusty roads makes them sick.

Moreover, the study shows that child hawkers' activities affected their physiology because of the long hours of work and their exposure to environmental hazard. Most of them do not have adequate and good balanced diet which is needed for their proper development which can affect their physiological development. 14.6% of child hawkers stated that their activities affected their physiology.

Last but not least, the study also shows that child hawkers' activities affected their psychological development. Sound mental health requires a balanced or good self esteem and self confidence. Child hawkers who lack love and affection may have problem with their self confidence and self esteem which could expose them to exploitation. The result

of the findings revealed that 4.2% of child hawkers are affected psychologically as a result of their activities.

A total number of 75.5% of child hawkers in the two areas have negative disposition in respect to their involvement in child labour as a result of their negative experience. This could affect their psychological development.

Chapter 4 further discusses the measures taken by government to assist child hawkers. The study discusses two interventions taken by government to address the problem of child labour. These are the introduction of the 1998 Children's Act in June 1998. This law aim at protecting and safeguarding the rights of all children in Ghana including those involved in child labour. There is also the introduction of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) program in 1995 that promised universal education by 2005.

Both the 1998 Children's Act and the FCUBE have not been able to fully achieve their objectives because of challenges such as inadequate resources for stationery, transport, computers, training of staffs, establishment of child panel, lack of parental or community cooperation to mention but a few, on one hand; the incidence of late entry, overage attendance and poor household's need for child labour etc, on the other hand respectively.

Chapter 4 further discusses main challenges of implementing child labour laws and programs which are:

Firstly is the problem of cooperation and coordination among implementing agencies. The activities of some ministries and agencies are fragmented without coordinating properly with other ministries also involved in child labour. Cooperation and coordination is crucial for successful implementation of programs and policies. As such, the lack of or inadequacy of it could lead to implementation failure.

Beside this is the ambiguity of roles and functions between government ministries and departments. The study found out that there is ambiguity of roles and function between the Department of Social Welfare and Ministry of Women and Children Affairs. There is a multiplication of the same function by these two. This makes the issue of accountability problematic since the assigning of responsibility is quite unclear. This problem is not prudent with regards to judicious use of resource in the face of inadequate resource. Hence, could also affect commitment to policy implementation and subsequently result in implementation failure.

In addition to this, there is also the problem of inadequate resources. This has been a major challenge in implementing child labour laws and programs successfully in Ghana. The funds assigned to implementing agencies and institutions by the government are inadequate. Therefore, implementing agencies lack logistics and adequate training of personnel by organizing constant workshop, seminars etc., as well as the establishment of certain bodies that will aid in the implementation of child labour laws and programs. This could go a long way to affect the success of implementing child labour laws and programs.

Finally is target group behaviour. The target group are the victims of child labour (child hawkers) and their parents. The behaviour of a target group towards a policy or law goes a long way to affect its implementation. The study showed that the Ghanaian traditional culture somehow reinforces the influx of child labour because some parents do not see anything wrong with their children involved in child labour. Instead, some of them see it as a form of training (40.0%).

Some implementers themselves do not see anything wrong with child labour and some of them are perpetrators of child labour in their respective homes by using child domestic servants for hawking business as extension of their household chores. This attitude could affect the successful implementation of child labour laws and programs.

5.2. CONCLUSION

The evidence discussed with regards to the reasons for the influx of child hawkers and the challenges of implementation of child labour laws and programs in the data analysis chapter confirms the hypothesis of the study which states:

The more the acceptance of child labours in a society, the more the occurrence of child hawking.

The lower the socioeconomic status of parents and guardians of child hawkers, the more the occurrence of child hawking.

The availability of adequate and appropriate resource at the disposal of implementing agencies could lead to successful implementation of child labour laws and programs.

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7.0. APPENDIX

QUESTINNIARE FOR PARENTS OR GUARDIAN

BIO DATA

NAME.....

SEX A. MALE B. FEMALE

RELIGION.....

OCCUPATION.....

PLACE OF RESIDENCE.....

1. Which category describes your educational level?
a. Primary b. J.S.S c. S.S.S d. A level e. O level f. graduate g. illiterate
2. How many children do you have?.....
3. What are your sources of income?
4. How would you rate your income level?
a. Low b. middle c. high d. other
5. Have you ever heard anything about child labour?
a. Yes b. no
6. How would you define the situation where a child engages in any activity that affect their general wellbeing?
a. Child labour b. other.....
7. Does any of your children engages in this act?
a. Yes b. no
8. If 'yes', how many of them?.....

9. Do you know that the situation described above is illegal in Ghana?
a. Yes b. No
10. Do they have your consent to do this?
a. Yes b. no
11. If yes, why do you encourage them to do this?

- a. Poverty b. a form of training c. other.....
- 12. Are you aware of the possible threats to your child's engagement in this situation?
 - a. Yes b. no
- 13. What is your disposition towards this situation your child finds himself or herself?
 - a. Positive b. negative c. indifference d. other.....
- 14. Have you ever received assistance from anyone in respect to this situation?
 - a. Yes b. no
- 15. If yes, which category of people have you received support from?
 - a. Government b. NGOs c. philanthropists d. other.....

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR CHILDREN.

BIO DATA

- A. NAME.....
- B. SEX : MALE OR FEMALE
- C. AGE.....
- D. PLACE OF RESIDENCE.....

- 1. Are you in school?
 - a. Yes b. No (if 'no', move to question 6)
- 2. If 'yes', which category describes your school?
 - A. public b. private
- 3. Which category describes your level?
 - A. K'GEE b. primary c. J.S.S.
- 4. Do you sometimes absent yourself from class?
 - A. yes b. no
- 5. If 'yes' how often do you absent yourself from class in a week?
 - a. Once, b. twice c. thrice d. the whole week e. other
- 6. If 'No', why don't you go to school?
 - a. Poverty b. other.....
- 7. Do you know that your access to good education is your right?
 - a. Yes b. no
- 8. Have you heard anything about child labour?
 - a. Yes b. no
- 9. How would you describe a situation where a child below the age of 18years engages in any activity that poses a threat to his or her general wellbeing (educational, psychological, health, physical etc)?
 - a. Child labour b. other.....
- 10. Do you find yourself in the situation described above in question 9?
 - a. Yes b. no
- 11. If yes, are your parents aware of this act?
 - a. Yes b. no

12. Do you see the situation described above as illegal in Ghana?
 - a. Yes b. no
13. Does your engagement in this act pose any threat to your wellbeing?
 - a. Yes b. no
14. In which aspect of your life does it pose threat to you?
 - a. Education b. health c. psychological d. physical e. other.....
15. What is your disposition in respect to your situation?
 - a. Positive b. negative c. indifference d. other.....
16. Do you derive any benefit from your engagement in this act?
 - a. Yes b. no
17. If yes, what are some of the benefits you derive?
 - a. Financial b. other.....
18. Have you ever received assistance from someone in respect to this situation?
 - a. Yes b. no
19. If 'yes', which among these group have you received assistance from?
 - a. Government b. NGOs, c. philanthropists d. other.....
20. What has led you into this situation?
 - Poverty, b. leisure c. other.....

