**CHAPTER ONE**

**INTRODUCTION**

**1.1 Background of the study**

The issue of migration has been a major challenge confronting International Development experts. It is an issue of concern as it accompanied by both risks and opportunities for the migrants. “The fast rate of urbanization, and rising migration to cities, brings with it both risks and opportunities for the migrants, communities and governments concerned” (World Migration Report, 2015). Migration refers to the movement of people from their usual place of residence (Owusu, 2000). According to Adewale (2005), the major cause of migration is economic factors such as social, cultural, political and environmental factors. In another view, Awumbilla (2008) stated that the major cause of migration in developing countries is due to economic factors.

In Ghana, the general pattern of migration has been from the North to the South (Owusu, 2000). For example, most people move from rural areas in the three Northern Regions to the urban cities in Accra and Kumasi. Most of these migrants are children who work in the informal sectors such as the markets and perform several menial jobs to make a living (ibid).

Children in this context, refer to humans below the age of 18 as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (Unicef, 2015). Child migration therefore refers to the movement of children below the ages of 18 years from their usual place of residence . According to Appianing (2013), what characterizes this migration pattern is that most child migrants are independent and usually unaccompanied by parents or guardians in their journey to the cities which makes their lives incredibly challenging when they arrive.

According to the Ghana Standard Living Survey (2014), most children in Ghana are engaged in economic activities. The survey showed that children as young as 5 years are involved in economic activities in the country and that 28.5% of children ranging from the ages of 5 to 17 years are involved in economic activities.

Child labour is a phenomenon that is wide spread in Ghana. As stated in the report of (UNICEF, 2006) on child labour, “International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions 138 (1973) and 182 (1999) define child labourers as all children younger than 12 working in any economic activities, children 12–14 years old engaged in more than light work, and all children engaged in the worst forms of child labour – in which they are enslaved, forcibly recruited, prostituted, trafficked, forced into illegal activities or exposed to hazards”. Nalule (2008) stipulates that child labour exposes children to sexual harassment, physical and psychological danger. In another view, Hahn and Klute (2007) argue that child labour migration has positive effects for the child in that through their economic activities, they are empowered financially and this helps them provide for themselves and support their families back home.

Unaccompanied child migrants are especially susceptible to a plethora of dangers (Tetteh, 2008) which may negatively affect their future contribution to the nation as productive citizens. In order to deter this, stakeholders and policy makers specializing in migration should take a keen interest in the issue of migration as a whole and should also create more concerted efforts to intervene in child migration. The results of which would be to shed more light of the factors that are increasing child migrations. Furthermore, the dangers, risks, and hazards that child migrants between the ages of 5 and 17 are exposed to should be addressed, by critically examining the supports and social networks that are available to them. This Master Thesis aims to examine child labor migration from the northern regions of Ghana to the south of the country.

**1.2 Statement of the problem**

Most child migrants in Ghana move voluntarily from rural areas in the North to the Southern urban cities for economic reasons (Amponsah, et al., 2012,; Tetteh, 2008;, Appianing, 2013). These child migrants are usually exposed to the harsh realities of life in these urban cities as they engage in hazardous work for little pay, fend for themselves and attempt to secure housing. Due to the meager salaries they receive, they encounter difficulties in managing their lives as independent children (Tetteh, 2008). The situation has compelled the Government of Ghana to institute several policies and legal frameworks in a bid to solve the issue of child labour migration but the condition remains unchanged. (Appianing, 2013). Child migrants continue to emigrate from the northern part of country to the southern part in search of greener pastures.

In a attempting to eradicate child labour migration, Ghana has instituted policies and legal frameworks at the national and international level since year 2000. For example, the Children’s Act of 1998 (Act 560) prevents children from being employed. Other initiatives include a legal framework and a National Plan of Action (NPA) which involves the establishment of systems such as the Ghana Child Labour Monitoring System, Hazardous Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector and Standard Operating Procedures and Guidelines (Child Labour Report, 2014). A study by Ghana Child Labour Survey in 2003 shows that child labour is prevalent in all sectors of the economy with agriculture being the highest sector involving the highest proportion of child labourers (62.5%) (cited in Child Labour Report, 2014: page number!). Furthermore, the survey showed that there is a higher percentage of children engaged in hazardous forms of child labour in urban areas (20.0%) than in rural areas (7.7%); it was also revealed that one-quarter of children aged between 8 and 11 years (25.6%) and between 12 and 14 years (26.9%) were engaged in child labour (ibid). The survey also revealed that child labour exposes children to injuries that keep them away from school; insect bites and extreme fatigue, emotional abuse; sexual harassment, exposure to fire, gas and fumes.

The questions to be asked therefore are, what social or support networks are available to children who migrate from the northern to the southern part of Ghana and what dangers, risks and hazards are these children exposed to? This has therefore served as platform on which I have set out to carry out this study on child labour migration from the north to the southern parts of Ghana.

**1.3 Research questions**

The study is aimed at answering the question, to what extent are child migrants affected by migration ?” The working questions formulated to help answer the main question are as follows.

1. What are the dangers, risks, hazards and challenges of child migrants in the city of Accra?

2. Do child migrants play a role in the decision to migrate and what support networks are available to child migrants who migrate from the north to the south of Ghana?

**1.4 Significance of the study**

Due to the low level of development of the three northern regions of Ghana, namely, Upper East, Upper-West and Northern region, most people are compelled to migrate geographically to seek better working conditions in the south (Opare, 2003). The three northern regions are the poorest regions in the country and has not experienced stable economic growth since the 1990’s (ibid). According to Opare (2003), the recent internal migration from the north to the south of Ghana mostly involves children. Because these children have limited education, they are usually employed as hawkers and domestic servants in urban cities.

According to Hashim and Thorsen (2011), research on north-south migration in Ghana is manifold. It is however worth noting that little attention has been paid to child labour migration from the north to the south. Similar studies in relation to this involve Tetteh (2008) who assessed the effect of migration on children left behind, Appianing (2013) who studied the effects of rural-urban migration on children left behind by the migrants and Casely-Hayford (2004) who studied situational analysis of child labour in Ghana’s Cocoa Sector. Most of these studies do not specifically emphasize on the growing trend of migration from the north to the southern part of the country and therefore do not contribute significantly to issues of child labour migration in Ghana.

According to Hashim and Thorsen (2011), people assume that children are coerced by their parents to migrate to urban cities for financial gains and that they do not play active roles in migrating to urban cities. Hashim and Thorsen (2011) however suggest that most child migrants migrate voluntarily to urban cities to look for employment contrary to the widely held notion that they are forced into work by their parents.

Due to this, it can be said that there is poor understanding of child labour migration issues in Ghana (ibid). It therefore becomes pertinent that further investigation is carried out to explore child labour migration in Ghana with specific emphasis on the north-south migration patterns. The study therefore seeks to examine child labour in Accra as a problem associated with the north-South migration.

The examination of the role child migrants play in the migration process and their reasons for migrating from the north to the south of Ghana, the exploration of the dangers, risks, hazards and challenges of child migrants and finding out the support or social networks available to child migrants who migrate from the north to the south of Ghana will seek to bring to bear, child labour in Accra as a problem associated with the north-South migration

This study is relevant because it helps in the decision making process of child migration and to determine whether unaccompanied child migrants play an active role in the migration process. Analyzing the social or support networks available to child migrants can help unravel the mystery as to why despite the dangers of child labour migration, the menace continues unabated. Could it be that there is a strong social network that pulls or attracts child migrants to the city? This study may unravel the assertion that the available of strong social networks pulls or attracts child migrants to the cities.

The study would aid to gain a deeper understanding on why children at very tender and school going ages travel for such long distances to be engaged in economic activities in urban centres of Accra. Furthermore, findings from this study would reveal the effects of migration on the lives of children which can help governments and other policy makers in their policy formulations so as to bring solution to this migration menace.

**1.5 Scope of the study**

This research is limited to the study of independent child labour migration. The study limits itself to child migration from the north to the southern part of Ghana, specifically the Ga-South Municipality. “The Ga South Municipal was carved out from the Ga West District in November 2007 and was established by Legislative Instrument 2134 in July 2012 with Weija being the Municipal capital. It lies at the South Western part of Accra and shares boundaries with the Accra Metropolitan Area to the South-East, Ga Central to South-East, Akwapim South to the North-East, Ga West to the East, West Akim to the North, Awutu-Senya to the West, Awutu-Senya East to the South-East, Gomoa to the South-West and the Gulf of Guinea to the South. It occupies a total land area of about 341.838 square kilometers with about 95 settlements” (2010 PHC).

This municipality has been chosen because it serves as a hub for child migrants who migrate from rural areas in the northern to southern areas in the south of Ghana due to the presence of a market and bus terminal, all located at Mallam junction. There are a lot of economic and informal activities in the municipality such as retail and wholesale of goods among others ; this area provides the right characteristics for this study to be conducted. Furthermore, the study is skewed towards child migrants working as, street hawkers, sellers and vendors at the Mallam vicinity.

**1.6 Organization of the study**

This study is organized into seven (7) chapters. The first chapter presents the introduction which discusses the background of the study, problem statement, research objectives, questions, significance, scope and organisation of the study.

Chapter Two is dedicated to Literature review on the subject area and it reviews the works previously done by others on the same subject area and draws on the relevance of such works to the current study on child labour migration. Research Appianing (2013), Tetteh (2008), Hahn and Klute (2007) among others would be reviewed. This review is aimed at validating the study as it shows that the topic is valid as similar studies has been done on the topic.

Chapter Three presents the various methods I have used in collecting data for the study. The method for collecting data is qualitative. I will use semi-structured interviews to collect data from respondents who will comprise children of the ages 16 years and below. The research approach would be descriptive and I will employ phenomenology as I intend to explore the labour and migration processes experiences of Ghanaian of respondents. Snowballing sampling techniques would be used to sample respondents. I will use a field note book and a pen to carry out the study and report events.

Chapter Four presents the theoretical foundation of the study. The Social Network Theory introduced by Wellman (1999) and the Neo-classical Economic theory and New Economics of Labour Migration Theory would be used to discuss the reasons children migrate from the north to the south, the role the migrant plays and the examination of child labour as a problem with migration.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of the study. The analysis is done under the following headings; demographic and socio-economic background of child migrants, role of child migrants in the migration process and the reasons for migration, nature of respondents’ business and challenges they encounter and Support and social networks available to child migrants.

Chapter Six presents the interpretation and discussion of the findings from the study.

Chapter Seven presents the conclusions and recommendations of the study

**CHAPTER TWO**

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**2.1 Introduction**

This chapter starts with the discussion of the north-south migration pattern in Ghana. Child migration in Ghana is then discussed and the concept of child labour as defined and reviewed by several researchers. In other sub sections I discuss the socio-economic factors related to child labour; work children in Ghana do and its implications on their lives; link between child labour and migration; empirical evidence of child labour migration in developing countries. The chapter ends with a brief summary of the chapter.

**2.2: Migration within Ghana (North-South trend)**

Due to poverty and other economic challenges, most people from the Northern part of Ghana migrate to the Southern part of the country to seek for better opportunities in life (Amponsah, et al. 2012).These challenges range from the inability of most people from the north to seek gainful employment in order to meet their basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing. Thus, the nation has been divided into three geographical zones; namely the coastal zone, middle zone and the savannah zone (ibid). The coastal zone comprises Accra, Tema and Secondi-Takoradi, the middle zone comprises Kumasi and the savannah zone comprises the Northern regions. According to Opare (2003), the coastal zone attracts most internal migrants as it serves as a center for economic activities and urbanization. Kwankye, et al (2007) are of the view that since time immemorial, the coastal zone has been the center of internal migration in Ghana compared to the other zones. Elaborating from his view, the coastal zone has experienced much development as compared to the northern and middle zones which is one factor that contributes to the north-south patterns of migration. In terms of population, Accra is very densely populated; the middle zone is densely populated; and the savannah zone is sparsely populated and very vast (ibid). The 2010 population census conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service shows that Greater Accra is the most densely populated region in Ghana with 1,236 persons per square kilometer; the Northern Region, the most sparsely populated with a density of 35 persons per square kilometer (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010).

The Southern part of Ghana is endowed with several natural resources such as gold, diamond, cocoa, timber and coffee and has well developed infrastructure such as roads, markets, harbours and ports. On the other hand, the Northern part of Ghana lacks such resources; as a result is under-developed (Opare, 2003). According to Opare, there is less economic activity happening in the northern part of the country and this motivates people to move to the south which is active with economic and commercial activities. He further notes that the problem of child labour arises as a result of this north-south movement.

According to Awumbila (2008), the liberalization and structural adjustment programme implemented by the government of Ghana in 1983 worsened the plight of the Northern part of the country as social services such as health care and subsidies were suspended. He states that the suspension of these social services had diverse consequences on the people of northern Ghana.

Awumbila further notes that this caused many people to migrate to the south to serve as labour and thus, the north was impoverished as a result of the transfer of labour. Kwankye (2007) in adding his view, stipulates that the percentage of people in extreme poverty in the three Northern Regions stands at 70% and that migration from the Northern part of Ghana is higher than any other part in the country.

Anarfi et al., (2003) is of the view that migration from the Northern part of Ghana to the South has taken a new dimension. This dimension has taken a new trend as it is now common to see unaccompanied children travel to Accra and Kumasi to engage in professions such as head potters, street hawkers, vendors and domestic servants (ibid). The pattern of migration from the North to the South is worrisome because it now involves children who travel without the company of their family (Awumbila, 2008). The reason why these children embark on such tedious journeys is because they perceive economic freedom in the form of higher income and wages and this motivates them to travel (ibid).

Most street children in Ghana are from the Northern part of the country. The Ghana Child Labour Survey (2012) reveals that fifty-five percent of the street children in Ghana hail from the Northern part of the country which includes: Upper East, Upper West and Northern Region. Furthermore, seventy-five percent of street children are in Greater Accra and Ashanti Region (cited in Kwankye, et al., 2007). This gives credence to the choice of the study area, Ga- South Municipal for this study on child labour migration from the North to the South to be carried out as it serves as destination points for child migrants.

**2.3: Child migration in Ghana**

Child migration may be defined as the movement of children from their usual place of residence. According to Anarfi, et al. (2003), because the socialization of the child is not dependent on the nuclear family alone, but rather on a larger extended family, child migration can be explained in different forms such as street children, fostering and trafficking. Alhassan (2013) notes that although fostering does not necessarily imply that the child moves geographically away from home but he stresses that it can be classified as a form of child migration because most at times, children have to travel far away from home to work for relatives. Anarfi, et al. (2003) also notes that the incidence of street children is related to children travelling to work. The number of street children in the capital city, Accra as shown by the Social Welfare Department on its 2010 child labour census stood at 61,492 (cited in Child Labour Survey, 2014). This large number is indicative of children migrating to work in urban areas without their parents (ibid).

There is an indirect relationship between fostering and child labour migration (Anarfi, et al. 2003). This is because often times, children travel to work for relatives in exchange for education (ibid). According to Opare (2003), there are many fostered children in urban centres than rural areas in Ghana because most parents are unable to cater for their children and easily give them out to friends to cater for them. Amponsah, et al. (2012) is of the view that the tradition of fostering has led to the increase in child trafficking in Ghana. In Ghana, most fostered children are forced into fishing on the Volta Lake where they collect fishes mend nets, paddle boats and work as domestic servants (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2005).

**2.4 Socio-economic factors related to child labour**

Several scholars state that the main causes of child labour are poverty and unemployment (see Haile & Haile, 2011, Obinna, 2007). For example, Ahmad (2004) argues that when parents earn low income and are unable to support families, they usually send their children out to work in order to supplement household income. Corroborating this viewpoint, Nanjunda (2009) stipulates that due to extreme poverty and low skill levels, parents are forced to use their children to maximize the household income. In contrast however, Casely-Hayford (2011) argues that poverty cannot in itself be a cause of child labour but rather the interaction of other factors. In this instance, child labour becomes an effect rather than a cause of poverty (ibid). Similar sentiment is shared by Owolabi (2012) who reason that poverty causes social ills such as child labour, prostitution and unemployment. In adding his voice, Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) reiterate that to solve the problem of child labour, poverty situation and living standards in the country must be improved. Krueger (1996) provides empirical evidence that shows the relationship or link between child labour and living standards. Evidence from a cross-country sample by Krueger (1996) shows that poor households unlike richer households send their children to work. Unemployment of the parents compels children to be engaged in economic activities (ibid).

Furthermore, that is talking about the demand for child labourers, Ahmad (2004) suggests that employers opt to use child laborers because they are cheap to acquire, can be controlled and they help minimize costs. In a similar vein, Nalule (2008) shares the view that employers use child laborers because they are meek, can be controlled and are a cheap source of labour because they are only paid minimum wages. These views imply that employers exploit children to their benefit; children also have to endure a lot of abuse from their employer.

It can be observed from the foregoing discussion that socio-cultural and economic factors lie at the root of the problem of child labour. Corroborating this viewpoint, Ahmad (2004,p.88), states that ‘‘Child labour is a socio-economic problem and that the causes of child labour include illiteracy, ignorance, low wages, unemployment, poor standard of living, stark poverty, social prejudice and backwardness’’ This sentiment is further echoed by Casely-Hayford (2004) who argues that the causes of child labour include ignorance, illiteracy and unemployment.

The above views highlight the fact that poverty is a main contributor to the incidence of child labour (Ahmad, 2006). In contrast, Nanjunda (2009) argues that poverty should not be enough a reason to justify the incidence of child labour. According to him, the issue of child labour is not prevalent in poor nations. He stressed that there are some nations that are not poor but experience high rates of child labour; the reverse is also true. He cites that in Bihar and Uttar which can be classified as poor states, child labour constitutes 4.8% and 6% (ibid). On the other hand, he cites Andhra Pradesh as a better performing economy but one which has a higher percentage of child labour constituting 9%. This implies that the fact that over 8.4% of the population of Ghana are below the poverty line according to the Ghana Standards Living Survey 6 Report (2014) is not enough reason to explain the incidence of child labour in the country.

**2.6 Works children in Ghana do and its implications on their lives**

The works children in Ghana do can provide an idea of the risks, dangers and hazards they are exposed to. The most common economic activity children in Ghana engage in is head potterage, a work which requires a child to carry heavy loads of goods to a destination (Nyanney, 2013). There are other children too in the quarrying business and mining, where they are exposed to respiratory risk due to the inhalation of dust and pit falls (ibid). Child prostitution is another work children in Ghana are engaged in (ibid). This trade is popular in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana and Sekondi-Takoradi. It is dangerous to the health of children-girls because it exposes them to sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted protection as a result of lack of protection during sex. Those who attempt to abort the pregnancy unsuccessfully also die as a result of it (Moyi, 2011). Furthermore, according to Bøås and Huser (2006), there are many children working in agriculture, especially in the cocoa industry.

According to Nalule (2008), the works children in Ghana do exposes them to health and safety hazards, physical work hazards, school dropouts and psychological hazardsHe explains these as follows:

**Health and Safety Hazards**

According to the ILO (2010), children are exposed to health and safety hazards due to the conditions and types of work they find themselves in. Child labourers are often exposed to injuries, pain and skin reactions. These complications often have a damaging effect on the health of the victim (ibid). Brown, et al. (2001) put it that child labourers suffer complications in both the short and long terms. He cannot be more right as for example, load carriers popularly called ‘Kayaye’s’ in Ghana are made to carry heavy loads in the hot weather for several hours. This type of child labour can have negative consequences on the physical health of the victim as they are likely to experience chronic back pain. Corroborating this view, Imoh (2014) stipulates that children are exposed to harm at the workplace because they are more vulnerable and susceptible to abuse; their rights are not also respected. For example, from the researcher’s observation, most child labourers working in garages and mechanic shops in Ghana are not given protectors. This exposes them to extreme and life threatening danger.

**Physical Work Hazards**

According to Tetteh (2008), physical work hazards involve the lifting of heavy weights which affect the spines and pelvis of children and impedes their growth and development. A study by Nalule (2008) also shows that children who usually lift heavy weights at work, suffer from psychological and physical development. The study concluded that such children experience backpains, spinal problems and disabilities. Tetteh (2008) posits that children who work at garages, mines or lift heavy weights have stunted growth and this affects their physical development.

**School Dropouts**

There is a high incidence of dropout rates among child labourers (GLSS, 2014). This is because child labourers have minimum time to study as they are mostly involved in economic activities to earn income to support themselves and their families (ibid). This goes to tell that child labourers spend less time to study and as a result perform badly in schools. Providing further support to this assertion, Casely-Hayford (2004) opines that child labour has damaging effects on the ability of children to learn and succeed. It can be said from this view that child labour increases illiteracy which is an affront to the education of the citizenry.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Ghana and the the Children’s Act 1998 (Act 560) makes provision for the education of the child (Handbook of the Constitution of Ghana). This also makes basic education compulsory for all children. Nyavor (2011) is of the view that lack of education is dangerous to the society. It can therefore be said that lack of education increases societal backwardness. The high incidence of school dropout rates associated with child labour is a disservice to society and increases societal ignorance. In Ghana, the percentage of children engaged in employment and attend school at the same time was 82.1% while that of non-schooling children engaged in employment was 45.8 percent (Ghana Standards Living Survey Round 6 conducted by Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). This provides ample evidence as to the extent of the problem.

**Psychological Work Hazards**

Child labour has detrimental effects on the psychological development of children. According to Appianing (2013). When children are abused at work or when work occupies all their time, they suffer socially and psychologically. According to Nalule (2008), in some cultures, when children are isolated from their peers and restricted to the workplace, they show symptoms of psychological impairment. Many children who are forced into work develop a sense of worthlessness and coldness; they then develop this negative attitude in later life as adults (ibid). It can therefore be said that because children have little power and authority at the workplace, they are bullied by their employers and this cows them into timidity (Nalule, 2008). They become less confident in their abilities and this affects their self-esteem, mood and assertiveness. In a similar vein, the World Health Organisation (2015) reports that child domestic servants experience psychological problems such as withdrawal, depression, inferiority complex and behaviours that are regressive. It then becomes clear from the above that child labourers suffer extreme psychological distress coupled with the fact that they are abused sexually, verbally, emotionally, physically and psychologically.

From the foregoing discussion, much emphasis has been placed on the negative effects on child labour (for example, Moyi, 2011 & Obinna, 2007). Thus far, child labour has been shown to negatively affect the safety and health of children, affect physical development, increased incidence of school dropouts, affected psychological development of children and also the morality of children. However, there are other proponents who stipulate that child labour is very beneficial to the society (for example Nyarvor, 2011; Duncan, 2004). The employment of children improves their socialisation process, especially when they are supervised by their parents. When children involved in economic activities are supervised by their parents, they grow self-esteem and confidence. T; thus, they learn to be self-sufficient early in life and this makes them value the essence of work (Nyarvor, 2011). In contrast, Ahmad (2004) argues that child labour cannot be said to be a good thing because its negative effects far outweigh its positive effects.

**2.7 Linkage Between Rural-Urban Migration and Child Labour**

The rapid rate of rural-urban migration can be said to increase child labour in urban areas (Casely-Hayford, 2011). Children leave their rural homes where they are mostly engaged in agricultural activities to the urban city to seek better living conditions (ibid). Hashim (2005) attributes this situation to rural push and urban pull factors as most children with no skill or proper education are compelled to work to provide food and shelter for themselves. In their attempt to survive with little or no support, most child migrants engage in all forms of work such as hawking, prostitution and street vendoring (Nalule, 2008). One of the key focus of this study that I would explore is the support network available to child migrants who in the absence of their parents, have to fend for themselves.

Keilland and Sanogo (2002) are of the opinion that children migrate from their home to urban cities and towns due to several reasons. Some of these reasons, according to them, include work, education, pressure, escaping violence. Flamm (2010) stipulates that most children migrate in search of better conditions of life in the city as this becomes their only passage way to success. Most children migrate to the city to search for employment as they perceive the city to be full of opportunities (ibid). Flamm further notes that migration of children helps reduce burden and expenses of parents and because of this, some parents are motivated to send their children out to work even when they are unable to earn enough to remit some home. This view suggests that parents are the final decision makers for children migrating to the cities. However, Huijsmans (2006) in contrast, stipulates that children are not passive actors in the migration process and that they willingly participate in it. Hashim (2005) shares a similar sentiment as he states that children usually have a say in the decision to migrate to the urban cities. Assessing the role child migrants play in the decision making process of their migration can help me further understand their aspirations for embarking on such dangerous and independent journeys. Are child migrants forced to embark on such journeys to support their family or are they responsible for their decision to migrate? I seek to find an answer to this question through this study.

In Ghana, child migrants are mostly found in agriculture with statistics showing that 62.5% of children are engaged as child labourers in this sector (Ghana Standards Living Survey Round 6, 2014). According to the survey, this was pronounced in the rural than urban areas of the country. In Accra, the survey revealed that most child labourers are engaged in sales and elementary occupations; many others are also found working as domestic servants and in the informal sector (ibid).

According to Keilland and Sanogo (2002), child migration tends to be higher in areas where adult migration is also on the high. For example, in Ghana, adult migration from the north to the south is common; this also reflects in the sheer number of child migrants from the north on the streets of Accra and Kumasi as observed by the researcher. Keilland and Sanogo (2002) go on to say that in societies where migration is considered an important part of transitioning to adulthood, child migration is admired and children who are able to successfully migrate and support the household are very much respected in their villages. In a similar vein, de Lange (2006) posits that in some rural areas, children who do not migrate are deemed shameful. A similar sentiment is shared by Hashim (2005) who states that children migrate to earn respect from their family and community.

Moreover, some children migrate due to negative happenings in their communities (Osment, 2014). This could be as a result of war, domestic violence and economic and political factors (ibid). When children migrate to the cities, they are often found unaccompanied and this makes them vulnerable to violence and sexual exploitation. Most of them are unable to secure proper accommodation and are usually found sleeping in shops and on the streets of Accra. According to Flamm (2010), due to the low level of education and financial strength of these children, they are more likely to be involved in labour. Osment (2014) is also of the view that unaccompanied children are more likely to be involved in child labour than accompanied children who are often protected by their parents.

There is a direct relationship between child domestic labourers and migration of children for fostering in Ghana (Nyanney, 2013). The practice whereby a child from a rural area stays with another family other than his or her own in urban cities for the purpose of learning a trade or education is common in Ghana (ibid). Such children are most often domestic servants who serve a particular family. They are often sexually abused, made to starve, shouted at and maltreated, albeit this is considered a safe employment for children as they are under protection from a guardian (Tetteh, 2008). Fostering has also contributed to the incidence of child labour in urban cities as most of these children are also forced to sell on the streets; they face danger of being knocked out by vehicles and attacked (ibid). However, Kwankye, et al. (2007) is of the assertion that urbanization has caused most children who have no place of abode to move to the streets to make money for their parents other than becoming domestic servants for relatives in the urban city.

2.8 Child Labour Migration in Developing Countries

According to Whitehead and Hashim (2005), it is difficult for a comprehensive overview of child labour migration to be done. This is due to several methodological challenges such as standardised definitions of labour, migrants and migration; method of data collection and undocumented forms of migration; the focus of child migration is also specific, for example, movement from North-South, trafficked children and those working in the cocoa sector (ibid). In this study, I will focus on independent child migrants who move from the Northern part of Ghana to the South to engage in economic activity such as head porterage, street hawking, and vendors. According to Thorsen (2007), although independent child migration is the most common form of child migration, it has nonetheless received minimal attention from scholars. This study therefore fills this gap by exploring a common child migration pattern, the north-south and focuses on the role of the child in the decision-making process, their aspirations for migration, dangers they are exposed to and the support system available to them.

The Ghana Standard Living Survey (2014) was conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service to measure the extent of child labour issues in Ghana. Results from the survey indicate that children’s rights are being violated and that child labour is prevalent in the Ghanaian society. The fact that children aged 5 years are involved in economic activities in the country gives credence to this view (GSLS, 2014). The study showed that 28.5% of children ranging from the ages of 5 to 17 years are involved in economic activities. Out of this figure, 29.2% are males and 27.7% are males; 39% of these children worked as child labourers in rural areas than in urban areas, which had a percentage of 16.8% (ibid).

Furthermore, the survey revealed that Brong Ahafo had the highest proportion of child labourers (44.5%) with Upper East (44.5%) and Upper West (45.1%) of children involved in economic activities. The Greater Accra Region, according to the survey had the least number of children engaged in economic activities. Children working in agriculture, forestry and fishing constitute three- quarter of working children; those working in wholesale and retail jobs constitute 21.4% with children working in wholesale and retail in Accra forming a higher percentage than those in other urban areas in the country (GSLS, 2014). According to the survey, quite a significant number of children can also be found street hawking, car washing and selling food on streets among others. The survey reports that majority of children, 84% are employed in the private sector, both formal and informal. The survey revealed further that majority of children work during the day and that more than half of these children were exposed to work hazards and abuse at work.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be said that the practice of child labour is prevalent in Ghana. Ghana as a developing country continues to battle the issuesof child labour even though the government has instituted certain policies and legal frameworks to eliminate the problem of child labour.

de Lange (2006) studied child migrants, mainly boys who worked on small scale cotton farms at Kompienga and Tapoa. His focus was on adolescent boys who migrated from the North-Eastern province of Gnagna in Burkina Faso. De Lange’s study sought to find out the elements of the migration process which could negatively affect the well-being of the child; how children’s movement could be addressed taking into consideration their rights. His findings were that migration offered children self-endurance and reliance and other qualities that would make them become better adults. It was also shown that children migrated because they wanted to gain material wealth such as motorbikes.

Hashim (2005) also studied independent children who had migrated from a village in the North-Eastern Ghana towards cocoa growing regions in the south. His findings were that migration was related to longer term aspirations of children and that it enabled children to properly socialise as it taught them values such as hard work and perseverance.

Imorou (2008) also studied child migration from Northwest Benin to the Northeast. His findings were similar to that of de Lange (2006) and Hashim (2005) in that children migrated for personal gains and to assist their families and that socialisation enabled children to have a broader outlook of life and enhanced their socialisation process.

These studies have a similar relationship with my study because it engages in in-depth interviews with child migrants and seek to understand the decision making process involved in migration. It also explores the conditions and risks under which child migrants worked and its implications on their lives. The point of departure is that whereas these studies focus on child migrants in agriculture, my study focuses on urban informal sector jobs such as street hawking, potterage and vendoring.

Edmonds and Shrestha (2009) assessed the probability and incidence of independent children in 32 countries as covered by UNICEF in its 2005 / 2006 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 3 project data . The study discovered that more than 1 in 5 children under the age of 17 live without a parent present in Cameron, Cote d’Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Malawi, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

In addition, Amponsah, et al. (2011) conducted an exploratory study into head potterage by female child migrants in Kumasi, Ghana. They discovered that the conditions under which child migrants worked were deplorable and that their feeding and health was nothing good to write home about. In a similar vein, Anarfi and Kwankye (2005) also discovered that poor housing of child migrants exposed them to health risks which could affect their reproduction. Some of the risk child migrant’s face includes rape and unprotected sex (ibid). In this study I will explore the risks these child migrants face and the negative implications as they take care of themselves without their parents.

In sum, literature on child labour migration has been presented. The literature showed that child migration is higher in the north-south than any other area in Ghana. It shows that the impoverishment of the northern regions of Ghana has caused labour transfer from the rural north to urban south. Although several factors such as illiteracy, low wages, ignorance and backwardness were found to be some of the socio-economic factors that has contributed to this migration pattern, poverty and unemployment were seen to be the main socio-economic factors that account for child migration.

Child labour was defined as any work that harms the health of the child and affects his or her education. It was revealed that child labour is pervasive in Ghana and that children who migrate from the north to the south usually engage in head potterage, prostitution and street hawking. The reasons why most child migrants worked were to support their family back home, earn enough to continue their education or learn a trade. It is revealed that some of the implications of child labour on the lives of children include health and safety hazards, physical work hazards, school dropouts, psychological hazards and moral hazards. The literature also established a relationship between child migration and labour, where it was discovered that fostering and urbanization plays key roles in the rising incidence of child labour in urban cites. Empirical evidence was provided that sought to highlight the prevalence of child labour in developing countries and the motivations behind their decisions to migrate. From the literature, I therefore conclude that child labour is an affront to the basic rights of the child and does not augur well for the psychological development of the child. It therefore becomes important that the issue of child labour migration is solved now so as to protect children from the risks, hazards and dangers associated with the problem.

**CHAPTER THREE:**

**METHODOLOGY**

**3.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, the methodology for the study is discussed. The outline of this chapter is structured as follows: research setting, research design, interview schedule, data collection instrument, participant selection, data analysis, reliability and validity, limitations and ethical considerations.

**3.1 Empirical setting**

The study was conducted at Mallam in the Greater Accra region of Ghana. Mallam falls under the Ga-South Municipality, which is a populated town of approximately 262,742 people (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). Mallamhas a very high percentage of children with the population of children standing at 161,452 with 78,773 for males and 82,679 for females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010). The area was identified as one of the high places for child labour concentration due to its fledged urban informal sector (GSS, 2010). It is therefore attractive to child migrants who seek for better opportunities in the city of Accra. This area therefore provided the right characteristics for the study.

**3.2 Research Design**

According to Cresswell (2003), a research design is a framework that has been created to seek answers to research questions. It can be described as the foundation and bedrock of the study.

The study is a descriptive and cross-sectional study due to the fact that time was not a factor in the analysis as it is made at one point in time. It is used to describe and discuss events by seeking to understand from the perspective of respondents. In regard to this study, it was used to describe and discuss the incidence of child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana. The study which is cross sectional and descriptive made it possible to understand from the viewpoint of children engaged in employment, their role in the migration process; the support systems available to them and which motivated them to embark on the journey and the risks, dangers and hazards that they were exposed to. Descriptive survey was used because it helped me to collect data for the study on the experiences of child migrants who migrated from the north to the southern part of Ghana. (Babbie, 2002).

The research method was qualitative. This approach explores attitudes, behaviour and experiences through such methods as interviews or focus groups (Ranjit, 2008). A qualitative approach was chosen since the aim of the study is to obtain a greater knowledge about the experiences of child migrants. According to Robson (2002), qualitative research interprets events and situations in their natural environment and helps provide meaning to them. It has the advantages of flexibility, in-depth analysis, and the potential to observe a variety of aspects of a social situation (ibid). The advantage of this research method is that it can be relatively inexpensive as it often involves a small number of people. In qualitative research, samples are usually small, provide in-depth understanding of a research problem and are often purposively selected (Silverman, 2005). Due to these advantages, the selection of qualitative techniques in explaining results of the study was worthwhile. On the other hand, quantitative research gathers data in numerical form which can be put into categories, or in rank order, or measured in units of measurement (ibid). It was not used because it can sometimes lead to faulty generalizations (ibid).

According to Robson (2002), one disadvantage with qualitative research is that it is not an appropriate channel for arriving at statistical descriptions of the population; also has a potential problem with reliability. According to him, in field research, observations and interpretations are subjective and personal, and can easily lead to bias and faulty generalizations.

A qualitative interview based approach was chosen since the aim is to obtain greater knowledge about the experiences of child migrants who migrated from the north to the south to work. Furthermore, because the research questions focus on the experiences and perceptions of the participants and seeks to understand a phenomenon, qualitative data analysis is seen to be more suitable (Patton, 2002). Trochim (2006) provided a useful description of the qualitative method of research. He suggested that the entire idea of qualitative research can be summarized in three words: watching, asking and reviewing which comprises the basic role of the qualitative researcher. With this approach, the researcher does the observation, finds out about what is observed from respondents and then does the review base on what is found. Therefore, The goal of this study is to provide a qualitative examination of the life experience of child labourers and to describe their experiences in order to develop an describe and understanding and description of child labour as a problem of migration from the Northern to the Southern part of Ghana.

According to Grimsrub (2001), child labour migration studies are better carried out using qualitative techniques. He notes that this provides in-depth information concerning the problem. Using the descriptive survey method, he determined and analysed child labour issues. Furthermore, according to the ILO (2005), survey is useful because it helps one learn about populations where there are assumed to be children engaged in employment activities. Surveys are advantageous because they save time on information gathering related to child labour migration (ibid).

The setting of the study was a fieldwork which the collection of information outside a workplace setting as I collected data from the physical setting of the respondents. In this regard, data was collected from children as they returned from their work place of work and the other respondents also scheduled appointments with me during their working period and how the children thought and felt about their work, but also explored their role and decision in the migration process and the support networks available to them as child migrants.

**3.3 Interview Schedule**

I involved participants who were willing to share their candid thoughts and experiences working as child labourers. The respondents were selected to meet the needs of the research. Purposively, child migrants from the north who serve as labourers at Mallam were selected for the study. I did not involve parents and guardians as this could interfere or influence the response of the child. For me to discover their experiences and perceptions, they needed to communicate with me clearly and to openly share their thought so that I, as the researcher can understand their experiences. The interview questions were therefore broad and semi-structured to achieve its purpose. Again, the ability of participants to be able to express themselves required a sense of trust between me and them. As such, consent was sought from participants before the interview. I, as the researcher met the respondents prior to the interview where I did familiarize myself with them and they knew exactly my mission . In this view, there was trust between myself and the respondents.

The study involved interviewing 15 participants, which comprised child labourers working within the Ga South Municipality. This involved children working at the Mallam market and at its the bus terminals. The interview was carried out in three phases, phase 1,phase 2 and phase 3 .In each phase, 5 ,phase children were interviewed. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes; and was conducted as participants closed from closed from work as it was impossible for the children to be interviewed whiles they were working. Due to this, I conducted the interviews at 4pm.

**3.4 Data Collection**

I used in-depth face to face interview as a way of understanding the personal experiences and perceptions of the children. The questions were semi structured. Batuchina states in-depth interviewing is a very powerful means of obtaining insight into child labour migration issues. He contends that interviewing provides a consistent and better opportunity for the researcher to make meaning through language.

Furthermore, as indepth interviews strive to understand the experiences of others, open-ended and informal questions were used to allow participants talk freely about their experiences on their own terms and in their own words (Moustakas, 1994).

I as a researcher believe that the use of in-depth face to face interviewing will increase knowledge and understanding of the experiences of child migrants and the dangers, risks and hazards they are exposed to at work.

The interview consisted mostly of open-ended and follow up questions. This was to allow the participants the opportunity to lead me towards major themes of exploration. The interviews with the children was in-depth and probed to find out their demographic characteristics such as age, where they migrated from, who their parents were, number of siblings and who provided them with work among others. In addition, questions such as the number of hour’s children worked types of activity or work undertaken by them, whether they attended schools, their working environment, the danger associated with their work, how much they were remunerated and many others were also inquired.

**3.5 Semi- Structured Interview Guide**

Child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana

I am researching on the topic: ‘‘Child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana with Mallam as the case study for my school project. I would be grateful if you could assist me gather data by responding frankly to the questionnaire. All information given would be treated as confidential and would be used for academic work only. Thanks in advance for your co-operation.

Section A: Bio-data

1) Could you tell me about your self ,example name ,age, and where you hail from ?

2) Are you educated and if yes to what level?

3) Are you currently in School or taking part in any form of education be it formal or informal?

4) Where in the Northen part of Ghana do you come from?

5) Do you have any siblings and if yes how many?

6) Where are your parents and what is their occupation .

7) Why did you migrate to the south apecifically Accra ?

8) How was the journey from the North to Accra and how did you get to Mallam junction?

9) Did your parents give you permission to migrate and did they accompany you to Accra ?

10) How did you feel when you had to leave the north for Accra ? What were your expectations before starting the journey if you had any.

11) What kind of work are you engaged in and do you work for yourself or for someone?

12) How much do your earn and how do you get paid.?

13) Are you able to send money back back home to family in the north ?

14) Are you comfortable on the streets with all the cars?

15) How many meals do you have in a day since you started woeking in Accra?

16) Where do you sleep at night?

17) Are you happy with this job?

18) What is your future plans in terms of the north ? Will you migrate back one day ?

19) Do you have any educational plans for the future?

20) What would you like to become in future?

21) What would you like the government and NGO’s to do to help you?

**­3.6 Participant Selection**

This study focused on the urban informal sector where children were engaged in employment. As such, the study explored children in various employments such as, street hawkers, sellers and vendors. I personally visited Mallam to locate specific areas where children were in actively working. A child in this study, refers to any human below the age of 18 as defined by the United Nations Convention On The Rights Of A Child (Unicef, 2015). I identified the Mallam market and the bus terminal at Mallam as high prone areas of child labour activities. These areas were purposely selected and the inclusion of children classified as child labourers in the study was done using convenience and snow-balling sampling techniques. Child labourers were also classified as children not in school and engaged in works that constitute health risk (Suda, 2001). The age group involved children between the ages of 10 and 16 years. This is because most nations set the working age of children at 15 (Brown, et al. 2001).

Convenience sampling technique is a non-probability sampling technique. This occurs where the researcher has easy access to particular sites or people (Babbie, 2002). This method has obvious advantages in terms of costs and convenience but suffers from serious problems of bias as the sample may not be representative of the population (ibid). Nonetheless, it was useful and enabled me gather data for the research in a convenient manner.

Snow-balling sampling is also a non-probability sampling technique. It is used when participants are difficult to locate; in regards to this study, child labourers were difficult to locate as they were always on the move to earn a wage (Silverman, 2005). Therefore, after I located respondents using convenience sampling, I used snow-balling sampling technique to enable me gather information from other child labourers who were friends with my initial respondents. Using this technique, I was led to other children who had migrated from their homes to be involved in economic activities. The advantage is that this technique is that it needs less planning; and is less costly (Mastin, 2008). The disadvantage is that this method can be biased and does not guarantee representativeness (ibid). Nonetheless, it helped me to quickly and easily get to my target as the child labourers were highly mobile.

Using non-probability sampling, Kwankye, et al. (2009) studied the decision making process of independent child migrants from the north to the south of Ghana. In a similar vein, the Ghana Living Standards Survey (2014) also used non-probability sampling techniques to evaluate the prevalence of child labour issues in Ghana.

**3.7 Sources of Data**

I made use of both primary and secondary data in the collection of data. Primary data is data collected or observed directly from first-hand experience (Cresswell, 2003). They are usually acquired through the researcher’s own efforts. They can be obtained through questionnaires, interviews, observations or experiments. Primary data was obtained from the interview that was conducted with the participants. In this regard, they constitute the responses from the child labourers.

Secondary data is data that have already been collected and readily available from other sources (Cresswell, 2003). The secondary data was obtained from text books, articles, brochures and the the internet. Findings from researchers such as Thorsen (2007), Suda (2001), de Lange (2006), Casely-Hayford (2011) among many others were used to support and validate the study.

**3.8 Data Processing and Analysis**

I used a field note and a pen to carry out the study and report events. After interviewing each participant, I typed the transcription and looked them up in my notes or for verification of accurate transcription. Analysis and write up began immediately after the first set of interviews. The themes from the interview transcripts were categorised so that all participants’ transcripts could be compared. Individual experiences and perceptions became my focus as I explored the differing experiences of the participants. Through this, I was able to identify common themes that were prevalent in each interview.

In analyzing the data, I read each participant’s transcripts in their entirety three times. This was important because it allowed me create a picture of each participant’s experiences as a whole and this enabled me to understand the phenomenon. As well, it allowed me to fully appreciate the participant’s experiences from a ‘’holistic perspective’’ (Giorgi, 1997). I then organised the data by identifying and highlighting themes in each transcript after reading every paragraph of each transcript. This helped me identify meaningful themes from the data.

When reviewing the transcripts, I employed the use of the phenomenological tool called bracketing (Gonzalez, 2001). This is because as a child, I was involved in helping a friend in supporting her parents economically by selling at ‘Iced Water’ in our neighbourhood and this came with it several abuses as she was shouted at and bullied and once I was shouted on and asked by her mum not to be around her daughter when she has to sell since she felt anytime her daughter took me along to help her she always returned home with just little amount of money as we both concentrated on playing instead of her focusing on the water we were to sell . I also performed a lot of domestic work such as fetching water, cleaning the house and running errands for my parents. These experiences could distort the findings as I know the experiences of working as a child and the challenges and dangers associated child work. These opinions, perceptions and experiences are likely to create bias on my part as I explore the participants’ experiences. In order to manage my biases, I confronted my pre-conception and admitted to myself that I was starting this study with biased opinions; and I also created a strategy during data collection and analysis that helped me manage these biases (Cramer, 2007). The strategy that I used to bracket my personal experience was to ask for verification on what I thought I may or may not have heard during the interview. During the interview, I asked, ‘Is this what you are saying, am I getting it right?’ (ibid). My personal experiences, bracketed correctly, allowed me to see things that a person not familiar with the experiences of child labour might overlook.

I used narrative analysis to interpret the data collected. According to Russell and Gery (2010), interpretive studies of texts, like transcriptions of interviews use narrative analysis. The use of narrative analysis helped me to better present the experiences of participants and also helped in the identification of common themes.

**3.9 Reliability and Validity**

One of the best and appropriate ways to make a study reliable, besides deducing valid research questions, is for the researcher to work towards the goal initiated at the beginning of the study (Russell & Gery, 2010). For example, I thoroughly analysed the data as much as possible and asked the participants for help in making sure that I interpreted the data correctly. I verified the follow up questions to ensure that it reflected the accurate report of participants’ experiences. Again, to ensure reliability of the study, I interviewed a few people, mainly child domestic servants in my community in Ghana. This was done to test the instrument and where appropriate, I made minor changes to the interview questions so that it could be well understood by the final participants.

An unethical researcher might fabricate or misinterpret information when the collected data do not show what is expected. An honest researcher starts with a methodology that seeks to explain the phenomenon being studied (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Following the initial plan and remaining non-biased will ensure validity and high ethical standards. Again, to ensure research validity, the vocabulary of the questions was checked in consultations with my sister who is a primary teacher I Ghana to ensure that the appropriate tenses and simple words were used so that the participants understand the interview questions.

**3.10 Limitations**

In any research, there are some limitations or weaknesses, and in particular with semi- structured interviews (Litchman, 2013). The volume of data made it very difficult to for me to analyse. In this study for example, each interview lasted for a period of thirty minutes. With 15 interviews analyzed and transcribed, there was a challenge in terms of the volume of data and the time it took for the analysis to be completed. Subjectivity of the data may lead to difficulties in establishing reliability and validity of information (Litchman, 2013). Again, since this research is phenomenological, it does not allow for generalisation of findings. Another restraint was the low level of education of most of these children. Because of this, I had to communicate with most of the participants in the local dialect as communication in the English Language was very difficult with them. Most of the children were also not willing to be interviewed but I assured them this was only for my school work and also assured them that such studies would urge the government and other stakeholders to come to their aid.

**3.11 Ethical considerations**

Babbie (2002) asserts that when it comes to social research, there are no written rules, although common courtesy should be applied. The researcher therefore informed all participants of the aim of the dissertation and offered confidentiality or anonymity to them which encouraged answers to provide a rich data (ibid). Participation in the interview was voluntary and respondents were told in advance that they were not being taped. Participants were thanked for their input.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**THEORETICAL FOUNDATION**

**4.0: Introduction**

The theoretical framework and concepts of this study on child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana is discussed in this chapter. This is to make the study, a valid one. I will use Social Networking Theory on labour migration to explain the support or social networks available to independent child migrants who move from the north to the south of Ghana to engage in employment activities. This theory can explain how child migrants get information on jobs, places of dwelling once they get to the cities and other needs to support their stay. Furthermore, it can also explain how the child migrants develop social ties and make use of social contacts in getting to places of destination in the south of Ghana. There are organizations such as the International Organization on Migration who help child migrants in the cities of Accra. This can aid my understanding of the decision making process of children to migrate to the south. The knowledge of child migrants that there is a community, friend or a family in the south to support them can influence their decision to migrate.

Furthermore, the pervasiveness of independent child migrants from the north to the south would be explained and discussed using the Neo-classical economic theory and New Economic of Labour Migration (NELM) theory. These theories emphasize on economic factors as the main reasons for independent child labour migration, aside emphasis on individual motivation and social group motivation respectively. These theories can help me understand the increasing rate of child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana and would explore the individual and social group motivation for migration. To examine the hazards, dangers and risks that child migrants are exposed to at their place of abode and work, the Concept of Vulnerability on the part of the child migrants would be discussed. Using this theory, I can better understand challenges child migrants face in their feeding, accommodation, work and health.

**4.1 Concept of child labour**

A child refers to a young person below the age of 18 (Handbook of the Constitution of Ghana). Also, according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child, a child refers to humans below the age of 18 (Unicef, 2015). Working children as classified by the ILO (2012) include children below the age of 16. Labour, on the other hand, refers to economic activity for which one is remunerated. It involves physical and mental efforts used in the production of goods and services (Yadav & Gowri, 2009).

There is no universally accepted definition of child labour (Suda, 2001). To the layman, child labour may refer to works that are harmful to children. Suda (2001) is of the view that child labour refers to work that is harmful and dangerous to the health of children and interferes with their education.

In another view, Moyi (2011) defines child labour as work by children that involves low wages, physical and mental exhaustion. In a similar vein, Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) stipulate that child labour is abuse of children who are made to work in hazardous conditions. (ILO, 2012) defines child labour as “work that is prohibited for children of certain age groups. It is work performed by children who are under the minimum age legally specified for that kind of work, or work which, because of its detrimental nature or conditions, is considered unacceptable for children and is prohibited”. It involves works that are an opportunity cost to the development of the child such as play, study and school; the emphasis here is on harmful works that interfere with the education of the child (Amanor, 2011).

These definitions indicates that, child labour is usually seen as the allocation of work to a certain age group of children which has diverse effects on the individual such as physical, mental and emotional effects among others. Certain works that are not harmful and do not interfere with the education of the child cannot be classified as child labour, for example domestic works such as sweeping, cleaning, fetching water or operating a photocopy machine in an office (ibid). However, from Amanor’s definition, this creates a counterfactual problem because any activity of the child interferes with his or her education (Thorsen, 2007). This means that no activity of the child can be classified as not interfering with his or her development.

According to the ILO (2010), worst forms of child labour include slavery or practices similar to slavery and exploitation such as child trafficking, prostitution; using children in armed conflicts, pornography and any work that harms the safety and health of children. Work that harms the safety and health of children or simply hazardous work is subjectively defined by laws and regulations of countries involved; however, other forms of child labour such as child trafficking, prostitution and pornography are highly unacceptable and not subject to review according to ILO (2010). Hazardous work is defined by the ILO as works that harm the psychological and physical development of children. These include night work, working with machinery and in confined spaces and underground works. Despite this classification, child labour is difficult to define as it depends on the type of job, whether the age is under 18 and whether the job interferes with the child’s education (ibid).

According to Iversen (2002), child labour is work done by minors who migrate from poor homes to do works that are detrimental and injurious to their health. Although Nanjunda (2009) considers child labour as detrimental to the health of the child, he does not consider work of children in the home as exploitative and he therefore differentiates between child work and child labour. Certain domestic works of children are considered a necessity as children support the economic activities of the family (ibid). Therefore, Iversen (2002) is of the assertion that not all child works are harmful; it sometimes promotes the development of deprived families and that some child labourers are under the protection of a guardian or parent who shield them against danger. This view emphasizes on the economic importance of children in the home as they add up to household income of poor households when the children engage in ‘light’ economic activities. This could be selling ‘Iced Water’, pastries or taking charge of the family shop. The findings of de Lange (2007) and Hashim (2005) confirm this view as they stipulate that child workers play a key role in supporting household income as they remit to their homes some of the money they earned while working.

In another view, Ahmad (2004) defines child labour as any work done by children, whether exploitative or not. According to Ahmad, all forms of work are not appropriate for children and that there should be no attempt to distinguish between works that are desirable for children and works that are not. Children should not be made to fend for themselves or their families whether it is through domestic activities or in employment outside of home (ibid).

(World Vision UK, 2015) Report advanced some elements of a comprehensive approach to Child labour. It is stated that “Children rely on their relationships with others for their wellbeing. This is particularly so for children in work, or other situations where they are vulnerable to exploitation. Whilst children themselves play a central role in their own protection, families, local communities, employers, the state and international actors all have a critical influence on the development and safeguarding of children. Identifying these actors and understanding the influence they have and the contribution they can make to securing children’s development and protection are essential prerequisites to effective assistance”.

The following approaches per the report were indicated.

1. Preventing child labour and supporting child labourers through education

Child labour and education are closely entwined. Child labour is a significant obstacle to education, affecting both children’s attendance and performance in school. At the same time, improving access to quality education has been shown to reduce child labour, especially when implemented alongside poverty reduction and anti-discriminatory measures. While enrolment rates are on the rise around the world, drop-out rates remain stubbornly high. These are caused by: high levels of violence and discrimination; the poor quality of education provision in many schools; the cost of schooling; and inflexibility towards the particular issues faced by working children

2. Supporting skills training and decent work opportunities for youth

Until relatively recently, governmental and non-governmental efforts in respect of child labour have understandably focused predominantly on protecting children under minimum legal ages for work: that is generally, generally children below 15.5 This has left policy and practice gaps in targeting and assisting adolescents in harmful work situations – also in part because child labour responses have traditionally prioritized schooling as the best alternative to child labour. For many adolescents wanting to earn to support themselves or their families and who are legally entitled to do so, the option of returning to school is often no longer feasible. in these cases, market-based vocational skills training, accompanied by functional literacy support, is usually a far more sustainable option.

3. Developing confident and empowered children

Life skills – that is, the skills needed to lead a productive and fulfilling life – are the cornerstone of effective child protection. By developing these skills, vulnerable children have been able to: strengthen their sense of identity; enhance their self-confidence; improve their capacity to express, share and learn; strengthen their ability to identify risks and to rely on people they trust; and learn how to be responsible in protecting themselves and others. This has improved their career opportunities and their family habits as they become the next generation of parents.

**4.2: Social Network theory**

Social networks may be defined as building relationships or social ties. The concept of social network is seen as the factors underlying the building of relationships or social ties. According to Wellman (1999), social networks are very important in child labour migration. This is because the relationship and connections migrants build with each other helps them benefit from one another (ibid). The benefits, according to Wellman (1999) include accommodation, finding jobs, financial and psychological support. Social tie is viewed as a channel of migration by several researchers (who??).The reference to Wellman is his contribution to social networks by emphasizing on Child labour migration. For example, most migrants consider ethnicity as a sense of belongingness as they share similar customs and language (Owusu, 2000). A study by Owusu showed that the use of same language by Ghanaian immigrants in Toronto enabled them to form a network or social connection where members help each other (2000). Another study was done by of Overa (2005) and it showed that fishermen who moved from Moree, a fishing site in Central Region in Ghana moved to places where they had kin relations. Sow, Adaawen, and Scheffran (2014) also discovered that Frafra, an ethnic group in the northern part of Ghana relies on ethnicity as the major determinant of their movement to the southern part, especially Accra. He further states that these migrants rely on the Frafra Association in search of jobs, financial support and places of abode. One of my aims in this study is to explore the social support available to independent child migrants who migrate from the north to the south. The networks that they are a part of in getting access to jobs and housing as part of the larger community at Mallam would be explored.

Social networks play a key role in influencing the decision of children to migrate to the cities (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). For example, Amponsah, et al. (2007) found out that unofficial social networks exist among child migrants engaged in head potterage in Kumasi Metropolis. According to Amponsah, et al., children depend on these social groupings to survive. They further note that the existence of a social grouping at their places of destination influence the decision of children to migrate to the cities. They however note that children tended to devise survival techniques in the absence of social networks. In this study, I seek to find out the social ties children depend on in their new environment at Mallam to find jobs, housing and other financial support.

In critique of the social network theory, Welmann (1999) states that it leads to serial migration as information is spread about by returning migrants on opportunities in the city such as employment. I however disagree with this notion as I argue that the dissemination of information by returning migrants cannot solely explain serial migration; however I am of the assertion that serial migration is caused by several other factors such as economic and cultural factors.

**4.3: The Neo-Classical Economic Theory**

According to (Todaro and Smith 2006, 342), “At present, the dominant theory in explaining causes of migration is the neoclassical theory with its underlying assumption that migration is stimulated primarily by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial but also psychological”. As stated by ( Kurekova, 2011), the neoclassical theory understands migration to be driven by differences in returns to labor across markets. According to Castles and Millers (2009), the decision for migration centres on economic reasons and is usually a personal one. According to them, the decision to migrate from the rural areas in the north to urban cities in the south is due to perceived income differences and the possibility of having a job. From their view, child migrants perceive economic benefits in migration in terms of higher wages and job opportunities; hence their decision to migrate. According to Todaro (1969), child migrants make the decision alone to migrate and are usually found working in the urban informal sector as they are less likely to get an urban job. In Ghana, there is a disparity in wages earned by urban workers and rural migrants as urban workers are paid more than rural migrants (Amponsah, et al., 2009). Using the neo-classical economic theory, I would find out whether child migrants who migrate from the north to the south make the decision alone to migrate or there is parental or social group influence. I would also find out whether the decision of child migrants to migrate is an economic one and how they come about with the decision.

The Neo-Classical theory has been criticised by De Haas (2010) for being inadequate in explaining actual and future migration. It has however played a role in explaining the movement of people for several years (Todaro, 1969). Furthermore, other factors such as family and community influence and manipulate the decision of child migrants to migrate other than just economic reasons (Castle & Miller, 2009).

**4.4: New Economic of Labour Migration (NELM) theory**

The New Economic of Labour Migration theory is based on the assumption that families, community members and households are major determinants of the decision making process of migration (Massey, 1999). This theory places emphasis on the social group and not the individual child’s decision to migrate. Constant and Massey (2004) however point out that economic reasons remain the major factor influencing the decision making of social groups that influence child migration. Based on this theory, the decision of who is to travel, rests on a community such as the group family. T; therefore, a collective decision is taken by either the family or community as to the preferred child to travel to support family income and invest in the family to improve livelihood. In Ghana, child migration is seen as a means to improve the economic conditions of the family and reduce poverty (Amponsah, et al. 2009). Migration therefore becomes essential to improving the livelihood of rural folks in the northern region of Ghana. Using this theory, I would explore how social groups such as the family, household and community members play a role in the decision of the child to migrate from the north to the south. I would investigate this from the viewpoint of the children.

According to Castles and Miller (2009), the Neo-classical economic theory looks at the reasons why children migrate from their place of residence to look for jobs in the city. However, whiles Neo-Classical Economic Theory looks at the individual factors or motivations for child labour migration, the new economics of labour migration dwells focuses on the social group or collective decision of a group of people such as the family, household and community members to influence the decision of children to migrate. It would therefore be interesting relevant to for me to find out what kind of the role of the children and their family members have social groups in the migration process which is the stages involved in the permanent or temporal movement of people from one place to the other.

**4.5: The Concept of Vulnerability**

I will use the concept of vulnerability to explain the hazards, dangers and risks that child migrants who migrate from the north to the south are exposed to. Vulnerability may be defined as defencelessness, risks and exposure to danger (Delor & Hubert, 2000). Vulnerability has an internal side and an external side (Meze-Hausken, 2000). With the external side, the child is exposed to risks and stress and with the internal side the child becomes unable to cope with the stress arising from the external shocks (ibid). This can make the child physically, psychologically and emotionally disturbed. It can also make them socially dependent and economically disadvantaged (Philip & Rahyan, 2004). According to Taylor (1998: here I need page numbers), coping strategies such as problem solving and emotion focused strategies can help a child overcome both internal and external vulnerability. He explains that problem solving strategies involve activities a child can do to take away the stress while emotion-focused strategy involves strategies that aim to reduce the effect of vulnerability on emotions of children. Gees (2004) stipulate that emotion focused strategies helps insure and safeguard the child from emotional damages.

Therefore, the inability of the child to use coping strategy in times of vulnerability may expose her to risks and hazards that may have a debilitating effect on him or her. In this study, I would focus on the vulnerability of the children migrants who migrate from the north to the south and the form of their vulnerability .I would focus on such as their housing, feeding, health, problems

and challenges at work. Using the concept of vulnerability, I would explore their state of vulnerability and examine how they cope and how social networks play a role in the vulnerability state of the migrants. I also intend to find out the specific vulnerable conditions these independent child migrants are exposed to and how they are coping with these challenges without the support of their parents. Amponsah, et al. (2011) in their study of female head potters in Ghana found out those female child migrants lived under very poor conditions and that their reproductive health was at risk due to their exposure to risks at the Kumasi Metropolis. This makes them vulnerable to these societal challenges.

Adger (2006) has criticized the concept of vulnerability by stating that it conceptualizes child migrant as a passive actor and over-emphasizes the social and economic factors that brings about vulnerability. However, in this study, I view child migrants as not passive beings being influenced by economic and social factors; rather, I see them as active decision makers. The concept of vulnerability is essential for this study as it explores the possible dangers and challenges on the part of the child migrants.

In sum, the theoretical framework underpinning this study has been presented. These theories explain and provide understanding into issues and phenomenon of child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana.

The next chapter focuses on the analysis and interpretation of results.

**CHAPTER FIVE:**

**DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION**

**5.0: Introduction**

This chapter presents the data and analysis based on the research questions I formulated for the study. The aim of the study is to examine the extent to which the child migrants are affected in the migration process. This is based on interviews I collected from the field and observations I made during the data collection process. I interviewed fifteen (15) children at Mallam. The chapter is presented as: demographic and socio-economic background; the role of child migrants in the migration process and their reasons for migration; the dangers, risks and challenges child migrants encounter in their area of work; and the support or social networks available to child migrants and the implications of their migration in order to aid in reducing the negative effects migration have on these people.

**5.1: Demographic and socio-economic background of child migrants**

This section discusses respondents’ demographic and socio-economic backgrounds with respect to their ages, educational levels, school, where they migrated from, number of siblings they have and occupation of their parents, if alive. Respondents’ ages ranged between 10-16 years, with the least age being 10 years and the oldest being 16 years. I discovered from the responses that majority of respondents were either 14 or 15 years, with very few respondents in the age category of 10, 11 and 12 years. This analysis implies that older children were heavily represented in the sample.

On the educational level of respondents, only one respondent had had his education up to class three and two respondents each had been educated up to primary four and primary 5 respectively before they migrated to Mallam. At the upper primary level, only three respondents had had their education up to primary 6 and the remaining seven, had all been educated to the junior high school level. However, of those who had had high school education, only one had successfully completed that level.

This result implies that most of the respondents who took part in the study were junior high school students. Nevertheless, although almost all respondents had had some form of primary education, it was discovered that only 2 respondents were still attending school, with the remaining 13, all dropping out. It is therefore clear from the analysis that the level of education of the child migrants was very low. Even with the two who were still in school, they both attended the public school whereby the shift system was practiced. This system has negative effects on the academic development of the child since the rate of school attendance becomes infrequent and this even promotes the incidence of child labour by replacing the time for children to be doing academic work with income generating activities.

With respect to where respondents originated from, it was revealed that majority of respondents, 7, originated from the Northern Region of the country and 5 others originated from the Upper East Region. Respondents migrated from places in the Northern Region such as Tamale, Yendi, Damango, Bole and Salaga and from places in the Upper East Region such as Paga, Bolgatanga, Bimbilla and Navrongo. Only three children migrated from the Upper West Region. It can therefore be seen that migration from the Northern Region constituted the largest source of migration for respondents.

In relation to the kind of work, the children were engaged in, it was revealed in the analysis that all the children were engaged in some form of petty trading on the streets. Items being sold by children on the street ranged from toffees, food spices, bathing soap, baby diapers, bottled water, shea butter, biscuit, recharge cards, sachet water, bread, yam and fried fish, belts and shoe polish. One respondent however pounded fufu in a chop bar to make ends meet. This was the only physically strenuous activity a child was engaged in as all the others, 14 engaged in street selling activities. Nonetheless, all the economic activities performed by the children as identified in the study can be described as dangerous to the life of the child.

**5.1.1: Family background**

In describing the family background of respondents, I asked the children to indicate the number of siblings they have and the occupation of their parents, if alive. From the interview responses, it was revealed that my respondents had large family sizes with the least being 2 two siblings and the highest being nine9 siblings. Eleven respondents had four or more siblings in a family and the respondents who had less than 4 four siblings numbered only 4 in total. It was revealed in the analysis that majority of respondents had parents who were alive. Only two respondents were orphaned and 1 respondent was being raised by her mother as a result of divorce. Other 3 three respondents had one of their parents alive. The occupation of the parents of the children included: food sellers, smoked fish sellers, small scale farmers, and security, palm wine and charcoal sellers, carpenters, herbalist, hair stylist, community school workers and a welder. The occupation of the parents of the respondents can best be described as Low income jobs. Four respondents had the occupation of either parents as farmers and 4 other parents, particularly the mothers, were engaged in economic activities such as palm wine, charcoal production, wine and smoked fish.

**5.1.2 Role of child migrants in the migration process and the reasons for migration**

The role of child migrants in the migration process and the reasons for their migration is discussed in this section. This section therefore takes a look at how the decision for migration was reached; the factors that accounted for it; and how respondents felt and reacted to the decision.

Of the 15 respondents who were interviewed, majority of them, 12 respondents, stated economic reasons for their migration such as low income of parents, yearning to make a living, the death of parents and to satisfy the curiosity that better life abounds in the city. The other 3 respondents cited social-cultural reasons. According to Fati, Rita and Larry, they migrated to Accra to earn money to support them. In the words of Rita, ‘‘I migrated so that I can make some money to continue my education’’. According to Salim, ‘‘Because my parents said they could not take care of all the 7 of us, so it would be best I go and work in Accra and earn some money to continue school’’. Sadia also stated that she migrated to Accra because life became very difficult for her parents so she was advised by a man to travel to Accra to seek employment opportunities. Yawa also opined that:

‘‘I migrated to Accra because life was very difficult for my parents. Supporting the family was very difficult for my dad so her niece who worked as a potter in the market in Kaneshie here in Accra came for me when she visited the village.’’

According to Isaac, he migrated to Accra in search of better job opportunities. He migrated mainly because of the tales he hears of better opportunities of life in Accra.

However, of those that cited social-cultural reasons for their migration, the reasons that were cited were pregnancy, marriage and adoption. According to Amina, she got pregnant right after school and did not want her parents to know so she run away with the boy who got her pregnant to Accra.

In Rakia’s view, she moved to Accra because her parents had arranged marriage for her with a neighbour’s friend whose son lived in the city. She had been betrothed to the young man who lived in the city so she had to move to the city to have a family with the young man. Hassana, on the other hand, stated that she was brought to Accra by a woman who picked her up from the orphanage so she could take care of her. She stated that her guardian picked her to cater for her due to compassion and sympathy.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the main reason for child migration, according to my sample, were due to economic factors. Children may migrate because they need money to continue their education, seek for better opportunities in the city to take care of themselves and their family and to satisfy their curiosity. From the responses gathered, it was clear that due to challenging financial conditions at home, respondents were made to move to the city. Social-cultural factors did not account much or play much role in influencing majority of respondents’ decision to move, according to my data analysis. Now the question is, do children move voluntarily or that they a passive role in the migration process?

Seven respondents posited that the decision to migrate was made for them by their parents and other family members. This means that the other 8 respondents made the decision to migrate themselves and that they played a key role in the migration process. Of the 8 respondents, five stated that their parents were aware and gave them permission even though they made the decision themselves to migrate , whereas for the other three respondents, their parents did not give them permission.

Fati naratted that she was brought to Accra by a friend’s sister and that her parents gave her the permission to move. Rita was of the view that her parents made someone pick her up to the city and that the decision to migrate was made for her by her parents. Nuru explains the reason why she moved to the capital city: ‘‘I was brought to Accra by a man who is my mother’s friend. He use to come and take others in our village to work .One morning when I woke up my mother said that I had to follow him to Accra so he can find work for me since the burden to cater for us all was too much. I was very sad and confused but I had no choice than to follow him.’’

According to Yawa, her parents encouraged her to move to the city and she explained further that: ‘‘Yes, they did and encouraged that I look at the brighter side since I could earn some money and assist the family back home’’. According to her, her father’s niece worked as a potter at the market and so it was easy for her parents to persuade her to join her in her trade. According to Isaac, his aunty brought him to Accra and that his parents made the decision entirely for him. Rakia, however, posited that she was forced to migrate because of the marital arrangements done by her family on her behalf. When the question was put to her on the decision to migrate, she stated that:

‘‘Yes, actually our parents have arranged for marriage between us as soon as I 18 and his family have already paid some money to my family so my family had no choice but to allow me as the financial situation at home was also very bad’’.

However, Salamatu stated that she self-migrated to Accra with permission from her uncle. Larry also came to Accra with her friends and sought the permission of her uncle. Sadia also stated that she made the decision to migrate to Accra on her own as a result of the death of her parents. Amina’s decision was mainly because of her pregnancy. According to her, she did not want to bring disgrace to her family as everyone respected her dad in the village. James on the other hand, stated that he was convinced to move to Accra by his friend and that the decision to migrate was entirely his. Siddique and Margarette also posited that they migrated themselves, but with the permission of their parents.

From the discussion thus far, it is clear from my data analysis that children played key roles in the migration process. The desire for better economic living largely motivated children to move to the city for employment opportunities. From the data analysis, it can therefore be said that children used as the sample did not play a passive role in the migration process and that they actively participated in the migration process.

In assessing the satisfaction of children with the migration process, it was revealed in the analysis that 8 respondents were very excited when they moved from their hometowns in the north to the capital city. They however stated that they were sad to leave behind their siblings. Hassana stated that she was very happy travelling for the first time but felt sad to leave her siblings behind. Sadia also opines that she was very happy as she looked forward to a new life in the city. In the words of Amina, ‘‘Yes because I was looking forward to escaping from the disgrace I was about to bring to my family if anyone found out I was pregnant without being married’’. Margarette shared her view that she was happy to move to the city as she felt her parents could not properly take care of her.

Five respondents however, were not happy making the move from the north to the capital city. According to Salim: ‘‘Not at all because I was sad leaving my sick father but my mother said it would be good for me to go to the city to work so I can send some money to cater for my father.’’

Rita also posited that: ‘‘not really I didn’t want to go. I cried a lot because I was going to miss my siblings and friends’’.

Nuru, on the other hand stated that: ‘‘Not at all as it was a shock to me.I felt like my mother didn’t want me anymore but she told me Accra was a beautiful place and that I would have more opportunities there so she wanted the best for me. That was how I calmed down but I miss my family and cannot wait to see them again.’’

Respondents cited missing their siblings, feeling betrayed by parents and leaving behind sick parents as the reasons why they were not happy leaving the north to the capital city.

Furthermore, 2 other respondents had mixed feelings with their movement from the north to the south.

**5.1.3: Nature of respondents’ business and challenges they encounter**

In this section, I discuss the nature of respondents’ business and the challenges they encounter in undertaking their various businesses. It was identified in the analysis that respondents were involved in several types of selling activities such as toffees, food spices, bathing soap and baby diapers, bottled water, shea butter, biscuits, recharge cards, sachet water, appliances, bread, yam and fried fish, belts and shoe polish. I begin with respondents who sell confectionaries on the street of Mallam. This is based on the interview responses and my personal observation. This particular job requires children to carry various types of confectionaries such as chocolates, gum, toffees and other sweetening products on their head to sell to passing motorists who are mostly the clients. Children usually move from one vehicle to the other to advertise or display their products to potential buyers. The job is very risky as children can easily be knocked down by moving vehicles and it also causes them physical impairments such as neck and body pains, headache and extreme fatigue. One other disadvantage with this type of job is that these children are mostly employed by their guardians who provide them with little stipend at the end of the month. Some of the challenges associated with selling confectionaries on the street is summarized by respondents as follows: ‘‘It’s very risky and scary. You always have to be watching always and it is not easy at all. I pray every day before I start work. I sell for my friend’s sister and she saves for me an amount of money each month for my upkeep. I am not able to eat three meals every day and I sleep in a kiosk’’ (Fati, 11 years, Field Data, 2015).

‘‘Once I nearly got knocked down by a car since then I am very careful. I got this mark on my left leg that day. I threw myself to the other side of the road and I injured my head and broke my leg also. I was very lucky I had left my daughter with her dad that day so I was alone. It would have been very bad if I had tied her to my back that day. Fortunately I was taken to a nearby clinic by some of the friends I hawk with. On this note I must say am not comfortable at all. I am not able to eat three times in a day as I get so busy with my selling activities. In terms of my accommodation, I stay with boyfriend Yaro .Actually he has promised to marry me and I am so happy about that. We live in a one room that we have rented from some of his friends’’ (Amina, 15 years, Field Data, 2015).

On their earnings, it was shown in the analysis that respondents earn between Ghc 20 and Ghc 50 on a daily average. When Fati was asked how much money she made in a day, she stated that ‘‘It depends between 20 Ghana Cedis and 50 Ghana Cedis’’ In another response on how much respondents earn daily, Amina posited that, ‘‘It varies, but on the average, 45 Ghana cedis a day’’.

Selling sachet water is another thriving business most children are engaged in at Mallam. Sachet water is purified water sold in small polythene bags of usually 500ml. A bag of water costs Ghc 3 but when children are able to sell a sachet, they make extra revenue of Ghc 3 on each bag of sachet water. Due to the hot temperature and the hustle in the capital city, most commuters rely on this form of water to satisfy their thirst and this has made sachet water selling a highly thriving business at Mallam and in the capital city. Similiar to other street selling activities, sachet water selling poses challenges to children engaged in the trade. Some of the challenges posited by children are outlined:

‘‘I must say I am not comfortable at all.I am always very scared of the cars. I have never seen so many cars in my life before. I almost got kidnapped some months ago. While I was selling by the road side a car approached me and asked if I knew where the Pentecost church at Mallam Junction is situated. I said yes and he asked that I kindly join them in the car to go and show them the place and he promised that he was going to buy all the water I had so I could go home and rest. Luckily for me when I sat in the car there was traffic so others who also hawked on the streets started shouting and luckily a police man who was on a motor bike came to my rescue ,stopped the car and got me out.The police took me home after other police men in car came and interrogated them. Aunty Abiba told they had in the previous month kidnapped another boy and were wanted by the police. Had the police not come to my rescue they would have taken me away. This has made me very scared so now I am always careful while I hawk by the road side’’ (Hassana, 10 years, Field Data, 2015).

According to Isaac, a 16 year old boy from Tamale when asked about how comfortable he was with the sachet water street selling, he had this to say ‘‘it is very scary especially when the traffic lights do not work.I am always very attentive and extra careful.’’

Furthermore, when the researcher asked the children how much money they earned, their eating and sleeping conditions, it was gathered from the interview response that Hassana earns between Ghc 20 and Ghc 40 a day.

In her own words, she puts it that: I am able to sell about 20 to 40 cedis in a day on the average. Sometimes I am lucky and I sell more sometimes I sell less’’

What is suprising about Hassana’s story is that she does not get paid for the work he does for his aunt, Aunty Abiba. He posited that, ‘‘She says I am very young so she cannot give me money so she doesn’t pay me.’’ However, he opined that he eats three square meals a day and lives in her auntie’s home. Perhaps, that might explain why she does not get paid by her aunty: due to the benefits of being well fed and accommodated.

Moreover, Isaac was of the view that he also earns between Ghc 20 and Ghc 40 on a daily basis. According to him, his aunty gave him some money as capital to use for the business and whatever profit he makes, he keeps it to himself. He also eats three times daily and lives in the family of his aunty.

It can be seen from the interview response that, whereas Hassan makes no money from his economic activities, Isaac manages to save his money earned from his trade, even though both Isaac and Hassan live in the family that brought them to Accra and they are also fed three times in a day.

Another economic activity that one of the respondents was engaged in was fufu pounding in the chop bar at Mallam. It is often made with cassava flour, however, other flours such as maize flour or mashed plantains may take the place of cassava. Fufu, usually served alongside soup is a national dish of most Ghanaians. According to Salam, a 14 year old boy from Bolgatanga who pounds fufu in a chop bar at Mallam to make ends meet, the job is very challenging and strenuous. Aside pounding fufu, he also sells sachet water on the street when he has free time. He posits that he earns Ghc 120 a month and that this money is being paid to him by his boss on a monthly basis. He further opined that fufu pounding makes him exert a lot of strength which makes him feel extremely exhausted. He stated that the stressful conditions under which the pounded has affected his mental and physical strength. When Salam was asked where he slept, he stated that: ‘‘I sleep here in one room at the restaurant with another man who takes care of the place’’.

Another economic activity undertaken by respondents which is worth analysing is the sale of recharge cards. Recharge cards are mobile units purchased to make calls on telecommunications networks. Currently, there are 6 telecommunication network providers in Ghana namely Glo, MTN, Vodafone, Expresso, Airtel and Tigo. Therefore people who sell recharge cards usually have the scratch cards of the above mentioned network providers. Cards are sold in various denominations such as Ghc 1, Ghc 2, Ghc 5, Ghc 10, Ghc 20 and Ghc 50. When a seller is able to sell a particular unit, he earns some commission on the sold item. What makes this work challenging for respondents is that it is sold on the streets where vehicular movement is very dangerous. Some of the challenges associated with selling recharge cards on the streets of Mallam is stated below from the interview response: ‘‘I must say am not comfortable at all. Last week I witnessed a young girl being hit by car right in front of me she used to sell water on the streets. She was rushed to the hospital right after. Since then I have not seen her again so I can’t even tell if she is still so alive.

This scene always comes back to my mind at night I am scared so I am always very careful’’ (Nuru, 13 years, from Bimbilla).In another instance, Margarette, a primary 6 pupil from Salaga also had this to say concerning challenges in her field of work as a recharge card seller: ‘‘I am not comfortable with this work but I am always very alert’’.

Moreover, when the respondents were asked how theywere paid and how much they earned, Nuru posited that: ‘‘So far my uncle has not paid me any money yet. He only gives me 5 cedis a day to buy food and once in a while 10 cedis for pocket money .He says he is saving for me so that I can maybe go to school again. I don’t know how true that is because Kwasi, one of the boys from Kumasi that we picked on our way to Accra, run away from where we all lived, because uncle Hussien never paid him and also when he was sick, he didn’t take him to the hospital so he run away from the house. I met him by chance last time and he said he was working in bottled water company as a cleaner.’’

However, according to Margarette, She is being paid daily from the sales she makes each day.Bread selling is also one of the economic activities undertaken by respondents. When Yawa, a 15 year old girl from Damongo was asked to describe her challenges as a bread seller on the streets of Accra, she had this to say: ‘‘It is very scary but I normally have one stable place where I place my table so it’s a more safer that way’’. When she was asked how much money she makes in a day, she stated that she earns between Ghc 55 and Ghc 80. However, she said that she is being paid by the baking firm that employs her. In terms of accommodation, Yawa told me that she resides with her cousin in a rented room.

Salamatu, a 15 year old girl from the Upper West Region who sells baby soap and diapers on the streets opined that selling on the street is comfortable for her because she only sells in the traffic. To her, her life has never been in danger as she is extremely careful with the movement of cars. When asked how much she earns, she stated she makes between Ghc 60 and Ghc 80 on a daily basis. In terms of accommodation, she has been afforded a place by a family friend and lives very comfortably. From the interview response, it was gathered that Salamatu is very content with the job she does as she manages to save some money for her future.

Rakia, a 14 year old girl from Bole who sells yam and fried fish also recounts her challenges as a seller on the streets. She was of the view that her trade is very dangerous as one could easily be knocked down by a moving vehicle. When asked how she manages to survive selling on the streets, she stated that: ‘‘ I am always careful when crossing the streets .I always use the pedestrian crossing and I make sure I don’t hawk in between the cars. ‘’

On how much she earned, she stated that she earns Ghc 40 on a weekly basis as salary and the woman she sells for pays her. On the amount of money she makes from sales, it was revealed that she makes between Ghc 35 to Ghc 50 on a daily basis. In terms of accommodation, he stated that he resides with a friend called Omar and that he is not able to afford three square meals a day.

**5.1.5 Support and social networks available to child migrants**

In this section, I describe the support and social networks available to child migrants before and during migration. This is grouped into family ties, friendship ties, employer ties and situational group ties.

**Family ties**

During my interview sessions, I realized that apart from some respondents who took the initiative to travel themselves, other family relations such as mother, father, auntie, uncle and siblings were involved in the migration process before and during migration. When I enquired of the contacts respondents made before migration, one respondent stated that her mother brought her to the city. Another respondent also stated that her mother had arranged everything with a man to bring her to Accra. Yawa also posited that her father’s niece who is her cousin, brought her to Accra. Isaac also opined that her aunty brought her to Accra after his parents had concluded all the arrangements with his aunty.

Additionally, all the respondents who travelled with their family member did not have to pay for the cost of their travel. On arrival, respondents continued to depend on family ties to gain access to feeding, jobs, accommodation and protection. For example, when Salamatu was asked where she sleeps at night, she stated that: ‘‘I was lucky that a woman whom my uncle knew gave me a place to be’’. Nuru also stated that he sleeps in the house of his uncle and he is being fed by him three times daily. According to Yawa: ‘‘I was so lucky I had my cousin here so I reside at her rented room’’.

From the discussion thus far, it can be seen that some respondents depended on family members to migrate. Therefore, family ties can be seen to play a key role for migration of respondents.

**Friendship ties**

Some respondents also made use of friendship ties in their migration to the capital city. It was revealed in the analysis that majority of my respondents made the decision to travel themselves. Most of the respondents sought the approval of a family member to travel and this was usually through the mother or uncle. Majority of my respondents made some contacts or established some ties prior to their migration or during their stay in the city and this is what this section focuses on.

According to Fati, her friend’s elder sister brought her to Accra. When she was asked about her place of abode, she posited that she sleeps in a kiosk where her friend’s elder sister sews. She further went on to say that she sells toffees for her friend’s elder sister and earns money from the trade. Larry also said that he came to the city with some friends. She however sells food spices on the streets of Mallam; and the business belongs to her. When asked about where she sleeps, she stated that, ‘‘In an uncompleted building with a family and some of the people who are friends who also hawk here’’. James also stated that:

I came to Accra because life was very difficult for me. My dad had very little income and could not take care of me any longer so my friend convinced me to follow him when he came back to our village to visit. We came in a bus and it was a long journey.

When she was asked where she slept at night, she stated that: ‘‘At night I sleep in a woman’s shop .We are actually 3 people that sleep there at night. Rent in Accra is very expensive. I want to save the money to further my education.’’

Margarette was of the opinion that she migrated to the city herself but depended on friendship ties to secure accommodation and job. She stated that: ‘‘I reside with some friends who hawk here in an uncompleted building. The owner was very kind so he has allowed us to stay there until he is completely finished and ready to move in.’’

It can be seen from the analysis that the bond of friendship made life a bit easier for children who migrate from the north to the south.

**Employer ties**

This section presents the social connections respondents have with their employers in terms of prior migration, jobs, accommodation and feeding. Rita is a young girl who migrated to Accra to earn money in order for her to continue with her education. According to Rita, she sells for Aunty Muna, the woman who brought her to Accra. She is also provided accommodation and fed by Aunty Muna. Aunty Muna also provides food for Rita and attends to her other basic needs. She actually saves money for Rita which enables her to remit home to her parents and siblings.

In another response, Salim reiterates that he pounds fufu at the restaurant and is paid monthly by his employer. Even though he migrated to the city by himself, when he was asked his place of abode, he stated that: ‘‘I sleep here in one room at the restaurant with another man who takes care of the place.’’ Sadia also stated that she sells shea butter for Uncle Salim on the streets. According to her, she stays with some of the other girls in a room which has been rented by Uncle Salim. Like herself, there are other girls who are being catered for by Uncle Salim and they also in turn, render services to him by selling items on the streets such as toffees, shea butter and sachet water. I could see that these girls have built a bond of friendship and solidarity and look out for each other.This has enabled them to live as a family and also help one another in times when the help is needed.

Nuru, also sells recharge cards for Uncle Hussein. He is however not paid by Uncle Hussein but is provided shelter and food by him. When asked if he was paid by Uncle Hussein, Nuru had this to share:

So far he has not paid me any money yet. he only gives me 5 cedis a day to buy food and once in a while 10 cedis for pocket money .He says he is saving for me so that I can Maybe go to school again. I don’t know how true that is because Kwasi one of the boys from Kumasi that we picked on our way to Accra run away from where we all lived because uncle Hussien never paid him and also when he was sick he didn’t take him to the hospital so he run away from the house. I met him by chance last time and he said he was working in bottled water company as a cleaner.

From the interview with Nuru, it seems he was unhappy working for his employer as he was not paid for his economic activities. He however had nowhere to go and so he had to stick working with Uncle Hussein as he was being provided with shelter and food.

In a similar instance, Hassana, who works for Aunty Abiba as a sachet water seller posited that she was fed and provided shelter by Auntie Amina. However, when asked if he was paid by Aunty Mina, she had this to say ‘‘She says I am very young so she cannot give me money so she doesn’t pay me.’’

It can be deduced from the interview responses from my sample that some employers prey on the vulnerability of children to cheat them of their earnings.

In contrast, another respondent also opined that the family that she works with provides her with accommodation, a job as a sachet water seller and house help and three meals a day. She was happy with the family she stays with, which according to her, provides her with all the basic needs of life. She even went further to say that the family caters for her education.

**Situational ties**

I refer to situational ties as social connections that come about as a result of incidents or by chance. I realized from my interview sessions that some respondents developed social connections as a result of finding themselves in the same kind of trade with other children, or in the same place of abode with other traders, both children and adults. Children who find that their situation is similar to another easily build friendship bonds and look out for each other. Similarly, adults engaged in street selling with children also look out for their safety and protection when they realise that a child is in danger. When one respondent was asked about how she secured her place of abode, she posited that she sleeps in a woman’s shop with three other children. She said that the four of them never knew themselves but became friends due to accommodation challenges. They therefore had to share the same place of abode and due to this, they look out for each other.

Another respondent also said that once, she was almost raped, but luckily she was saved by woman at the market who heard her screaming when the boys were leading her to an uncompleted building.

Another respondent also recalled her experience when she was knocked down by a car. She opined that it was her colleagues, who also hawk at the same place that took her to the hospital. She was of the strong conviction that if it had not been for her colleagues, she might have lost her precious life.

In another demonstration of situational ties, Hassana also recalls her experience as she almost got kidnapped some months ago. While she was selling by the road side, a car approached her and asked if she knew where the Pentecost church at Mallam Junction was situated. She said yes and the man asked that she kindly join them in the car to go and show them the place. He promised that he was going to buy all the water she had so she could go home and rest. Luckily for her, when she sat in the car, there was traffic so others who also hawked on the streets started shouting and luckily, a police man who was on a motor bike came to her rescue, stopped the car and got her out. The police took her home after other police men came and interrogated them. She posited that the men were wanted by the police for kidnapping other children the previous months. She stated that had the police not come to her rescue, the kidnappers would have taken her away.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be said that my respondents relied on family ties, friendship ties, employer ties and situational ties to survive on their migration to the city.

**5.1.6: Implications of migration by respondents**

In this section, I discuss the benefits child migrants gain from their migration despite the challenges they go through. The implications of their migration that I focus on are their ability to save, remit and other accomplishments.

**Savings**

I wanted to find out whether respondents kept some of their earnings by asking them whether they saved from the economic activities they engaged in. The analysis revealed that almost all the respondents, with the exception of one, saved their earnings. With the one respondent who did not save, it was mainly because he did not receive payment or wages from his labour from his employer. This means that even though my respondents did not earn much, they were aware of the need to reserve some of the money they made through work.

In finding out how my respondents saved, it came to light that 11 of my respondents saved their monies themselves, whereas 2 respondents saved their money with their employers. Moreover, one respondent saved her money with her friend’s elder sister. It can be observed from the analysis that majority of respondents preferred to keep their money themselves, rather than to save in a bank or give it out their guardians. When James was asked how he saves his money earned through selling torch lights and pocket radios on the streets for a man, he stated that: ‘‘At the end of each day I give the man the money from what I sold and I keep the profit I made on it.’’

**Remittance**

In my quest to establish the implications of migration of child migration, I asked respondents to state whether they remitted home some of their earnings to support their families in the northern region. From the interview responses, it became evident that 10 respondents posited that they remit home money to their parents and siblings. However, of these 10 respondents, 6 opined that they sometimes or a couple of times, remit money to their parents. The rate at which they remit money to their families in the north is infrequent and occasional. Larry, for example, stated that he sometimes remits money to his mother in the village. According to Amina, ‘‘A few times I have done that to my mother and she was very happy that I was a responsible young woman now who is trying to make life.’’ Another respondent also posited that he has twice sent mobile money to his dad.

Of the other 4 respondents who asserted that they send money home frequently to support home, one respondent posited that he sends MTN mobile money to his family for their upkeep. Another also said that he sends money almost every month to help with his father’s medication.

Of the 5 respondents who stated that they had never remitted money to their family themselves, one stated that:

No I have personally not done that, but Uncle Hussein said he sent my mother some money last month from the money he saves for me. He made me speak to my mum who confirmed it. She was actually very happy because she says it saved my little sisters life as she was sick and she had to buy some medications for malaria for me so she was very happy and urged me to work hard.

Another respondent also stated that he has failed to remit money to his family in the north because he lost touch with his siblings back home because they do not have mobile phones and hence they cannot be reached.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be said that the purpose for remitting money to respondents’ family was to support the family, especially to provide medication for ailing parent or parents. For those that did not remit money home, it was mainly because they were not paid, had lost contact with siblings or simply refused to send money home.

**Other Accomplishments**

This sub-section discusses the accomplishments of respondents or the positive benefits of what their migration has brought or may bring into their lives. It assesses respondents’ satisfaction with the decision to migrate. From the interview, one respondent called Salamatu stated that she has been able to save some money for her future as a result of her migration which has brought her work to plan towards her future. Salim also had this to say when he was asked about the achievements of his migration to the city: ‘‘It is not what I was expecting as I had dreams of graduating from junior high school. But all the same am lucky I am able to cater for my sick father .His condition has improved since I came to Accra.’’

Amina also stated that her decision to migrate has filled her with optimism for the future. She posited that Accra has a lot of opportunities to offer her unlike the north and that she had made plans with her boyfriend to learn how to make beads, teach and also employ others. Others also stated that they have been able to support themselves to school and supported their families.

On the other hand, others also stated that their decision to migrate stands in the way of their future accomplishments. One respondent stated that her work makes her tired and takes more time from her. She further stressed that it makes studying difficult for her and does not make her happy. Nuru in a similar fashion also said that he really wished he was in School studying and not working. He stated that he was very clever when he was in school and sometimes he feels that his dreams of becoming a doctor have been shuttered.

On the whole, majority of my respondents were of the opinion that child migration has impeded their future accomplishments, the reason being that, it has taken away their productive time for schooling to become better people in the future.

**CHAPTER SIX:**

**DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

**6.0: Introduction**

In this chapter, I would discuss the findings from the conduct of the whole study; making use of theoretical frameworks and concepts of the study. I would discuss the role of child migrants in the migration process and their reasons for migration; the support or social networks available to child migrants; and the dangers, risks and challenges child migrants encounter in their area of work.

**6.1: Who are child migrants?**

I discovered from the responses that majority of my respondents were either 14 or 15 years, with very few respondents in the age category of 10, 11 and 12 years. This analysis showed that older children represented majority of my respondents. There was a very low literacy rate amongst my respondents as 13 respondents were school drop outs. They dropped out of school at the junior high school level. This confirms the view of Casely-Hayford (2004) who states that child labour has damaging effects on the ability of children to learn and succeed.

In terms of where respondents originated from, it was revealed that majority of them the children originated from the Northern Region of the country, followed by the Upper East Region. In relation to the kind of work the children were engaged in, it was found out that most of them were engaged in some form of petty trading on the streets. Selling toffees, food spices, bathing soap, baby diapers, bottled water, shea butter, biscuit, recharge cards, sachet water, bread, yam and fried fish, belts and shoe polish; and pounding fufu in food joints and restaurants were some of the economic activities my respondents were engaged in. With respect to family size, it was revealed that my respondents came from had large family sizes with the least being two2 siblings and the highest being 9 nine siblings. The occupation of respondents’ parents were mainly small scale farming even though and some of them dealt in petty trading such as selling charcoal, palm wine and smoked fish.

The description above depicts the demographic and socio-economic background of my respondents. I would make use of findings from other researchers to validate my findings.

Kwankye et al., (2007) states that very few young children engage in north-south migration in Ghana and this view is consistent with the finding of the study as older children aged 14 or 15 years constituted majority of my respondents. Furthermore, Kwankye et al’s (2007) study is consistent with my finding on education; the reason being that majority of my respondents had low levels of education as majority of them were school dropouts. Opare (2003) also shares a similar view that child migrants are mostly school dropouts. Furthermore, according to the Ghana Living Standards Survey (2014), there is a high incidence of dropout rates among child migrants because they have minimum time to study as they are mostly involved in economic activities. In terms of the region in the north child migrants migrate from, Kwankye, et al., (2007) posit that child migrants come from the Northern Region of Ghana, followed by the Upper East Region. This view is consistent with the findings of this study as it was revealed that majority of respondents, 7, originated from the Northern Region of Ghana followed by the Upper East Region with 5 respondents. This view is also expressed by Awumbila (2007) who states that most child migrants come from the Northern Region of Ghana. According to Nyanney (2013), head potterage is the most common economic activity child migrants from the north to the south engage in (Nyanney, 2013). However, this study also identified discovered other forms of economic activities such as selling toffees, food spices, bathing soap, baby diapers, bottled water, shea butter, biscuit, recharge cards, sachet water, bread, yam and fried fish, belts and shoe polish and fufu pounding.

In relation to family sizes and socio-economic background, Ahmad (2004) postulates that majority of child migrants come from large families with parents earning little income and unable to support families. In contrast, Casely-Hayford (2011) argues that family background such as large family size cannot be the cause of child migration, but rather, the interaction of other factors. Nonetheless, this study however discovered that majority of respondents had large family sizes with the highest being 9 members.

**6.2 The role of child migrants in the migration process and their reasons for migration**

According to Todaro (1969), child migrants make the decision alone to migrate and are usually found working in the urban informal sector as they are less likely to get urban jobs. This research question therefore sought to find out whether child migrants played active roles in the migration process and their reasons for migrating. From the study findings, it was reported that eight respondents made the decision to migrate themselves and that they played active roles in the migration process, whereas with the remaining 7 seven respondents, the decision to migrate to Mallam was made for them by their family. One respondent stated that she migrated on her own as a result of the death of her parents. Another also stated that pregnancy accounted for her reason to migrate. Curiosity to explore better working opportunities in the city also accounted for another reason for child migration. However, majority of respondents stated mainly economic reasons stemming from low income of parents to better opportunities in the city. It was discovered that the yearning for better economic living to cater for oneself and family motivated children to move to the city for employment opportunities. This confirms the view of Flamm (2010) who stipulates that most children migrate in search of better conditions of life in the city as this becomes their only passage way to success. This finding confirms the postulations in the neo-classical economic theory which posits that children think about the dangers and benefits of migration and compare it to the decision to stay home (Castle & Millers). According to Castles and Millers (2009), the decision making process of child migrants centers on economic reasons and the possibility of having a job; and that the decision is usually a personal one by children. This was evidenced in my findings as majority of my respondents were well aware of the dangers they exposed themselves to with migration but yet still made the decision to migrate themselves. When they were asked what influenced their decision to migrate, most of them stated economic reasons such as: to earn income to continue schooling, to support family back home and to pay for sick father’s medication. This finding is consistent with the view of Huijsmans (2006) who argues that children are not passive actors in the migration process and that they willingly participate in it, even though majority of them do not travel independently to the city. Hashim (2005) shares a similar sentiment as he states that children usually have a say in the decision to migrate to the urban cities. The Neo-Classical Economic theory therefore substantiates this finding.

This finding contrasts with the postulations of the New Economic of Labour Migration Theory which is based on the premise that families, community members and households are major determinants of the decision making process of migration (Massey, 1999). The neo-classical economic theory and new economic of labour migration theory are both essential to this study as they cite economic reasons as the trigger for child migration.

**6.3 Social networks or support available to child migrants**

Welman (1999) is of the assertion that social networks play a key role in child labour migration because the relationship and connections migrants build with each other help them benefit from one another. He states that social networks enable child migrants to find housing, employment, financial matter and emotional support. Social tie is therefore viewed as a channel of migration by several researchers (ibid).

I discovered from my findings The that respondents made use of social ties such as family ties, friendship ties, employer ties and situational group ties to settle in at Mallam. The ties were made prior and during migration to gain access to jobs and accommodation. In discussing family ties, one respondent stated that she was lucky that a woman whom her uncle knew gave her a place to stay. Another respondent also stated that he sleeps in the house of his uncle and he is being fed by him three times daily. Others also stated that they migrated using the links and social contacts of their siblings, such as an elder sister, cousin or brother. Those respondents who travelled to Mallam, where they have a link to a family member is confirmed by Sow, Adaawen, and Scheffran (2014) who discovered that Frafra, an ethnic group in the northern part of Ghana rely on ethnicity as they move to the southern part, especially Accra. This view is also confirmed by Overå (2005, p. 5) who states that ‘‘Migrants from Moree-a fishing community on the coast of the Central Region in Ghana travelled to places where their relatives reside’’. From the study, I can say that family relations play a key role in migration of children as they secure jobs and accommodation from these contacts. It also helps them manage vulnerabilities.

Furthermore, respondents also made use of friendship ties to travel to the city. Margarette, for example, migrated to the city herself but depended on friendship ties to secure accommodation and job. She stated that she resides with some friends who hawk in an uncompleted building. In another instance, Fati said that her friend’s elder sister brought her to Accra. When she was asked about her place of abode, she stated that she slept in a kiosk shop where her friend’s elder sister sews. The It can be seen that respondents benefitted from direct and indirect friendship ties to survive in the city. This finding is consistent with the view of Hashim and Thorsen (2011) who state that the bond of friendship and solidarity due to sharing childhood experiences develop into peer network which in a way assist children when they want to travel. Friendship ties therefore made life a bit easier for my respondents as they were able to secure housing and jobs, either through direct friendship or indirect friendship.

With respect to employer ties, some respondents are dependent on the employer foron it for jobs and accommodation. For example, Hassana said that she sells sachet water for Auntie Abiba and as a result of this, gets fed and is provided with shelter. In another response, Salim reiterated that he pounds fufu at the restaurant and is paid monthly by his employer and is provided with a single room at the restaurant where he works. Sadia also said that she sells shea butter for Uncle Salim on the streets. According to her, she stays with some of the other girls in a room which has been rented by Uncle Salim.

It must however be worth mentioning that some of the employers of my respondents took advantage of these children and offered them menial or no salaries for work done. For example, when Nuru was asked if he was paid by his employer, he stated that he has not been paid any money yet. He said that his employer gives him Ghc 5 a day to buy food and once in a while, 10 cedis for pocket money. When asked why he was not being paid, he stated that he was told he was too young to be paid. All my respondents who were provided with accommodation and jobs by their employer, engaged in an economic activity for the benefit of the employer. This included selling sachet water, recharge cards, shea butter and toffees. Inability of these employers to pay some wages to these children implies that they are taking undue advantage of the children. This finding confirms the view of Ahmad (2004) who postulates that employer’s choose to use child labourers because they are inexpensive can be controlled and they help minimize costs. Along similar lines, Nalule (2008) shares the view that employers use child labourers because they are meek, can be controlled and are a cheap source of labour because they are only paid minimum wages.

Respondents who used situational ties expressed the opinion that they did so to secure accommodation, places to trade and to protect themselves. One respondent stated that she was once knocked down by a car but due to the intervention of her colleague hawkers, she was taken to the hospital and recovered quickly. Another also stated that she was rescued from strangers who nearly kidnapped her by her colleagues and adults at the same working place. In using situational ties, children are guided and protected by elderly people who act as their parents. Respondents also used situational ties to find accommodation. This finding confirms the view of Amponsah, et al., (2007) who state that children depend on social groupings to survive. They further note that the existence of a social grouping at their places of destination influence the decision of children to migrate to the cities. They however note that children tend to devise survival techniques in the absence of social networks.

The social network theory is therefore relevant as it helps us understand the social connections of child migrants before and during migration and also as it is present in the entire study. It also helps us understand how child migrants survive the journey of migration to the city in terms of accommodation and jobs.

**6.4 The dangers, risks and challenges child migrants encounter in their area of work**

In this section, I discuss the dangers, risks and challenges child migrants encounter in their everyday lives. My focus is on their working places, sleeping places and eating patterns of respondents. I would use the concept of vulnerability in order to understand my finding.

With regard to the working places of respondents, I found out that child migrants were involved in several types of street selling activities such as toffees, food spices, bathing soap and baby diapers, bottled water, shea butter, biscuits, recharge cards, sachet water, appliances, bread, yam, fried fish, belts and shoe polish. The danger with this type of work is that children can easily be knocked down by moving vehicles and this can cause severe physical injuries and loss of live. Some respondents complained of fatigue as they had to chase moving vehicles and fright as horns were hooted at them by motorists. Others also complained of back pains and headaches as they had to carry loads in the hot sun. Kwankye et al., (2007) confirm this finding by stating that load carriers popularly called ‘Kayaye’s’ in Ghana suffer from severe headache and back pains as they are made to carry heavy loads in the hot weather for several hours. Corroborating this view, Tetteh (2008), posits that physical work hazards which involve the lifting of heavy weights affect the spines and pelvis of children and impedes their growth and development. A study by Nalule (2008) also shows that children who usually lift heavy weights at work, suffer from psychological and physical development. Another respondent who said he pounded fufu at the restaurant stated that he was not comfortable with the work he was involved in as he suffers from extreme fatigue and bodily pains as he exerts too much energy into pounding the fufu. It is evident from my findings that almost all my respondents were not comfortable with the work they engaged in. However, they had to do it to survive. When one respondent was asked to describe his experience on the streets, he had this to say: ‘‘it is very scary especially when the traffic lights do not work. I am always very attentive and extra careful’’ The World Health Organization (2015) reports that child servants experience psychological problems such as withdrawal, depression, inferiority complex and behaviors that are regressive.

Amponsah, et al. (2011) conducted a study on female child migrants living in Kumasi Metropolis and discovered that they lived under very poor conditions and that their health was at great risk. With respect to the problem of housing, apart from my respondents who secured housing with their social ties and their employers, some of my respondents sleep in kiosk, in front of shops, at the marketplace and at the work place. Majority of my respondents do not pay for their sleeping places. Some of my respondents acknowledge the frequent incidence of rape, and robbery. One respondent opined that she was nearly raped by a gang of men had it not been for the intervention of a colleague. Some respondents who slept in kiosks and in front of shops posited that their housing condition was deplorable due to congestion and poor lightning. There was one respondent who stated that she sleeps in a kiosk with three of her colleagues. The experience of my respondents can best be described as scary. This finding is consistent with the study done by done by Amponsah et al (2012:235-237) in Kumasi Metropolis on ‘‘The living conditions of head porters. They noted that head porters sleep in abandoned factories, shops, verandas, wooden shacks and single rooms in compound houses and sleep on mats, cardboard, cloth, floor and carpet at night. Most of their dwelling places comes without bath house toilet and kitchen therefore they patronised public toilet and bath house’’. Amponsah, et al. (2011) in their study of female head potters in Ghana found out that child migrants lived under very poor conditions and that their reproductive health was at risk due to their exposure to risks at the Kumasi Metropolis.

On the feeding patterns, I noticed that most of my respondents ate at least twice a day. Those who were catered for by a family member or employer had access to three square meals a day. The problem of feeding by my respondents can be described as a personal choice. Some respondents stated that they were so busy at work that they sometimes opted to eat twice in a day. Majority of respondents stated that their work prevented them from having a balanced diet. This hence indicates that the child migrants in the city of Accra have been affected negatively as a result of the jobs they find themselves doing and also the harsh life of the city. Therefore their vulnerability ranges from the issues of feeding, shelter, clothing among others.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**7.1: Introduction**

This chapter presents the conclusion and proposed recommendations for policy direction and possible intervention on ‘‘Child labour migration from the north to the south of Ghana” based on the findings and bearing in mind, the research objectives outlined.

**7.2: Conclusion**

It has become clear from the study that children are very active agents in the migration process and that their reason for migrating is mainly economic as they are usually from low income families. As young as they are and spurred on by the urge to make money, children yearn for better opportunities in life to support themselves and their family. This means that household poverty played a significant role in migration of children from the north to the south hence the conclusion that child labour migration is fuelled by economic reasons.

It is also concluded that Social support plays a very significant role in child migration. Children utilize social ties such as family ties, friendship ties an employer ties to survive and cope with life in the city. They make use of these social supports available in the cities to get access to jobs, feeding and accommodation and this enables them to settle in easily in the city. Without social support, child migrants become vulnerable to diseases, kidnap, theft and rape. At their work places, child migrants face a lot of challenges and this affects their physical and psychological development. Children who work for their employers are also bullied at work as they are paid meagre salaries whiles others receive no money at all.

Per the aim and the main question of the study, it concluded that child labour migration in Ghana has considerable effects on the migrants as these children play active roles in this process.

**7.3 Recommendation**

According to my research findings, it was discovered that household poverty played a significant role in the migration of children from the north to the south. It was noted that children worked to supplement meagre family incomes and most of them were school dropouts. Child labour can therefore not be eliminated unless poverty has been addressed. Interventions that augment household income to the poor can be increased.

The following recommendations are made based on the findings from the study which when adhered to will help address the issues identified in the study.

i. The challenges and problems related to child labour migration in Ghana are multifaceted and hence can only be effectively tackled by a multi-dimensional and concerted approach by all stakeholders i.e. Governments and their agencies.The Government of Ghana should acknowledge child labour as a problem of migration, Government policy should be geared towards making the issue of migration paramount and taking measures to solving the menace. There should be increased awareness about the law to society by those in authority through print and electronic media.

ii. Child labour migration is a pervasive problem in Ghana and is a broad research area that requires further investigation. This study focused on migration from the north North to the south, with the destination of Mallam as its focal point. Future studies can focus on other places of migration in the south such as Kumasi as it is also one of the cities in Ghana that harbors child migrants. Cultural factors that explain child migration can also be investigated to provide clearer understanding to the problem. Further studies can also look into the implications of child migration to identify its social impact on communities children migrated from.

iii. Other actors in the area of migration such as Non-Governmental Organizations, Humanitarian agencies and development partners among others should intervene in addressing the problem of child migration by providing the migrants with social services such as vocational training and sensitization such that they the migrants can go back to their various towns and villages and apply the skills learnt in order to better their living standards instead of being in the cities.

iv. Government and other policy makers should institute measure of equipping school drop outs in the northern part of the country with necessary skills in order for them to engage in income generating activities so as to discourage them from embarking on trips to the south for greener pastures.

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