

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**CHILD WORK AND SCHOOLING AMONG BASIC SCHOOL PUPILS IN
UPPER MANYA KROBO DISTRICT**



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UPPER MANYA KROBO DISTRICT**



**A thesis in the Department of Social Studies,
Faculty of Social Science, submitted to the School of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Master of Philosophy
(Social Studies)
in the University of Education, Winneba**

OCTOBER, 2021

DECLARATION

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I, Teye Tettey, hereby declare that this thesis/dissertation with the exception of the quotations and references contained in the published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own work, and it has not been submitted either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere.

Signature :

Date :

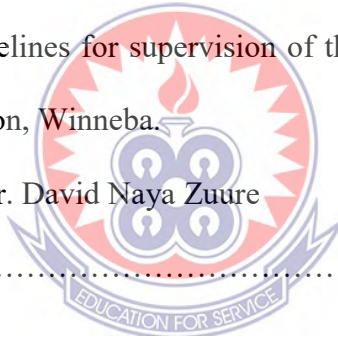
SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis/dissertation as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Name of supervisor : Dr. David Naya Zuure

Signature :

Date :



DEDICATION

To my children, Godspraise, Godsglory and Godsgoodness



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

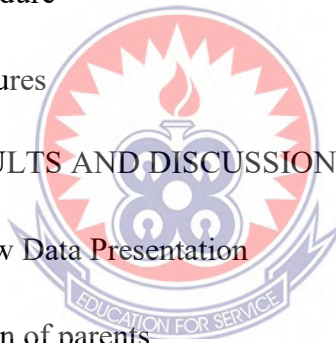
My first appreciation goes to the Almighty God for given me the strength to do this work. The journey was never easy but through His strength, I was able to go through it successfully. The next person to be acknowledged is my supervisor, Dr. David Naya Zuure who took time out of his busy schedules to read the work and made constructive comments which guided me throughout the study. At a point when things were tough for me, he even called me and gave me encouragement. Again, I appreciate my wife, Margaret Korkor Teye who supported me in every capacity to ensure that this work is done successfully.



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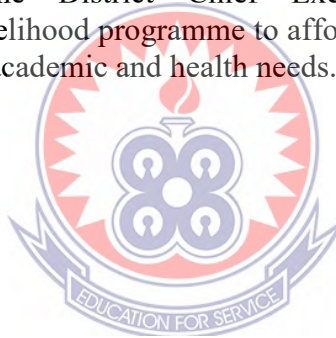


ABBREVIATIONS

ASM	-	Artisanal Small-scale Mining
AU	-	African Union
CAADP	-	Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme
CREATE and Equity	-	Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions
DFID	-	Department for International Development
FCUBE	-	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
FFE	-	Food For Education
GLS	-	Ghana Living Standard Survey
GNCRC	-	Coalition on the Right of the Child
GOG	-	Government of Ghana
ILO	-	Internal Labour Organisation
IOM	-	International Organization for Migration
IPEC	-	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	-	Non-Governmental Organisations
NPA	-	National Plan for Action
OECD	-	Organization of Economic Co-Operation and Development
SAP	-	Structural Adjustment Programme
SFP	-	School Feeding Programme
UN	-	United Nations
UNICEF	-	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
SCT	-	Social Cognitive Theory
WPRERC	-	White Paper on the Report of Educational Reform Review Committee

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to explore the effects of child work and schooling on their human capital development for nation building among basic school pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District. The convergent parallel mixed method design was used for the study. The population comprised of basic school pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District for the 2020/2021 academic year. Systematic random sampling was used to select 200 respondents for the quantitative data while purposive sampling was used to select 10 participants for the study. An open-ended questionnaire and an unstructured interview guide were used as the main data collection instruments. The criteria posited by Lincoln and Guba (1985) were used to ascertain the trustworthiness of the interview guide whilst the open-ended questionnaire after piloting yielded a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.83. The quantitative data was analyzed using frequency and percentages while the qualitative data was analyzed thematically. The findings of the study revealed that household poverty, poor health condition of parents and single parenting were the main factors pushing pupils to engage in child work. Also, the findings of the study indicated that the nature of work and the long hours of engagements resulted in pupils' tiredness and absenteeism which had a direct impact on their academic performance. It is recommended that parents should find alternative coping and adaptation strategies to enable their wards stay in school. Moreover, the government through the District Chief Executive must ensure effective implementation of the livelihood programme to afford parents the opportunity to cater for their wards physical, academic and health needs.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Education is the key to development. This explains why literacy rate is one of the key indicators of socio-economic development of a country (Oduro-Ofori & Adwoa-Yeboah, 2014). This assertion supports what is postulated by Barro (1997) Krueger & Lindahl (2001) both cited in Engin-Demir (2009), that formal education is paramount in the socio-economic booming of the people. Empirical evidence has it that education plays a significant role in the economic and social development of the individual with formal education increasing economic growth (Engin-Demir, 2009; Salifu, Boateng & Kunduzore, 2018).

According to Engin-Demir (2009), formal education enhances economically productive knowledge and skills in terms of literacy, numeracy and problem solving skills. Thus, experiences acquired from formal education help in shaping the peoples' opportunities and abilities (productive skills) for securing decent work (Engin-Demir, 2009, p. 17). Conversely, what is happening across the globe including Ghana is at variance to the ideality expressed by the above authors. According to International Labour Organisation (2017), 152 million children were in child labour of which 73 million of them were in hazardous work. The regional dimension of prevalence rate according to the report indicated that Europe and Central Asia was 4.1%, Asia and the Pacific was 7.4%, Arab States was 2.9%, Americas was 5.3% whilst Africa alone constitutes 19.6% of all child labour cases in the world. What is more according to the same report is that, 11.9% of child labour occurs in the industrial sector, 17.2% in the service sector whilst 70.9% accounted for those that happen in the agricultural sector alone. Whilst it is difficult to determine the actual number of children involved in

child labour or work in Ghana, the Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 6 (GLS-6), (2014) reports that 28.8% of children aged 7-14 years were employed.

It is in the light of this disturbing situation that the Ghana government is vigorously pursuing education for all children under school going age through a number of interventions to remove children from work and enroll them in school. For instance, the supreme law (Constitution) of the land has provided in Article 25 (1) that “all persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities and with a view to achieving the full realization of that right” and (a) “basic education shall be free, compulsory and available to all” (Ghana Constitution, 1992). But the question is on how government intends to achieve this policy being aware that educational provision goes beyond physical facilities like classrooms, library, exercise books, uniforms, a meal in a day and capitation or base grant? Notwithstanding, the government has rolled out a number of educational policies that attempt to help achieve this vision since 1992, though there were a lot of educational reforms that took place from colonial era through independence until now.

The educational policies currently pursued by the government include provision of capitation grant, free feeding once per day (not in all schools), free school uniforms (for the needy), free textbooks, and free exercise books (sometimes). Also, the 2007 Educational Reform included Pre-School into the main education system to give children the full right of education from Kindergarten to at least Basic 9 which brought to fruition the implementation of the Free Compulsory Basic Education (FCUBE), White Paper on the Report of the Educational Reform Review Committee (WPRERC, 2004). The effort by government has resulted in improved accessibility and basic school enrollment has also been enhanced (Education Sector Analysis ESA, 2018). Be that as it may, we see children working and going to school at the same

time after their removal from the field of work and enrolling them into the schools. Thus, the phenomenon has taken a new dimension which becomes worrying for all who care about children education for better future. According to Ligeve and Poipoi (2012) children who work and go to school may not succeed in education because the long hours of job activities engaged in “result in fatigue, listlessness and lack of concentration in class” which leads to poor performance, failure and high rate of school dropout (Ligeve & Poipoi, 2012, p. 191).

Although, in the African setting, children are permitted to assist their parents in their work (economic activities) but when their support to their parents conflicts with their freedom or right to education then there is a problem. Available literature has established that combining schooling and work helps practitioners gather money to take care of their educational and personal needs, gives them working experiences required for the corporate work after school and also enables them secure their job after completing school so that they do not end up joining the already existing unemployed youth in the system. In as much as there are benefits for combining schooling and work, the practice puts a lot of stress on them: managing working hours and school contact hours. They get little time for studies and this adversely affects their academic progress (grades made) and the efficiency of their work. The phenomenon of working whilst schooling can be a normal practice at the higher level of education, but it should not be encouraged at the basic level where age and physical fitness, mental and health implications play key role in this situation. This agrees with the assertion made by Parvathamma (2015) that “... the physical condition of children, children are not ready for long monotonous work because they become exhausted more quickly than adults. This reduces their physical conditions and makes the children

more vulnerable to disease. Children in hazardous working conditions are even in worse condition” Parvathamma (2015, p. 26).

Children learn from their interaction with the environment and the kind that is created and exposed them to will affect them either positively or negatively; that is why we should be concerned about the sort of things children are exposed to in our environment. The rate at which children of school going age (6 - 15) in the Upper Manya Krobo District are engaging in economically gainful activities while schooling is alarming. Children were coming to school late, missing school, not able to concentrate in class these are recipes for poor academic performance. This phenomenon caught the researcher’s attention to find out what are the reasons peculiar to basic school children in the Upper Manya Krobo District that make them combine schooling and work.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2017), there are 152 million children in child labour comprising 64 million girls and 88 million boys accounting for almost one in every ten children, which is nearly 10% worldwide. According to ILO (2017), 73 million of them were in hazardous work and Africa alone constitutes 19.6% of all child labour in the world. The Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 6 (GLS-6), (2014) also reports that 28.8% of children aged 7-14 years are currently employed. According to Ghana NGOs Coalition on the Rights of the CHILD (GNCRC, 2014) report, cited in Appiah (2018), “1.59 million children were working while attending school” (p. 152). The grievous nature of the phenomenon compels the government of Ghana to make intervention in line with the call by the international bodies such as the ILO to end the phenomenon. The state has done this through the establishment of legislative instruments and provided other educational policies

including but not limited to School Feeding Program (SFP) (not in all schools), free tutorials, capitation and base grants, free textbooks, free exercise books (sometimes), free school uniforms (for needy children) for basic school boys and girls in the country.

However, a significant number of parents at Asesewa and its environs appear to have not adhered to the awareness creation and interventionary measures put in place by these institutions as majority of children in the basic schools at Asesewa and its surrounding communities combine work and schooling at such an early age of 6-15 years. None of the authors had taken the pain to look into the effects of child work and schooling on their human capital development for nation building in the Upper Manya Krobo District. A phenomenon that is subtly threatening human capital development and equal opportunity for all children under school going age to have access to free compulsory education. Many parents allow their children to engage in all sorts of work ranging from domestic activities to income generating ventures either to support themselves in meeting personal and educational needs or that of their families or both. This phenomenon causes such children to either go to school late or absent themselves completely from school. Such children's concentration in class is very low due to fatigue partly owing to the time they wake up in the morning and the volume of work they do before going to school.

The practice compelled many of the children to desert school on market days (Friday and sometimes Monday) especially boys to push trucks whilst others (girls) also engage in petty trading (hawking with buff loaf, iced cream, boiled eggs, sachet water, and many more). These activities are done on the street in competition with the busy cars which in itself can endanger their lives as it is an obvious consequence of such phenomena. It is interesting to know that local government authorities, chiefs

and opinion leaders appear to be silent on the issue and so both attention and action are important if the future prospect of this country is to be safe guarded.

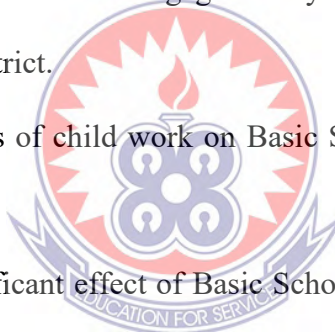
1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to explore the effects of child work and schooling on their human capital development for nation building in the Upper Manya Krobo District.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study include the following:

1. explore factors that account for Basic School pupil combining schooling and work in the Upper Manya Krobo District
2. examine the forms of work engaged in by Basic School Pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District.
3. analyse the effects of child work on Basic School pupils in the upper Manya Krobo District.
4. examine the significant effect of Basic School pupil's work on their academic success in the Manya Krobo District.



1.5 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What factors accounted for basic school pupils combining schooling and work in Upper Manya Krobo District?
2. What are the forms of work engaged by Basic School pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District of Ghana?
3. What are the effects of child work on Basic School pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District?

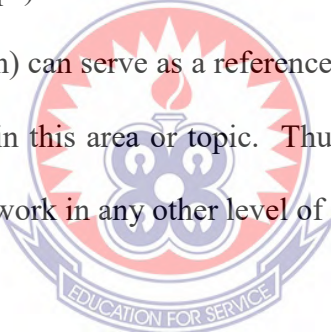
4. What is the significant effect of engagements in work have on their academic success in the Manya Krobo Basic School pupil

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is significant in the following ways:

First, it may help parents whose children are involved in combining schooling and work identify the consequences of the phenomenon on their wards' life. Secondly, it may aid non-governmental organization that operate in the district to review their programs to ensure that children are free from practices that will impede their educational success so that they (NGOs) can also get value for their money. Again, the study may inform government to revise its educational policy implementations and identify the lapses (gaps) in it and to address them appropriately.

Finally, the study (research) can serve as a reference point to all those who will like to do further research work in this area or topic. Thus, adding to the literature base of combining schooling and work in any other level of education.



1.7 Scope of the Study

The study covered Asesewa and its environs in the Upper Manya Krobo District of the Eastern Region of Ghana with focus on areas perceived to have significant number of children combining schooling and work. It was limited to the basic schools children who engage in combining school and work and their parents or guardians in the study areas. Though, there is no known study conducted on the phenomenon in the study area as basis for justification, the practice is very rampant and easily seen as I observed.

This research is limited because it is unable to cover all aspects of the problem, I therefore suggest that further research should focus on how social (or government) policies should be designed and implemented appropriately to address the

phenomenon of basic school children working and schooling at the same time since most of the policies on education and children are centralised.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the headmasters and headmistresses were reluctant to allow their pupils interact and participate in the study. This affected the return rate of the questionnaire because 270 questionnaires were administered and only 200 was completely filled and returned. This formal 74% return rate did not affect the validity of the responses as Baruch and Hottom (2008) express that an average response rate of 52% and above is highly acceptable.

The Organization of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters with each chapter devoted to an aspect of the research. Chapter one consists of the introduction; background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, delimitation and organization of the study. Chapter two contains the review of related literature as its main caption. This entails the theoretical framework and empirical review on the problem being studied. Chapter three contains the methodology of the study. The research paradigms; the epistemological and ontological position of the study, research design, population, sampling procedures, methods for collecting data and data analysis plan all are in this chapter. Chapter four entails presentation and analysis of data and discussion of findings as its components. Finally, chapter five comprises the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This section is dedicated to review of literature related to the problem under study. The intent was to moot the theoretical and empirical works of other researchers related to this study to enable me get better understanding of existing research and debates related to my study in order to build my knowledge on the topic and also identify the gap in the literature. It also assisted me in my report writing. The literature review is organized in two dimensions, thus, theoretical and empirical.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical frameworks related to this work looked at the luxury and substitution axioms, why child work theory and social cognitive theory.

2.1.1. Luxury and Substitution Axioms

According to Basu and Van (1998), who associated that in the field of child labour “prescription outstripped analyses in a large margin because people including researchers and policy makers are calling for the ban of child labour without any critical analysis of the causes underpinning the perpetuation of child labour in the various regions where the phenomenon is more prevalent (Basu & Van, 1998 p. 412). In order to find bases for questions and answers about child labour as well as formulating policy for intervention, Basu and Van (1998) constructed the axiom models of child labour which were premised on the popular notion that child labour is on the same scale with child abuse the product of avaricious entrepreneurs who wanted to make huge profit with cheap labour and selfish parents who would want to enjoy leisure while their children work. They admitted that the former may be possible; however, they did not support the latter assertion. Their position was that

parents are very much altruistic about their children well-being (welfare) and would like to bequeath them a property so that they do not suffer when they are no more; hence the construction of the model to explain why children are sent to work. The two models are “luxury axiom” and “substitution axiom” (Basu and Van, 1998 p. 412). The substitution axiom: A family will send the children to the labor market only if the family's income from non-child-labor sources drops very low. For this assumption, parents as altruistic as they are may only send their children to work if that is the only means available to ensure the family's survival. This happens in the situation of abject poverty beyond the parents' control.

The Substitution Axiom: From a firm's point of view, adult labor and child labor are substitutes. More specifically, child labor can be substituted by adult labor. The implication for substitution axiom is that child labour and adult labour can actually be substituted. Thus children can do the work of adults in the factories and vice versa. The two groups of labourers are supplied to the labour market thereby increasing supply over demand; the effect is low wage given to the labours which makes it difficult to meet the family demands (needs). If there is ban on child labour, demand for adult labour will exceed supply which will in turn lead to higher wages and parents may be in a better position to provide the needs of their households and there will be no need for sending children to work as a means of supplementarity of family income for survival measures.

2.1.2 Why Children Work Theory

This theory was propounded by Edmond (2003). He uses this model to explain how children's time is allocated. The model was classified into three thematic areas namely the child attribute, the household attribute and the community attribute.

2.1.2.1 The Child Attribute

Edmond (2003) classified the allocation of child's time as child attribute in three ways. The first consideration is based on the value of the child's time which is dependent on the child's age. Thus, older children may be able to earn greater market wage and also be more productive in the household work. Thus, for younger children, there is greater return to education. However, the return to education may decline as earning opportunity increases to older children.

The second phase of child attribute inclines more to gender roles in the household. Sex typing of different tasks and jobs may lead to gender differences in the return to education or gender differences in the return to work (employment) outside the school. Thus, girls can engage in both market work and household work. However, their employment in the market work (wage earning) is relatively lower than the male counterparts. More so, gender may also influence the marginal utility of child's well-being.

The final stage of child attribute by Edmond is how birth order contributes to differences in child labour. Edmond asserted that the return of child's time to household work (production) or market work is relative to other sibling within the household affect child labour in the face of credit constrains. Thus, older children may be better at market work than the younger siblings. Parent may therefore choose to send the older children to work while they may keep the younger ones in school. Similarly, older girls may be better at work in the household than younger girls and boys. This implies that older girls work more than younger siblings. Although, other factors like the differences in the total resources and technology in a household associated with child raising can also affect the investment in children in relation to

birth order. However, there is no clear prediction of birth order and child labour supply.

2.1.2.2 Household Attribute

Household attribute in which parental preference plays a major role is exponential in explaining child labour supply. Parental preference influences how the household values the return to education and consumption today. The issue of parental preference raised a lot of debate as for whether parents really consider the well-being of their children when making such decisions on the allocation of their children's time with regards to education and work. In the parental callousness model the entire child's time is spent working and the work is divided between household work and market work.

In social literature where norms are emphasized, parental preference is also accentuated as the key determinant of child labour supply where certain level of child labour is considered as in the best interest of children in some cultures. In such cultures child labour supply is predetermined and totally free from the household decision-making process. However, parental education influences or alters this cultural decision of the allocation of the child's time.

In this model, the parental attitude is also very important in the decision-making process where the value of child's time is allocated between schooling and household production. The local labour market may determine the return to school, and market wage for market work over and above the return to household production. In a situation where the household operate an enterprise may have greater use of the child's time and therefore value the marginal production of that child's time than a household without an enterprise. Similarly, labour market imperfection may occur when there are challenges in household's ability to hire labour outside the home and

its related inappropriate information problems that make hiring of household labour more expensive to hire may raise the value of child's time for production in the household.

Similar to parental attitude in the household attribute is the family's own labour demands for goods and services. Larger families may have greater demands for goods and services that cannot be supplied by the labour market. Hence the value of child's time for production in the larger household may be greater. Conversely, there may be economies of scale in the household production such that the value of change in the child's time varies with larger household size. Also, larger family households may turn to be poorer due to the fact that marginal utility of consumption may be higher in large households compared to households with smaller size. This phenomenon may shift children out of school into work in order to meet the consumption demands of the household.

In the household attribute the reason to why the child's time is factored into the parents' decision making process with regard to whether to send children to school or work is the sibling sex composition. This may occur as the labour demand for the household as well as household size is touched on. Boys and girls (siblings) may compete for household resources in the situation where there are household facing resource constraints. If the household has greater return for investing in boys, then having more boys implies that households may need to allocate more resources to boys education and this may leave other siblings worse off due to scarce resources. This, in my view may occur in households and traditions where value is placed on a particular sex type for whatever reasons deemed fit in those settings.

Another factor that determines the use of the child's time in household decision on whether to send the child to school or work is the parental residency. Thus, having parents present may influence how the household values investment in the child and conversely, parent's presence may equally determine the kind of work the child will do in the house.

Once again, the household decision in determining the use of child's time may be dependent on the household living standard or status. The theory postulates that poor households have higher marginal utility consumption which requires additional unit of the child's time in work than the rich household. Edmond (2003) explains that even if poor households value their child's well-being the same as in a rich household and even if poor children receive the same market opportunities and returns to education, child labour will be higher in a poor household. Moreso, any factor that influences income in the absence of child labour may affect child labour supply.

2.1.2.3 Community Attribute

Community attribute also explains the decision for the use of children's time (either for return to schooling or for return in the wage availability for children in market work). Thus, the accessibility to schooling and quality of education are key factors in the determination of the use of the child's time. Poor quality education and low accessibility to schooling lowers the return on a given education investment. The return to education may also depend on the opportunities given to educated labour. Little reward to education may lead to lower return to it in subsistence economy. However, enhanced market opportunities may result in an increase in the return to education either directly through higher wages for the more educated or indirectly through the facilitation of technology adoption or innovation in education (Edmond, 2003 p. 21).

This study is sounded in this theory because in our part of the world, it is the parents who take the decision on what a child should do and not do. They consider children as their bona fide property and therefore take all decisions on their behalf. The decision to send a child to school or work in the face of economic hardship has both short and long term consequences on the child as an individual, the family and the larger society in general and therefore if parents are well informed and make the rightful decision on the phenomenon, the greater the benefit will be for all.

2.1.3 The Social Cognitive Theory (SCT)

The Social Cognitive Learning Theory was developed by Albert Bandura in the 1960s. Bandura propounded this theory at the time when there was a popular belief that learning was a result of reinforcement. Social learning theory focuses on what people learn from observing and interacting with other people. It was referred to as a bridge between behaviourist and cognitive learning theory because it encompasses attention, memory, and motivation, (Zhou & Brown, 2017). In 1986, Bandura published his second book titled *Social Foundations of Thought and Actions: A Social Cognitive Theory* in which he renamed his original social learning theory to be social cognitive theory.

SCT claims that learning occurs in social context with a dynamic and reciprocal interaction of the person, environment, and behavior. The theory posits that people are not simply shaped by that environment; they are active participants in their environment, (Zhou & Brown, 2017). Early theories considered behavior to be a function of the person and their environment, or a function of the interaction between the person and their environment. Bandura believed that behavior itself influences both the person and the environment, each of which in turn affects behavior. The result is a complex interplay of factors known as reciprocal determinism.

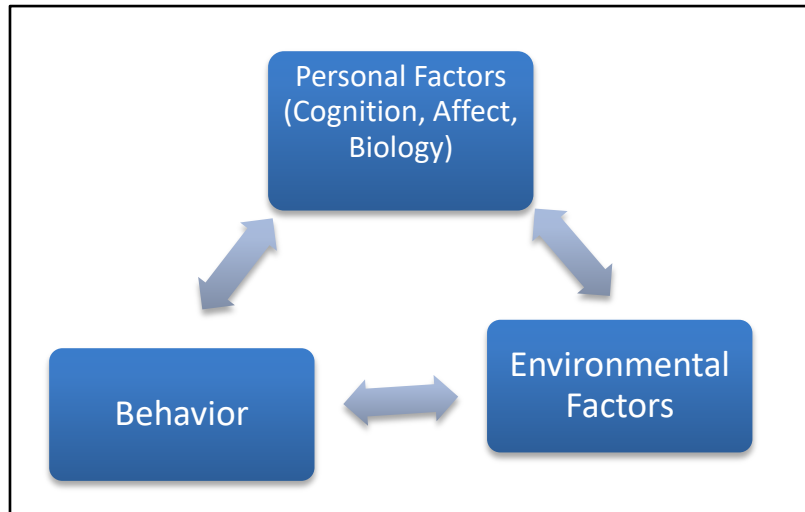


Figure 1: Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory of Reciprocal Determinism: Interlocking Effect of Behaviour, Personal Factors and Environmental Factors

Source: (Bandura 1986)

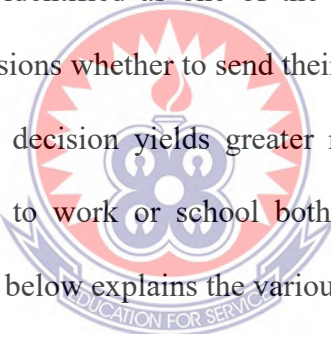
(Bandura's proposed idea of reciprocal determinism, in which our behavior, personal factors, and environmental factors all influence each other.)

SCT emphasizes that behavior, personal factors, and environmental factors are all equal, interlocking determinants of each other. Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) holds that portions of an individual's knowledge acquisition can be directly related to observing others within the context of social interactions, experiences, and outside media influences. The theory states that when people observe a model performing a behavior and the consequences of that behavior, they remember the sequence of events and use this information to guide subsequent behaviors. Observing a model can also prompt the viewer to engage in behavior they already learned (Bandura, 1986, 2002). In other words, people do not learn new behaviors solely by trying them and either succeeding or failing, but rather, the survival of humanity is dependent upon the replication of the actions of others. Depending on whether people are rewarded or punished for their behavior and the outcome of the behavior, the observer may choose to replicate behavior modeled.

These theories are soiled in the study because a person's behaviour is determined by environmental conditions and their interactions with others based on the observations made. If basic school children engage in combining schooling and work, there may be some push and pull factors upon which the practice is founded. It is also realized that if what people do per their interaction with the environment has a reward value (rewarding) then they will perpetuate its course, however, if it brings punishment (loss) then they will discontinue with that act. The environmental conditions must be conducive through the provision of appropriate support and materials to bring out the self-efficacy (potentials) in them for development (Bandura, 2002).

2.6 Conceptual Framework

Poverty has been widely identified as one of the key push factors of child labour (work). Parents make decisions whether to send their children to school or work based on the analysis of which decision yields greater returns. Meanwhile, the decision whether to send children to work or school both have long term and short term implications. The diagram below explains the various theories related to this study.



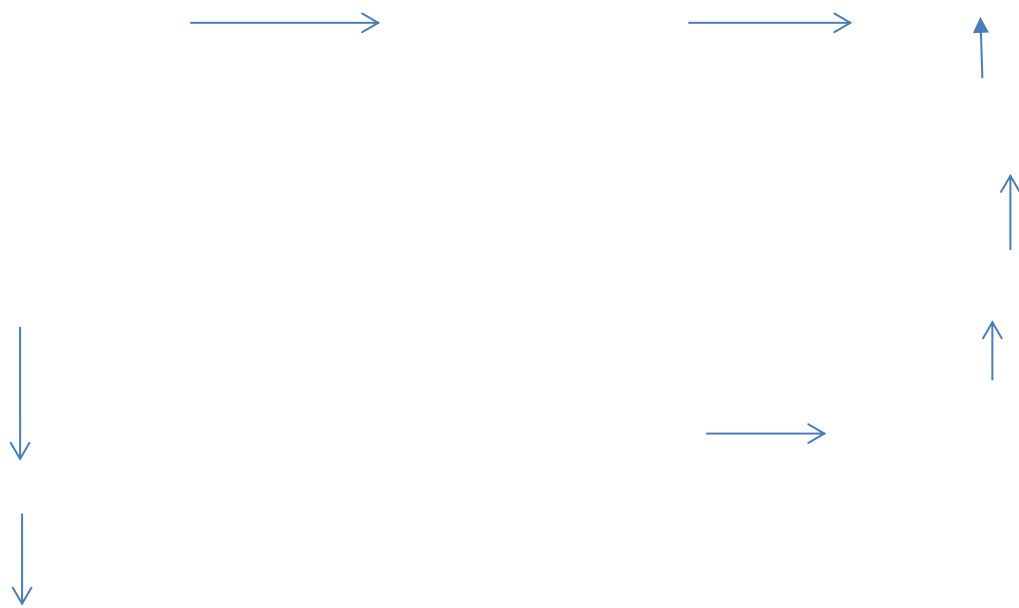


Figure 1. 1: Parental Decisions Effect on the Family’s Prospects

Source: (Author’s own Construct, 2021)

Poverty of the household informs parental decisions to either send children to school or to work. When children are sent to the labour market, their income serve as a buffer against household shocks thereby increasing the chance of the family’s survival, though, this intervention only provides short run solution. But their engagement in the labour market exposes them to different kinds of persons (both well and ill behaviour) as a result of the form of engagements or interactions influencing their live in either direction based on the situation met. Short term relief will eventually lead to long term economic hardship due to low wage resulting from unskilled labour and ill health. Child labour also displaces adult employment which has negative implication for the family. This will call for a banishment of children from the labour market and

eventual ban of the child labour. Withdrawal of children from the labour market may increase demand for more adult workers which may exceed supply of adult labour thereby raise the wages for adult workers which in turn may improve household income and living conditions in general. Parent will now send their children to school as a better decision because they now have the affordability to do so.

On the other hand, if parents decide to send their children to school devoid of the harsh economic conditions they face may aid children to acquire skills (accumulation of human capital) requisite for higher wage employment in future and the process may continue in cyclical manner.

2.1 Definition of Child Work and Child Labour

Child labour and child work are difficult to delineate and hence most often used interchangeably to mean the same thing. This conceptual differential debates occur due to different sociocultural context across the globe (Appiah, 2018). What constitute child labour in one part of the world (developed countries) may differ from those in our part of the world (developing country). Again, according to Basu and Van (1998), "...estimate of child labor would vary depending on how we define work, how we define a child, and how we collect the data, but no matter which estimate we take, the inescapable fact remains that this is a problem of gigantic proportions" (Basu & Van, 1998, p. 1)

Child labour as already indicated is a complex concept. Some authorities approach child labour in two ways. One approach is to consider child labour in the context of the economic work in its content and productive role. Household chore are grouped under non-economic work and those whose task fall outside the home and mostly for some kind of rewards are placed under economic work whilst the other approach also focused on the hours of work of children's engagement (ILO, 2008, p.1,2). The

number of hours children are engaged in may have conflicted the opportunity to their school attendance and its related consequences. In this regard there is the need to distinguish between those who work more or less than other. This is necessary due to the fact that some household work or chores may demand more hours than the paid work outside the home.

According to Canagarajah and Coulombe (2014: p, 3), child labour is defined as the participation of school-aged children in the labor force on a regular basis in order to earn a living for themselves or to supplement household income. Child labour according to ILO's definition of which most authorities (child labour activist) subscribed to refers to all forms of "work that deprive children of their childhood, potentials and dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development" (ILO, the OECD, IOM and UNICEF, (2019)). In this context, child labour refers to 'work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of the child's overall development. Similarly, Appiah, (2018) defines child labour as the work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of the child, mentally, physically, socially and morally. He further explains that "it is characterized by denial of the right of children to education and other opportunities children's separation from their families, and poor working conditions that include long working hours, poor working environment, and heavy work regardless of age and sex". Similarly, the National Plan for Action Phase II (NPA 2) For the Elimination of the Worst Form of Child Labour in Ghana has defined child labour as 'employment or work carried out by children that does not conform to the provisions of the national legislation, such as the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) nor provisions of the international instruments'. The Act defines child labour as work that denies the child of his or her health, education, or development. It

sets the minimum age for general work at 15 years and 13 years for light work, (Children's Act, 1998; ILO, 2015: P.69; Appiah, 2018: p, 149).

Child work on the other hand is permissible on the face that it is harmless, constructive, and able to provide children firm grounds to be on their own as independent individual for the sustenance of their personal life and that of their offspring for the benefit of perpetuating society. It is considered as a means of training or socialisation process of the child in the family. This, many parents believe it is their responsibility to give or ask their children to work in order not to become lazy when they grow up; because work is rewarding and a source of livelihood. According to Appiah, (2018), 'child work relates to making children confident and making them contribute to their own wellbeing and that of their respective households' (Appiah, 2018, p. 149).

The ILO's Convention 138 permits light work for children aged 14 years for the purpose of training young persons in 'schools for general' (ILO, 2015). Though no specific reference is made to domestic training in this definition, so long as it is intended for training the child, it should be considered under this provision. Also, child work on one hand in my view should be considered as the umbrella term while child labour on the other hand should be seen as an aspect of the mother term (concept).

According to Tungesvik (2000) as found in Appiah (2018), child work refers to 'children's participation in various types of light work such as helping parents care for the home and the family or working for a few hours after school or during holidays' (Appiah, 2018, p. 149). "In this context", Appiah explains, "the activities carried out by children do not necessarily deny them their basic rights. He explains that these activities relate to building the child's 'confident' and add up to their own benefit and

that of their 'households'. Examples of such activities children are permissible to perform under light work/house chores include fetching (carrying), water, washing dishes and light clothing, sweeping, cutting and gathering firewood for fuel, assist in cooking and running simple errands in the family. Appiah, (2018), opines that in families where agricultural production is practised children are involved in such productive activities as part of their socialization process but points out that 'in other contexts, children's involvement in productive work becomes problematic when it interferes with their physical, emotional, and intellectual (educational) development' (Appiah, 2018).

From all the arguments, it could be deduced that all the activities that children are engaged in may be referred to as child work. It becomes child labour when it conflicts with (denies) the child's right to education; or it is capable (has the potential) for having negative health implication, adversely affecting the child's moral and psychological makeup or in totality where the general development of the child is affected negatively.

The terms (child work and labour) may be used interchangeably to make this work friendly for both the activist and those perceiving the concept from the cultural context because it is difficult to determine at which point child work (light work) becomes child labour or offensive work.

2.2 Why Basic School Children Combine Work and Schooling

The continuous existence of basic school children aged 6-15 combining school with work implies that there are some hidden pull and push factors that necessitate this practice or those elements precipitating the existence of the phenomenon are non-resolved. School children in the developing countries combine schooling and all forms of work. The evidence of basic school children's engagement in work ranging

from household chores/work within and outside the home and those that are conducted outside the home for monetary reward are found in both theoretical and empirical literatures.

According to Ghana NGOs Coalition On The Rights Of The CHILD (GNCRC, 2014) report, cited in Appiah (2018, p. 152), “2.47 million children aged 5-7 representing 39 percent of the 6.36 million were included in economic activities; ½ of rural children and 1/5 of urban children were economically active; 88 percent of working children were unpaid family workers and apprentices while 5.9 percent were self-employed. As many as 1.59 million children were working while attending school”. According to Appiah, it is not unusual for young children to be required to perform household chores such as fetching water and fuel wood, sweeping, washing dishes and going on simple errands (Appiah, 2018). This is also permitted under the ILO Convention 138 of 1973 which sets out the “minimum age for admission to employment or work” as not less than fifteen years, the age for the completion of compulsory schooling (ILO, 2015, p. 69). The same convention under Article 7 permits children within the ages of 13 -15years to engage in light work on the condition that it does not adversely affect their health or development or their attendance to school and participation in any vocational training program duly recognized by a competent authority.

2.2.1. Poverty Driven

Child labour has been a normal practice throughout history (Brown, Deardorff & Stern, 2002). The most causative factor for children’s participation in work according to some literatures is the plausibility of household poverty (Bhalotra, 2000; Opong et al, 2020). Poverty makes it more likely for households to resort to child labour at the expense of their education to be able to meet the basic needs of the family and to absorb or respond to the family shock and uncertainties (ILO, OECD, IOM and

UNICEF, 2019). According to Department for International Development (DFID) (2003), a survey by ILO/IPEC in Tanzania in 2012, indicates that economic hardship at the household level possibly is the reason for children engaging in labour (DFID (2003; Bhalotra, 2000).

He explained that if families (households) are able to supply the “basic needs of their children and beyond, none of the children who suffer from the consequences of child labour today would have jeopardised their physical, moral, mental health and future in general” DFID (2003 p. 10). In the view of Bhalotra (2000), poverty is an important determinant of child work. He added that the average household income for children working for money (wage) is lower than their counterpart working in the family work or enterprises (Bhalotra, 2000). This implies that poverty is relative depending on the asset of the family. Some families may have physical property such as land when evaluated, worked on and or sold can possibly push them above the poverty line whilst others only source of livelihood is dependent on the amount of labour their energy may permit them to offer for monetary reward. Bhalotra associated that if the income contribution of children is deducted from the household for which child work is paramount such families shall even become poorer. Child work or labour is a demand of children because they want, and need to fill social and economic gaps that exist in their households (DFID, 2003). Children work for numerous reasons but the most important one is poverty (Dendir, 2007; Basu & Van, 1998). The reasons for which children are compelled to work are to feed their families and provide for their personal needs. Thus children are forced to work to raise money to cater for their food, clothing, school uniforms and textbooks. They explain that children work for the survival of their families as well as meeting their personal needs even at the

instances where they are not well paid; they still remain the major contributors to the income of such families.

According to Owolabi, (2012) Ekpenyong and Sibirii (2011) as found in Osment (2014), poverty creates many problem such as child labour, prostitution, corruption, robbery, increased unemployment, poor living conditions, malnutrition, etc. Owolabi maintains that poverty deprives children of their childhood, and leaves a permanent effect on them in their psychological make-up when they experience it in their childhood. He gave an instance in which poverty results in malnutrition which has a dire consequence on the health of the child as well as his or her education and subsequent development. Poor parent earn little and as such are not able to take full responsibility of their children and so compel their children to work to support household income. Todaro and Smith (2009) explain the poverty chain which in itself prevents victims from all opportunities that can take them out of it and describe it as a trap that makes it difficult or almost impossible to come out once it traps the victim.

According to them:

Poverty itself prevents farmers from taking advantage of opportunities that could help them out of poverty. Lacking collateral, they cannot get credit. Lacking credit, they may have to take their children out of school to work, transmitting poverty across generations. Lacking health and nutrition, they may be unable to work well enough to afford health and nutrition... they are denied opportunities which keeps them excluded. These poverty traps are often impossible to escape without assistance (Todaro & Smith, 2009, p. 437).

Thus, poverty creates a vicious cycle in such families which is passed on from one generation to the other except that there is a consciously designed intervention to bring the victims out of it with proper monitoring schemes and programmes.

Similarly, Udry (2003) also explains this phenomenon as:

“Households that are very poor are much more likely to send their children to work, and child labor contributes to poverty in the next generation by reducing schooling attainment. This circular pattern of positive feedback between poverty and child labor may lead to a vicious cycle of poverty, in which the descendants of the poor remain poor because they were poorly educated. This cycle can be the foundation of a classical ‘poverty trap’. However, if the cycle can be broken the same positive circular causation can contribute to a take-off into sustained growth. If schooling attainments can be improved, then the next generation’s income is higher and their children can in turn become yet better educated. It is essential, therefore, to understand the specific mechanisms that can trap people in the awful equilibrium of persistent poverty, excessive child labor and low education over generations” (Udry, 2003, p. 6).

Khan (2001) gives a link between large family size, poverty and child work or labour.

In his study, he reported that “the families with large number of children cannot afford schooling expenditures of all the children so some children work to support themselves and school going children of the household,” (Khan, 2001, p. 105).

According to Krueger (1996) cited in Osment (2014), opines that “low income households are more likely to send their children to labour market which is uncommon in richer households” (Osment, 2014, p. 16). Parents’ unemployment forced their children to labour to increase their household income (Duryea, Lam & Levison, 2007, found in Osment, 2014). Though, poverty is not the only reason why children work, many writers and researchers have supported the claim with empirical evidence to prove their case.

2.2.2 Children Work as Part of Socialization Process

Children work both at home and outside the home as a process of their upbringing in society (Opong et al., 2020). This process starts as early as the child can walk and can decode sounds. According to Tunesvik (2000) found in DFID (2003), “internal division of labour within household” is responsible for child labour. He further associated that “children work hand in hand with their parents as part of traditional socialization process.” Children do this because “they will become future adults in

hope of managing families. Similarly, Opong et al., (2020), argue that child work aims at “tasks and activities geared towards the socialization process. Opong et al, 2020: p. 3). Lawuo cited in DFID (2003), asserted that child labour existed during the pre-colonial era where “society division of labour was aimed at orienting children as future adults into different activities within society according to age and sex” (DFID, 2003, p. 11).

Socialization is the participation of the individual in a group activity, being aware of the appropriate role and responsibilities expected from her in the society she participated in and adjusting her behaviors according to the rules of the group. In a similar vein, socialization is the process in which the individual becomes a person who is aware of herself by acquiring the skills which are necessary for living in the culture into which she is born. Still, elaborated, socialization is seen as the process of acquiring the necessary knowledge, skills and tendencies for enabling an efficient participation of the members of a group or a society in that group or society, (Erkal, 1996, p.86; Kerckhoff, 1972, p.1). This, Poatob and Odumah (2016, p. 35) associated that “socialization is the act of inculcating rather than indoctrination.” This indicates that society has a way of training their younger ones through the participation in the activities that take place in the society of which work is not excluded and parents being supervisors. Society sees it as a failure on their part and a disservice to the generations after them if they are unable to pass on or train their younger ones to take up responsibilities as future adults, hence the inculcating of right values and norms into younger children through the participation in societal activities such as work to be able to play their functions well as future adults. This is in agreement with DFID (2003) which alluded to the fact that participation of children in activities [work] was traced to the conception of society by asserting that “work was considered as a legal

obligation for any physically fit person and a possible means for survival” (DFID, 2003). In other words, it is an offence for persons who are physically not unfit to remain idle while there is a kind of work or activity that needs to be done. Such individuals do not qualify to live and even if they do, they live as victims of nature’s punishment - paupers, beggars, sick persons, among others and who die before their time due to malnourishment and infections.

Meanwhile, it is believed that childhood learning is quick and therefore the right period to engage them in economic activities by parents and guardians. The process commences at a tender age where children are required to take household activities to allow parents work outside the home. As children are growing then involvement in activities is defined into gender perspective and boys follow their fathers to farm in agrarian communities whilst girls join their mothers to perform household chores. For instance, girls are expected to marry, give birth and care for their children and so are “long been prepared for marriage roles” (Opong et al, 2020: p. 12), whilst boys are seen as potential breadwinners of the family.

Canagarajah and Coulombe (2014), assert that the labor market is changing in nature resulting in low returns to education which have made education less attractive for many parents. This has especially been the case in rural areas, where formal 12 education makes very little difference given limited formal sector opportunities as compared to the traditional training (socialization process) where most skills are acquired through the “learning by doing” principle. Child labor is perceived as a process of socialization in many countries and it is believed that working rather than education enables a child to get acquainted with the skills required for being employable.

2.2.3 Family Shocks

Unfortunate event can occur in the family which will shift (shake) the family's prospects and aspirations. Family shocks in this work refer to any eventuality that has shifted the household income for which child labour or work is the next alternative means to buffer against the unfortunate occurrences that hit the family. These shocks among other things include unemployment of the household head (or loss of job), death of the household head (or bread winner of the family), sickness or accident.

This is confirmed by Hamenoo et al. (2018), when they associate that:

“Parents could be absent in a child's life through death, divorce or separation. The death of a parent (s) could become a turning point in children's lives as it can lead to inadequate care by other family members. In such situations, the children would have to provide for themselves and support their immediate families (p. 151).

Similarly, in the instances where households are not able to deal with the short term “economic downturn”, children are possibly sent to work which also has the potential effect of hampering their schooling and other debilitating effects on their health and emotions. Additionally, adult unemployment leads to increase in children's activities, may imply that households lack insurance against short term income shocks (Lam, Duryea & Levison, 2000 p.1).

According to Dendir (2007), child labour may differ due to a households' ability to deal with the “unexpected income shocks”. He advanced a hypothesis that stated that:

“In economies that lack formal credit and insurance markets, households can increase child labor supply to buffer the effects of negative shocks, very much like they can do with sales of assets, running down savings and informal social networks of transfers and loans. Child labor allows households to partially offset income loss directly—through child wage income—or indirectly—by freeing up adult labor from household work or chores” (Dendir, 2007, p. 1).

This, when interpreted, could mean that for a child labour supply to increase, the intensity of household income shocks must be deepened in economies that do not put in place policies such as formal credit and insurance markets to offset the effects of these shocks. Absence of credit market, for instance, education in developing countries makes the case even worse (Khanam, 2010: p. 4).

In Dendir's work *Household shocks and child labor in rural Malawi*, where he tested the above hypothesis, the results, however, turned out to "show that there is no evidence of increase in the likelihood that a child works as a result of the occurrence of shocks" (Dendir, 2007: p. 3). The contradiction of his results to the hypothesis, provided the work done was faultless implies that there is a strong social or family protection responses against such negative shock at the locations where the study was conducted. Been surprise about the findings he suggested that those shock response measures such as "running down savings, sale of assets, increase in labor supply of other adult members, labor sharing with other households, formal and informal loans and transfers", among others "is a future research question" (Dendir, 2007 p. 4). He holds the view that there are evidences where informal insurance networks whereby sickness, accident or death in a household brings forth assistance in the form of labor and other resource sharing from network members (Dendir, 2007).

However, according to a survey conducted in Guatemala by the Living Standard Measurement Survey (INCOVI, 2000), cited by Guarcello, Mealli and Rosati, (2003), shocks are grouped into two categories which are collective and individual (idiosyncratic) shocks. The collective shocks include some natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, fire outbreaks among others whilst idiosyncratic shocks include loss of employment, death among other things. In the work of Guarcello, Mealli and Rosati, (2003) based on (INCOVI, 2000) survey, "individual shocks significantly

increase the proportion of “working” and “working and studying” children, while reducing the “studying only” children. Collective shocks have similar effects, although the effects seem to be smaller in absolute terms” (Guarcello, Mealli & Rosati, 2003 p.12). Similarly, Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti (2005), asserted that:

“From the household’s point of view, child labor entails a trade-off between immediate benefits (increased current income) and, to the extent it interferes with the accumulation of the child’s human capital, potential long-run costs (lower future earnings potential). Thus, when faced with a transitory shock, households would use asset holdings (either as a buffer or as collateral against credit) to offset the shock.

This assertion supports a popular adage that “a stick in one’s hand is what is used to kill the animal”. This implies that while the household is confronted with the issues of survival today, it will be difficult to invest into the unknown future which may never materialize.

There is a significant relationship between household shocks and child labour incidence. The “transitory income shocks — as measured by accidental crop loss — lead to significantly increased child labor”, and a “decrease in school attendance”; however, household with assets are better able to offset shock. This establishes the point that there is a positive and a significant relationship between the level of household assets and the use of child labour, in that an insurance of household against shocks would be one of the measures of reducing child labour (though not eliminating it entirely) (Beegle, Dehejia & Gatti, 2005).

2.2.4 Ineffective Implementation of Legislative Instruments and Policies on Child Labour

The problem of child labour and its attendant effects could have been a thing of the past should the implementation of government programmes and instruments relating to the phenomena are well rolled out and enforced. In the words of Canagarajah and Coulombe (2014), the inconsistencies in the minimum age for admission to employment and work and schooling make implementation of laws difficult. They further stressed:

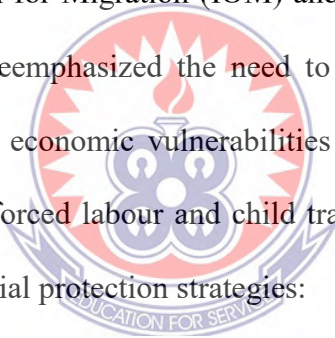
“This seems to be the case for Ghana as well. Ghana’s labor Decree (1967) prohibits employment of children under the age of 15, although the law permits undefined “light” work by children. The Education Act (1961) states that education is free and compulsory, although it does not define until what age the child should be in school. This indicates the problems of addressing child labor through legislation alone” (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 2014, p. 3).

Eldring et al. (2000) mentioned lack of proper legislation as one of the reasons for child labour in Ghana. Hamenoo et al (2018) also hold similar view when they opine that poor enforcement of educational law and instruments are responsible for the child labour; thus, “selling on the high ways” (p. 251). In a study conducted at Pokuase in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana to investigate child labour experiences of children in Ghana, they mentioned that if government enacted instrument such as Children’s Act, (1998) & Human Trafficking Act, (2005) are enforced by the law enforcement agencies like the Ghana Police Service, the protection of children from exploitation could have been ensured, (Hamenoo et al, 2018). Basu and Van (1998) explain this when they argue on poly intervention and law. They indicated how government legislative instrument can engender into the well-being of families. Families are very much aware of what their interests are as sovereign consumers. However, they further explain that certain imposition on “consumer sovereignty” is sometimes desirable because it shifts the consumer preference or morality; and what is considered moral

depends on what we are used to ('acquired morality'). And once acquired morality influences our behavior and preference, even when the legislation banning "child work" is removed the people would no longer return to the old practice (parents would not send their children to work) anymore "regardless of the household income" because a new custom and culture have already been formed, (Basu & Van 1998, p. 422). Thus, Basu and Van are relying heavily on government as the only body which with the will power through proper legislative instruments can enforce the ban to deal with many of the social problems such as child labour. Could Weiner's argument in (1991) still be relevant as cited by Satz (2003) that, "Indian elites fail to enforce compulsory universal education because they believe that educating the poor will lead to the overthrow of their rule" (Satz, 2003 p. 303).

However, in some other literatures, the argument is that the imposition of ban on child labour through legislation without appropriate social policy intervention to mitigate its effects would be a fiasco. The impression that laws passed are difficult to implement due to the fact that perhaps no proper and appropriate social policy interventions are designed to deal with the root cause of the main problems. There is reward value of child labour for some of the children who engage in the phenomenon as well as their beneficiary households. Reducing reinforcement characteristics of child labour or work through legislation without increasing the values – proper or appropriate social policy interventions that militate against the root cause of child work/labour is the reason for the implementation challenges of such legislations. This argument is grounded in Udry (2003), when he put forward that banning child labour by governments could bring dire consequences on those poor households and the children who work because they resort to child labour out of desperation to make an ends meet without which their lives would be worse off. He provides an alternative

means of eliminating child labour through education with compensation to households who send their children to school in the form of cash transfer. He associates that this kind of intervention will address the root cause of child labour, “overcome the problems attributed with imperfect or nonexistence of financial market”, and also addresses the main agency (decision to send children to either work or school by parents) problem. A typical example is the ‘Progressa’ poverty programme in Mexico, where parents who enrolled their children in schools were given grant; which had increased school enrolment to about two-third and brought low the rate of child labour (Udry, 2003: p. 17). Similarly, a joint report by International Labour Organization (ILO), Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), (2019) also reemphasized the need to provide strong social protection mechanisms to offset the economic vulnerabilities that force families to send their children to child labour, forced labour and child trafficking. The report stressed that without such adequate social protection strategies:



“families can be left with no other recourse than their children’s labour to cope with adverse social or economic contingencies such as sudden loss of income or catastrophic illness, and adult workers can be left with little choice but to incur debt on usurious terms or to accept jobs that carry high risk of forced labour or to fall into situations where they are trafficked” (ILO, OECD, IOM & UNICEF, 2019: p. 36)

Canagarajah and Coulombe (2014, p. 19) make the observation that “with high fees there is higher school participation. It may be recalled that in Ghana, although public schools are meant to be free they charge indirect fees from parents which has been a disincentive for parents to send children to school.”

Poor decision making strategies (bad policies) coupled with institutional deficiencies and inappropriate implementation techniques had brought hardship on the people the same policy (such as SAP) supposed to bring some relief to, thereby resulting in

unemployment of adult workers that reduces the household purchasing power which culminates into correlated inability to cater for the family members (mostly children). In a situation where household heads could not provide the basic needs of the members the family, the possibility of children working to substitute for the shortfall is high (DFID, 2003 P. 12 & 13).

2.2.5 Family Work or Occupation

Another area where child work/labour is embedded is the situation where household occupation is available. As stated at page 26 in this work families have pride in bequeathing their younger ones with skills that will enable them take over and perpetuate the family business after they are gone. However, the ILO (2018) report, second edition dubbed *Ending Child Labour By 2025: A Review of Policies and Programmes* describe it as the “knowledge gap”, the “functional dependence of family enterprise on the unpaid labour of their children”. The policy review mentioned that 85% of child labour in Africa occurs in the agricultural sector and 69% of them “perform unpaid contributing family work” (ILO, 2018 P. 75). In the Ghanaian context, the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS 1994) as cited by Eldring et al (2000) 70 percent of children perform unpaid family work (Eldring et al, 2000: p.18). According to Canagarajah & Coulombe (2014), “the children of private informal sector wage earners and food crop producing farmers had the highest incidence of child labor”; where most of them are “unpaid family worker” engaged in “family farms and enterprises”. According to the statistics of the same source, over 90% of rural children were involved in household level agricultural activities (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 2014), In juxtaposing the children who are unpaid worker with the wage earners in Sub-Sahara African countries, they cited (Ashagrie, 1993; ILO, 1996) as documented that only 3% of children are wage earners and majority of them are in the

urban areas and boys. They also associated that children receive only a sixth of what adults earn as wage and this could probably be the reason for employers preferring the hiring of the services of children to adults because child labour provides cheap labour. They further opine that “in family enterprises the ease and flexibility of household child labor makes it attractive to employ children in a variety of tasks”. Another reason for parents to engage their children in family business is low quality education (inferior quality teaching and teacher absenteeism), where teachers wanted children to work on their farms in return for classes. This phenomenon disgusts parents and would rather send the children to work on their own farms instead (Canagarajah & Coulombe, 2014, p. 10).

2.2.6. Children’ Own Orientation

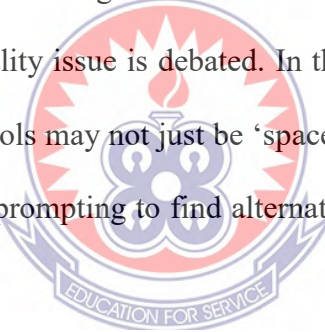
Some children work while attending school because they want to acquire some skills to be able to face life in future. According to Appiah (2018), some children engage in tobacco production in Gbefe in the Volta Region of Ghana against their parents’ will. Even though their parents provided them everything and wanted them to stay in school and learn, they would run away from school to work in the tobacco farm for pleasure as well as acquiring some farming skills. In his words:

“... their reason for engaging in tobacco production was that, gaining farming skills was one thing they would not want to lose and being equipped especially with the skill of tying tobacco around a stick makes them happy. These are children involved in tobacco production because they would want to gain farming skills and in this way their involvement could be considered as child work and not child labour” (Appiah, 2018, p. 163).

This finding is rather interesting and amazing as it arouses a lot of questions. Is it that the kind of education supplied does not warrant children's prospect success and will definitely go back to tobacco production (or that is the only work in the community they do) after completing basic education?

2.2.7 Quality Education

But child labour is not only determined by the above factors indicated. The school itself may be a barrier for access, retention and successful completion of children. Educational (school) quality can be one of the reasons and the expected benefit perceived by parents' and guardians' welfare decisions on whether to send their children to school or work. According to Odonkor (2007), The full spectrum of direct cost, opportunity cost, and 'damage risk' of education as laid out ..., must be taken into account when the quality issue is debated. In the poorest rural areas where these costs are greatest and schools may not just be 'spaces' but actually harmful spaces for children, parents need no prompting to find alternative uses for their children's time" (Odonkor, 2007 p. 14).

The logo of the University of Education, Winneba, is a circular emblem. It features a central figure of a person with arms raised, set against a background of a sunburst. Below the central figure is a banner with the motto "EDUCATION FOR SERVICE". The entire emblem is encircled by a border containing the university's name.

She further elaborated that the key determinant in parents' decision to either send their children to school or farm is seen in the quality of education provided (in this case public schools). She alluded to the fact that in the rural context of Africa and particularly Ghana, children are seen as an integral part of the labour force both domestically and economically (agricultural work) from their early age. Thus, the "work they do contributes not only to the household upkeep and income but also trains them for their own future livelihood and simultaneously represents some degree of insurance for their parents' old age" which differs from the Western context where incomes are high enough to exclude children from domestic work force entirely in which state services are also provided to cater for the "old generation", and situations

where “basic literacy and numeracy are guaranteed in all schools and where there is more redress for criminal behaviour against children, the education vs. child labour issue is seen primarily in moral terms” (Odonkor, 2007: p. 14). However, in rural Ghana, the issue is about survival and therefore, “poor educational quality is the biggest deterrent to children being enrolled and retained in school, then it is also one of the biggest spurs to child labour”. She asserted that “poor education is worse than no education at all” (Odonkor, 2007 p. 14).

2.3 Forms of Work Basic School Children Engaged in

Work is a very important activity in the lives of all human beings because it provides mechanism against poverty, it keeps a person’s body healthy in the form of exercise, people who are hardworking are socially accepted, providing the basic needs of the individual and that of his or her dependents, brings about development, among others. Because work (legal) is rewarding, it behoves every sound and healthy person to occupy him or herself with some activity whether for pay or not. Parents are expected to work and provide for the members of their family without which the household cannot survive unless they resort to other means possible to earn a living. Children are also expected to enjoy their childhood by living on the sweat of their parents while understudying them to take up adults roles in replacement of their parents when they grow up. Parents being altruistic in nature (all things be equal) will like to bequeath their children with some wealth (occupation), try to train them along that line whichever way possible to acquire the prerequisite skill needed to take up their jobs as future adults. This is confirmed by Takyi (2014) when he posits that “...parents might see almost all levels of child work as being in the interest of the child. With this zeal, they hardly differentiate hazardous work from light work, especially when it comes to farming and domestic activities”, a position that is highly

contested by many child right activists (Takyi, 2014 p. 41). This process has led to the socialization of the children which requires them to start work as domestic apprentices (in all forms of household chores) and eventually become workers outside the home for either payment or nonpayment.

But at which age it is appropriate for the child to start work? The ILO's convention 138 sets out the minimum age for admission to work and employment. The minimum age for admission to work and employment is not less than 15 years. This is also the required age (normal) for the completion of basic school. This means that all member states that have adopted and ratified this convention are expected not to employ anyone under this minimum age set by the ILO. But because the capacity for the enforcement of the minimum age requirement is lacking, due to the fact that what constitute child labour in one culture is not the same in another culture, the phenomenon has been on the increase (The Consortium for Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE), 2010 p 31). This elasticity of the convention which allows countries (governments) to consider the home situations and set out the age appropriate upon justification in a report to the ILO; in my view is the cause of the inconsistencies that have weakened the enforcement capacity of the convention 138 of the ILO.

Furthermore, the ILO has permitted light work that is harmless to the health status, mind, moral and more importantly does not interfere with schooling of children (ILO 2015; Tungesvik, 2000) cited in Appiah (2018 p. 2). These allowances have created inconsistencies globally with regards to difference in the age for admission to work and employment:

“... significant challenges remain in terms of transposing these international standards into national laws. For example, recent research has highlighted important inconsistencies between laws governing the minimum age for admission to employment and those dealing with the age range for compulsory

schooling – of the 170 ILO member States that have ratified ILO Convention No.138, 44 set an age for the completion of compulsory education that is higher than the minimum age for admission to employment they specified upon ratification, meaning that children in these countries are allowed to enter employment before they are allowed to leave school” (ILO, 2019: p. 18).

According to Udry (2003), child labour is “overwhelmingly a rural and agrarian phenomenon” which is supported by many literatures (Udry, 2003 p. 4). However the phenomenon does not only occur in rural area where the dominant occupation is agriculture but also in the urban centers in the industrial sectors of the economy and also in the service sectors where activities such as petty trading are eminent. The phenomenon is not only limited to the above reasons in terms of residence (rural or urban) but also driven heavily by certain underlining factors such as poverty as already indicated somewhere in the literature. The household challenges (such as poverty) have compelled parents to send their children to work in order to boost the household income necessary for the survival of the family. The sacrifice of the children’s future welfare for the current benefit according to Udry is the concern which has motivated the policy issues of child labour that lies behind the ILO convention 138 (Udry, 2003).

The residence where child labour occurs has provided the idea of which activities (apart from household works/chores) are available for children of basic schools who combine schooling and work. That is, whether the child engages in agricultural related activities, industrial or service oriented activities. However, CREATE (2010) has classified the kind of works children do to those that are incompatible to education and those works that are compatible to the child’s schooling.

According to Admassie, (2003) cited by CREATE (2010), “child minding is particularly restrictive” and chiefly listed among the incompatible work type of child labour where girls are required to cater for their younger siblings for their mothers to

be able to attend to some other economically ventured activities. Also, in situations where death or incapacitation (sickness for instance) require girls to stay at home and mind their younger siblings (CREATE, 2010: p. 31 & 32). CREATE (2010) cited some authorities giving different situation under which most child minding take place:

“Child minding is particularly restrictive (Admassie, 2003). In Ethiopia, few children engaged in child minding also attend school (Admassie, 2003). In Botswana, Fuller et al (1995) find that girls with siblings averaging 11 years-old, are 3.5 times more likely to still be in school, compared to girls whose siblings average 5 years. This is because girls with fewer older siblings incur greater responsibility for minding their brothers and sisters (Fuller et al, 1995). Similar evidence comes from Côte d’Ivoire, where child schooling was found to increase with the number of female siblings aged between 7 and 14 (Woldehanne et al, 2005). HIV/AIDS prevalence in Southern Africa may further restrict girls’ schooling by increasing the demand for domestic help or child minding. Following the death or incapacitation of a parent or guardian older girls may be required to mind children, care for the sick or adopt domestic chores (Kadzamira and Rose, 2003). Child minding may be seasonal in some areas, as found by Fentiman et al (1999) in Senegal, but more research is needed to determine whether this is a widespread phenomenon” (CREATE, 2010: p. 31 & 32).

Among those activities that according to CREATE are compatible to children education include herding, farm work, fetching water and collecting firewood. According to Admassie, (2003) children who attend school are able to fetch water or firewood either on their way to and from school or before and after school hours. However, CREATE indicates that this may depend on the location and the environment of the household. Examples of researchers supporting this finding include (Guarcello et al, 2006) cited (CREATE, 2010) as associated that “household chores and family-based economic activity pose less of a threat to school participation than wage employment and other ‘external’ work” CREATE (2010: p. 31). This findings are contested by Hemson (2007) cited in (CREATE, 2010) as suggesting that collection of water did affect school attendance and performance in South Africa. This in my view whether a work is compatible to children schooling or not may

depend on the hours of work engagement and the nature of the work (difficulty level). Some paid work may require limited amount of hour based on the terms of negotiation whilst some nonpaid work such as household chores may involve a lot of time due to the tediousness and, or the volume of work and the amount of hours required to complete the work.

Child work or activities are not limited to those highlighted above. Ampomah, (2012) has identified child hawking in Madina and Abokobi area of Ga East District in the Greater Region of Ghana. According to Ampomah (2012);

“Child Labour particularly child petty traders or hawkers is very common in Ghana. These child hawkers carry different types of consumable goods and sell them in the market, by the road side, traffic jams chasing their customers in moving vehicles and mostly run the risk of being hit by cars. Most of them sell throughout the whole week especially during school hours” (Ampomah, 2012: p. 10).

She identifies some other activities where child labour occurs involve illegal mining activities (galamsay operation), stone quarrying where children “break huge stones with simple tool like harmer [hammer] for a meager wage”, shoe shine boy mending people’s worn out shoes (ibid). These activities may be stratified under light work, child labour and worst form of child labour.

Another area where children activity is dominant is stone quarry. According to Madhavan and Raj (2005) among the 100,000 estimated quarry workers in Bundi District of India, roughly, 15000 – 20000 were children even though there is a legislation prohibiting the employment of children below the age of 14 years in factories, mines or hazardous work. The report highlighted some outrageous circumstances that lead to the engagement of children into child labour in Budhpura stone quarries:

“According to quarry workers, the low wages of parents (a daily average of Rs40- 50) is one of the main reasons of increasing child labour. Alcoholism of male adults pushes children to supplement their

father's earning. Many children of quarry workers are born at and grow up around quarrying sites. These children get habituated while playing or helping their parents with quarrying activities. There is a severe lack of schooling facilities, especially to cater for the specific needs of the migrant workers. Migrant workers do not live permanently in the area, during the rainy season they return to their home villages. This makes it difficult for children to enroll in school. During the quarrying season, migrant workers live close to or even at the quarries, which are 4-5km away from the main village where the schools are situated. Psychologically, they get moulded and tend to develop a natural disinterest in studies even when educational opportunities would occur. Bonded labour remains one of the prime causes of child labour in Budhpura. At any time when debts exceed the parents' repaying capacity, they tend to induct their children into work in order to supplement the income of the family. In case of death of a labourer who has borrowed money for medication, the entire debt burden falls upon his or her children" (Madhavan & Raj, 2005: p. 17-19).

They reported that during off season (rainy season when no work is done), workers take advance payment from their employers (quarry owners), and other expenses made on workers such as excursions, luxury items (television sets) and money paid to worker during accidents or death are also regarded as loan to be repaid which led to debt accumulation. Parents' inability to repay this debt ended them as bonded workers to their employers. This phenomenon, often, the children of indebted workers are forced to take over debts of their parents and are sucked into the bonded labour system (Madhavan & Raj, 2005).

Besides, there are other areas of work where children's participation is manifested is agriculture. There is limited data in terms of estimated number of children working in this field. However, according to Ghana Statistical Service (2008) cited in Takyi (2014) "89.3% of the economically active children in Ghana are engaged in agriculture" (Takyi, 2014, p. 36). Agriculture activities are enormous but can be grouped into animal husbandry and crop farming. Animal husbandry activities include herding, foliage (preparation of hay), feeding, watering, cleaning the pen, among others. The main activities under crop production include but not limited to sowing,

weeding under the crops, crow scaring, watering of crops, and harvesting, plucking flowers, fruits, and vegetables.

In the cocoa production centers, the activities of children include “weeding, carrying water for spraying, pod plucking, pod gathering and heaping, scooping of cocoa beans, carting of fermented beans, drying of beans, and carting of dry beans to sale centres” (Takyi, 2014: p. 36). It is important to note that the activities children perform in the agricultural production to a large extent depend on the type of farming undertaken by the parents or guardians. Children do not perform these activities to their parents or guardians only but also to the close relatives and friends of their parents at the times children are less busy or done with works of these parents or guardians for either cash or kind or even free (Appiah, 2018: p. 162). The consequences of these activities on the education, mental and health implications are discussed later in this work. Other activities like artisanal small-scale mining activities become area of work for child workers when unfavourable conditions such as poor rainfall pattern, post-harvest loss due to poor road network and lack of ready market exist.

The engagement of children is keen in areas where mineral resources such as gold ore deposits are found. In such areas, even farm lands are given away for the mining activities to take place upon the compensation of the farmers and land owners. Mining activities are considered as one of the hazardous works by the ILO and therefore children are prohibited from involving themselves either willingly or forced into it (ILO, 2015). According to Hilson (2010), few studies that have been carried out on child labour in the artisanal small-scale mining camps in Sub-Sahara Africa indicate that “the situation is far more complex than the ILO’s diagnosis”; he contends, however, that working in that sector does not necessarily hinder children’s schooling

(education and vocational training) rather, it facilitates its achievement by using the proceeds from their job to pay for their tuition fees Hilson (2010 p. 451-452). Bonnet (1993) cited in Hilson (2010) contests that parents in Africa like other parents all over the world want the best for their children and would like to equip them as possible as they can to face the future. Hilson argues that “education (child schooling) and child labour (work) go hand in hand and even the latter makes the former possible. Hilson opines that the phenomenon is still relevant “particularly prevalent in Ghana’s ‘cocoa belt’ in the country’s Western Region where 63 per cent of children are engaged in some kind of economic activity (compared to the national average of 57.5 per cent) but 70 per cent of these ‘working hands’ attend school or are enrolled in a vocational training programme”. Similar pattern existed in Talensi Nabdam where earning from mining activities have made learning possible (Hilson, 2010 p 463). The kinds of work children do in the mining camps to earn them income include crushing rocks, and process gold, selling water and transporting materials (Hilson, 2010).

Another apparent area where child work or labour occurs is the fishing sector. However, obtaining national data on the number of children engaged in this activity is difficult to come by and even if you do it will be met with dearth. Although, national estimations on the number of children working at the landing sites is hardly available, data on the evidence of children’s activities are found on community base. Due to inadequate credible estimation on the phenomenon, the sector is in some instances combined with agriculture. For instance, in some literatures, it found quoted as this, “agriculture/fishery workers (55.1%)” and “overwhelming majority (97.8%) of the children are contributing family workers with majority of these children

In Ghana, fishing activities are found around the country’s coastal zones and the inland along the Volta River/Lake largely. According to Zdunek et al (2008), “child

labour exists in the study areas which comprised Pru, Ketu South, Keta and Kwahu North districts” where one or more boys are found in all kinds of boats. They reported that as much as 17,274 canoes were counted actively fishing on the Volta Lake and so, should this be considered, its implication may indicate that several thousands of children may be involved in child labour activities in the fishing sector along the Volta Lake alone. Their report further asserted that most of the working children in the area stated may be victims of child trafficking from Central, Western and Volta Regions of the country; though the scope of this work is not intended to cover child trafficking, revelation makes it very important to note the sources where those children are drawn from. Some of these vulnerable children are contracted based on the kind of agreement entered by either their parents or guardians are subjected to long working hours of fishing activities which include works such as crew, repair boats and mend nets, sort fish, off-load fish from boats, carry fish to the market, assist in processing and marketing, fish from shore, make and use fish traps, bail out boats, and sometimes dive to untangle nets. Similarly, Walakira (2009) has classified the work of fishing in terms of what happens before, during and after fishing. Thus, before fishing children are engaged in “cleaning boats, mending nets, making/repairing canoes/boats, loading boats with fishing equipment (food, lantern, paraffin, plastic bags, anchor, paddle, water emptier, match boxes etc)”. During fishing, their activities involve “rowing the boat, hooking/spearing fish, swimming with fish, operating a canoe or motorised boat, casting nets, pulling fish out of water, emptying water from the boat while fishing, fish transportation”. Then, after fishing, the children perform such actions as “offloading fish, ferrying to market place), sorting fish, scaling fish/cleaning fish, washing nets, picking fish fats, smoking/salting/ sun-drying fish, fish bisecting, hawking/vending/selling fish”

(Walakira, 2009, p. 62). These activities of children in fishing, he added, “may result in exposure to dangerous weather conditions in open water, water-borne and water-related diseases, contaminated water, long working hours, seasonal and night work, and handling heavy and sometimes dangerous equipment” that affect their health and attendance to school. Some of the problems associated with the difficult tasks of children involved in the fishing land site:

Drowning, getting carried out by strong currents or lost at sea, sunstroke, attacks by sharks or other marine animals, bites and stings from insects or other land and sea animals, respiratory problems, blindness, hearing problems as a result of exposure to high water pressure when diving, addiction to stimulants (amphetamines), early alcoholism, wounds and disfiguration of the hands and body, arthritic deformation of the hands and feet, damage to major bodily systems, sexually transmitted diseases, physical and psychological mistreatment and sexual abuse, among others (ILO, 2002 p. v).

And “could constitute worst form of child labour” under convention 182 of (ILO, 1999; 2002; 2015). Though, there are laws enacted to protect the right of these vulnerable children from what is perceived to be child labour by outsiders such as child right activists and campaigners (governmental, non-governmental organisations and international bodies), those laws are difficult to implement because the issues are rooted in the socio-cultural settings of the people who enjoy the labour of the children. These children are adapted to the environment and are initiated into fishing at an early age and encouraged by their parents, older siblings and friends to plunge into water and learn how to swim (ILO, 2002).

2.3.1 Effects of Child Work on Household’s Prospects

There may be dichotomous effects of child work (labuor) on academic successes of the children. Researchers and policy makers must view the phenomenon along this

line in order to address the issue accordingly. The distinction in this dichotomy may have both short and long term effects. These differences emanates from the perceived orientation of the individual with regard to the benefits or problems associated with the phenomenon in relation to the cultural inclination as well as those who are poised for action to end the practice of children engagement in work or labour at that early age (14 years and below).

The school of thought whose orientation of children's work or labour is rooted in cultural perspective does not admit any much offensive effect or act with the phenomenon. To them, so long as there are benefits to the course which serve the interest of the child and society, it is well and the status quo must be maintained though, they acknowledge the possible abuses that may occur in the process. According to Hilson (2010), the activities (loading, carrying water, hauling and preparing meals) which young boys and girls carry out suggest that child labour in that "context has cultural dimension"; that the "ILO and its partners, and the Ghana Government have made far too many assumptions about the causes and implications of child labour when drafting policies, designing laws and implementing programmes" (Hilson, 2010 p. 449). He reflects on how damaging initiatives that are not grounded in the local context can be, when he cited Bradshaw and Wallace (1996) who opined that "in African families... there is a feeling that the policies [on child labour] dictated by international institutions have not trickled down ... [and that] something that looks good as a national policy can be devastating for a village" (Hilson, 2010 p. 466).

Similarly, Walakira (2009) associated that "child training through work has paid attention to agricultural and pastoral activities, traditional healing work and traditional apprenticeship in established micro and small enterprises where children are placed

under master craftsmen for a considerable period of time before they start to work on their own” (p. 102). Though, Walakira admits that in traditional training there may be exploitation of children under the auspices of the training itself, “action researchers hardly pay attention to the nature, dynamics of the traditional system of training and its linkage to child upbringing” (Walakira, 2009 p. 102, 103). He further opines that research focused on the indigenous peoples and community based revealed that parents raise their children by involving them in a variety of activities comprising their life routines or patterns and such “activities are intended for training in preparation for the future of children to become independent after acquiring practical knowledge, skills, and attitudes consistent with norms and tradition”. He added that the process forms the core for “the continuity or society through the transfer of knowledge and practices from the older to the younger generation” (Walakira, 2009: p. 102, 103).

The substantial issue remains the impact child work or labour has on the children, their families and the larger society in general, be it short run or long term. First of all, in the short term, child work has been identified as a buffer against family or household poverty. According to Hilson (2010) using an instance of artisanal small-scale mining (ASM) associates that working at the site is a “poverty-driven activity” engaged by people from different sects of society who have “few alternative employment prospect”. Such persons are those who are faced with unpleasant social conditions such as “redundant public sector workers, nomads, subsistence farmers and a host of semi-skilled people”. For him, as the argument stance, a number of young boys and girls are involved in “arduous activities in ASM camps, including heavy lifting, digging, ore haulage and transport, are products of this poverty” (Hilson, 2010 p. 446). As indicated earlier in this literature by many researchers and writers such as

Bhalotra (2000) associated that if the income contribution of children is deducted from the household for which child work is paramount such families shall even become poorer. Thus, child work or labour is a demand of children because they want, and need to fill social and economic gaps that exist in their households. The reason for which children are compelled to work is to feed their families and provide for their personal needs. Thus, children are forced to work to raise money to cater for their food, clothing, school uniforms and textbooks, and many more (Hamenoo et al., 2018 p. 253). They explain that children work for the survival of their families and themselves; even though they are not well paid they are the major contributors to family income as a remedy for poverty (Bhalotra, 2000; DFID, 2003: p. 10; Dendir, 2007; Basu and Van, 1998 p. 143). Hilson (2010) analyses and argues that the projects of organisations that perceive child labour from a distance (those not directly involved or trapped in compelling situations of sending children to work such as the ILO and its agencies) conceived and planned projects that sought to intervene in addressing the problem of child labour did lack foresight and this should serve as a warning for other organisations that are “planning to undertake similar initiatives” because the issue of child labour is a complex one which “requires equally dynamic solution” (Hilson, 2010, p. 468).

However, the other school of thought which constitute the activists of child labour also focused on the debilitating effects of children’s work on their health, emotional development and academic success also does pay little or no attention to the benefits that are derived from the phenomenon. The leading organization in this group is the ILO and its affiliated partners. According to them, the approach of the former to solving the problem of poverty is described as the short term solution which draws the future fortunes of children in dealing with the current situation. It is further argued

that this short run solution to poverty may have the potential of worsening or compounding the plight of such children in future. According to Hamenoo et al (2018) who identify that child labour has a detrimental effects on children though the results of the study indicated that children use the money they accumulated from the selling on the highways for furthering their education and providing for their daily needs. They again mention that these findings are variance to the results of the study conducted by Hamenoo and Sottie (2015) in Ghana artisanal fishing industry and the study conducted by Sossou and Yogtiba (2009) on the cocoa farms across West Africa; that, “children worked for longer hours under deplorable condition but these children get no access to the income generated from their labour (Hamenoo et al., 2018). Hamenoo and Sottie (2015) cited in Hamenoo et al (2018) opines “the beneficiaries of the children's labour were the fishermen and sometimes blood relatives, but not the children themselves” (Hamenoo et al., 2018). And even if parents send their children to work (or children's ambition for working is) to enable them provide their necessities for their survival as well as supporting their educational needs with the funds accrued from their labour, the consequences of those activities do not allow them to a greater extent maximize academic success which is hoped to deliver them from the poverty trap in future.

This is in consonance with Galli (2001) who associates that parents may logically send their children to work in order to maximize their possibility of survival but may not perceive the long term adverse implication of child labour on “their own family” because the phenomenon competes with the child's attendance of school and “proficiency”. Children send to work “do not accumulate (or under-accumulate) human capital, missing the opportunity to enhance their productivity and future earnings capacity”; this “lowers the wages of their future families and increase the

probability of their offsprings being sent to work” which in the end product is the continuous cycle of poverty and child labour being passed on from “generation to generation” (Galli, 2001 p. 3). Culturally, families often prefer sending children to work to acquire practical skills and knowledge to attending school. However, studies have also proven that such skills acquired through child labour or work do not improve productivity in older age and therefore has no positive effect on adult wages which could suffice their survival and prevent child labour (Galli, 2001).

Even so, in my view, if the cultural perception of parents about child work is to be changed, then school quality, availability, accessibility and affordability issues must be a matter of concern to all especially the government. In addition, there is the need to provide ready market (available jobs) where all children who have successfully developed their skills through school can participate and sell their skilled labour for higher wages. Again, the curriculum must be a potential tool able to equip children with employable skills for the labour market (and/or) for self-employment. This will serve as an incentive (motivation) for withdrawing children from work and enrolling them in schools by parents.

2.3.2 Effects of Child Work on their Academic Achievement

According to Abraka (2010) in Anumaka (2012) “22% of student’s academic performance was influenced by attending classes” and that “increase in attendance will also increase academic performance of students” Anumaka (2012 p. 13). In a similar vein, Meer (2009) also cited in Anumaka (2012) advanced that “education performance reflects the total involvement of a child or youth in the school environment which includes social and emotional development, communication and participation in the classrooms as well as out of class activities” (Anumaka, 2012: p. 13). Conversely, educational poor performance is related to the situation whereby the

child does not conform to the above standard defined; rather it refers to “late arrival, dodging lessons, poor examination achievement” (Anumaka, 2012 p. 13). Thus, in any circumstance that may not permit a child (for whatever reason including their engagement in work) to actively participate in full in all school activities may have the potential to adversely affect his or her performance in academic achievement. Given that children under performance in academic should be viewed in terms of late arrival, absenteeism and examination results (Anumaka, 2012).

Child work or labour, according to US Department Of State, Country Report (2006) cited in Anumaka (2012 p. 14) the orphans drop out of school to work to survive and to fend their siblings.” However, this is not the case in all situations as some children are in school and working at the same time. Many people also view educational achievement in terms of the score of marks a child made in a test without due regard to late arrival, irregularity in school and non-active participation in class activities. These challenges resulted from poverty stricken in some households (making it difficult to provide the basic necessities) push such vulnerable children to work for their survival, and that of their family members. According to Hamenoo et al (2018) the output of child in school is the direct result from time spent in studying which are “often influenced by the happenings outside the child’s control” (Hamenoo et al., 2018 p. 253). They further argue that the child is directly responsible for his or he academic performance, however, if he or she lacks basic school “supplies” (items) and food, it pushes them to engage in economic activities, the focus would be redirected to the larger society (Hamenoo et al., 2018).

Be that as it may, while some studies report that it is the cognitive achievement or highest grade attainment of the individual that matters in learning and not the number of time spent in the school per se. What children combining school and work go

through could eventually harm their capability of being academically sound. It is crystal clear that the “greater the time children allocated to work and economic activities, the increasingly difficult it becomes to attend school” since one cannot eat his/her cake and still have it (Odey et al, 2017 p. 237; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2003 p. 9). Similarly, Galli (2001) asserted that “full time jobs have worst impact on the child’s future productivity and part time work which can be so much demanding may also disrupt education, since children may be too tired to adequately participate in school activities” (and studies at home) (Galli, 2001 p. 3).

2.3.3 The Link between Child Work, Ill-health and Academic Performance

Although, there is an argument supporting the assumption that the income generated from child labour is used to maintain children’s health and buy sufficient food (to improve the nutrition) of the poor households Abugre, (2017), in reality this is rarely done. Poor household hardly afford to buy fruit and other vegetables that will really improve their nutrient for protecting their bodies against diseases and infection for good health; they depend mostly on carbohydrate foods for survival.

Children’s work to greater extent affects their health dependent on the conditions and circumstances under which those activities are carried out. The permission of light work to children is most often abused by parent and guardians. Thus, light work may turn to hazardous labour which affects their health and general development. According to Hamenoo et al (2018) child labour such as selling on the high streets could endanger their health and lives. Thus, their engagement on the street selling could expose them to accidents which could result in injury and possibly death; they are also prone to diseases, such as headache, cough and skin rashes due to the nature of the work and the condition under which those works are carried out. Likewise, Porter et al. (2013) as found in Hamenoo et al (2018) place “emphasis on

biomechanics and psycho-social impact of load carrying”; that “carrying loads on the head comes with both short- and long-term health complications” (Hamenoo et al., 2018 p. 253). According to ILO (2006) report, found in Odey et al (2017) asserts that about “74.4 million children aged 5-14 year who skipped school and engage in employment were victims of physical and mental hazard, most common are road and industrial accidents, abduction and ritual murder etc. many of them have been hit by cars, tricycle (Kekenapep), motor cycle (Okada), bicycle etc. leading to deaths, disabilities and various magnitude of injuries” (Odey et al., 2017 p. 237). Besides, the vulnerability of children makes them susceptible to ill health when engaged in long hours of work because their physical bodies are so weak and easily get tired than adults do, (Parvathamma, 2015). Similarly, Odey et al (2017) cited ILO for their condemnation of child labour as having “conditions damaging” to the health, physical and mental development of the children engaged in it Odey et al (2017 p. 235). The ordeal that these vulnerable children go through also has negative psychological impacts on them and their academic attainment as well. Odey et al (2017) for instance have associated that:

Most times they suffer from mental related sickness such as; stigmatization from the press and public, feelings of disheartenment, stress and irritability, personality disorders, and anti-social behaviour, and alienation and isolation from their family and these have significant negative effect upon the level of education, school attendance, academic performance, grade, literacy, leisure time, and overall human capital formation of the child worker (Odey et al., 2017: p. 235 - 236).

This implies that it is not only the conditions that child workers (labourers) suffer alone which affect their academic successes but also the psychological trauma they go through due to the stigmatization from the press and the general public including their own colleagues contribute immensely to their academic and social predicaments. This psychological dimension to the health related issues of child labour as identified

by Odey et al. (2017) includes low self-esteem, “personality crises” as well as negative self-concept due to what they see and hear beyond their maturity. This phenomenon has ill effects on their “cognition and retention abilities”; that compels such working children to erroneously form negative perception about “themselves as less privilege and less fortunate than their non-working counterparts” (Odey et al., 2017p. 236, 237). Self-concept refers to children’s sense of who they are which is closely linked to identity and becomes increasingly more reflective, differentiated and explicit during later childhood (Harter, 1983 cited in Woodhead, 2004). Self-esteem on the other hand refers to children’s sense about their worth and value. This may include their judgment about themselves as well as their belief about how others view them (Woodhead, 2004). According to him:

“Self-esteem is often linked to purposefulness and achievement, and it is strongly affected by the respect, approval and encouragement children receive from others. Self-esteem may diminish by feelings of failure and by experiences of rejection, scolding and ridicule. Low self-esteem is associated with diminished confidence, motivation, competence, shame and depression” (Woodhead, 2004).

Most of the working children attend school at the same time. These young ones would have to manage the competing demands from their parents, employers (in some situations) and their teacher as well. The excessive stress they manage results in the reduction of efficacy, disrupted concentration (in class), chronic anxiety, feeling of overwhelmed and in some situation unable to cope. These conditions that working children often go through culminate into lack of “confidence, about their skills, capabilities and achievements” helping to form negative self-concept and low self-esteem (Woodhead, 2004).

The worse of it is that those who supposed to protect them, provide them security and encouragement such as parents and guardians, peers and teachers, rather add more insult to their injury by continuously insulting (verbally abusing) them, calling them

names and neglecting them. These kinds of treatment given to them either compel them to perform poorly in their academic work or push them out of school for good.

2.4 Attempts by Governments to Address School Age Children Working in

Ghana

Children's work or labour may be helpful in providing support to the family's survival (either enabling parents to re-engage themselves in other activities to boost family income or directly bring pecuniary reward to raise household income). It is also clear that the returns from children's work are used for supplementation of the household resource in providing their educational needs (Khan, 2001; Omokhodion & Odusot, 2006; Wodon's, 2000; all cited in Osment, 2014). It must however be admitted that, the practice makes use of children's time, energy and experience which compete with the child's opportunity (time) to attend school and its related activities. The competing demands work makes on the child's time to study and do homework (take home assignment) is great to the extent that it affects his or her school attendance and performance. This is in line with what Heady (2003) found in Abugre (2017) who associates that in the long run the under accumulation of human capital caused by low school attendance and poor health may be linked to child labour which creates a "missed opportunity to enhance the productivity and future earnings capacity of the next generation" (Abugre, 2017 p. 35). The debilitating effect of children's work on academic performance has a relationship with skill training or the human capital development in and for the country. Although, according to a study conducted by Basu (1999) & Edmonds (2005) cited in Abugre (2017) there exist positive relationship between child labour, school enrolment and academic performance. This phenomenon in any case should be a source of concern for any country for that matter Ghana.

Against this backdrop the government of Ghana has taken a lot of measures to deal with child labour issues which are also embedded in child right related conventions and principles both locally and internationally incorporated and spearheaded by educational policies. These measures include but not exhaustive to legislations and policies interventions.

2.4.1 Legislation

The enactment of the 1992 Constitution has provided for the right and freedom of all Ghanaians including children in Chapter Five (the fundamental human rights and freedoms). In this chapter of the Constitution, Articles 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 25 have provided for the protection of; then, under fundamental human rights and freedoms, protection of right to life, protection of personal liberty, respect for human dignity, protection from slavery and forced labour and educational right respectively. All these provisions are relevant with regards to how children are treated in the place of work. The Constitution further provides for the Children's Right in Article 28 (1) where it has vested the power of legislation in the interest of children in Ghana's Parliament; (2) provides for the protection of children from engaging in work that constitutes threat to their health, education and development; (3) provides for the protection of children from torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; (4) stated the protection of children from denial from medical treatment and education; while (5) defines a child to be a person whose age is below 18 years, (The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, 1992 p. 12).

Besides the Constitution, there are Acts of Parliament that provides for the right of children such as the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) amended 2016 (Act 937); Act 651 enjoins special treatment and suitable place of work for young persons and prohibits their engagement in works that may have threatened their health and education and

also criminalises forced labour of all persons including children. However forced labour does not include labour required during war, execution of court sentence, carried out by a member of disciplined force or service, labour required for communal work or other civic obligation; and Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (694) criminalises the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, trading or receipt of persons, within and across borders, by the use of threat, fraud and exploitation of vulnerability or by paying to gain consent as well as induced prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery, or the removal of organs (Taylor Crabbe, 2020 p. 11 -16; Zdunnek et al, 2008: p. 7 & 8). In addition, Ghana has been a member of some international organisations such as the UN, ILO, IPEC, UNICEF, AU, among others that champion the course for children's right and protection.

2.4.2 Government's Policy Interventions to Curb Child Labour and Increase

School Enrollment

In the year 1992 when Ghana decided to abandon military rule and to adopt civilian government (democracy), the formulators of the constitution took into account the inclusion and provision of what is known to be Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) for all Ghanaian children of school going age under chapter five which provides the Fundamental Human Rights And Freedoms and specifically under Article 25 - making education the right of the child, (The Constitution of the Republic of Ghana 1992: p. 12 & 27; Akyeampong 2009, p. 181; Oduro-Ofori & Adwoa-Yeboah, 2014, p. 40). According to Government of Ghana (GOG)/Ministry of Education (MOE, 1996), cited in Akyeampong (2009) FCUBE was the government's commitment 'to make schooling from Basic Stage 1 through 9 free and compulsory for all school-age children by the year 2005 (Akyeampong, 2009).

In pursuance of this, the government had introduced capitation grant in 2005/2006 academic year with the aim of abolishing all indirect fees charged in Basic Education (Akyeampong 2009, p. 181; Oduro-Ofori & Adwoa-Yeboah, 2014, p. 40). The grant of US\$3 per enrolled child, according to Akyeampong (2009) had enhanced unprecedented enrollment in Grade 1 by 20% in 2006 but was not sustained in the following year.

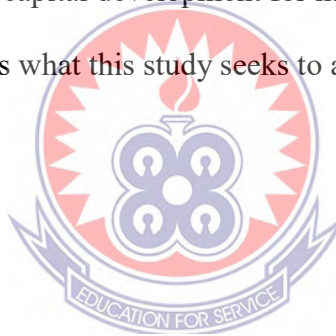
Poverty has been widely proven in most literatures to be one, if not the major determinant for children working while attending school. This phenomenon has humped the enrollment of children in schools. The government of Ghana then introduced School Feeding Programme (SFP) (in some jurisdiction, Food For Education (FFE)) in 2005 “in the context of the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) Pillar III and in response to the first and second Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) on eradicating extreme poverty and hunger and achieving universal primary education” (The Government of Ghana, 2015, p. 11; Oduro-Ofori & Adwoa-Yeboah, 2014, p. 41). The main objectives for implementing the programme (policy) were “to improve school enrolment, attendance and retention among pupils in the most deprived communities in Ghana as a strategy; promote an increase in domestic food production and consumption; increase the incomes of poor rural households; and improve the health and nutritional status of the pupils” (The Government of Ghana, 2015, p. 17).

In addition, the government of Ghana has initiated the distribution of free school uniform in 2010 as part of the educational policy to achieve universal primary education. In 2013, the government had distributed a total of 170,221 free school uniforms to pupils and planned to supply 10,000 more by 2014. This programme was

instituted to supply the disadvantaged children with school uniform to offset some of the indirect cost of education among the poor families in Ghana.

2.7 Summary

The available literature reviewed has highlighted on scholarly representation on luxury and substitution axioms, why child work theory and social cognitive theory as the theoretical framework related to this study. It also mooted on child work or labour, its causes, the forms of work engaged in by school children, the effects of child work on their lives and families as well as their academic performance and attempt by government to address school age children working in Ghana. What is missing in literature is inadequacy of studies examining the effects of child work and schooling on their human capital development for nation building in the Upper Manya Krobo District. This gap is what this study seeks to address.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology that was adopted for the study. It specifically discussed the following: research approach, research design, population, sample and sampling procedure, instrument for data collection, validity and reliability of the instrument, data collection methods, ethical issues and data analysis procedures.

3.1 Research Approach

Research approaches, according to Creswell (2014) “are the plans and procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation”. There are three main research approaches namely qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods. Qualitative research approach is the one in which the researcher adopts means “for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem”. Quantitative approach also involves “testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. The variables, in turn, can be measured, typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures”. Mixed methods approach in general terms refers to “approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks. The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone” (p. 1-2). The researcher adopted the mixed methods approach for this study. This enabled the researcher to dwell on the strength of both quantitative and qualitative methods to arrive at comprehensive judgment

because it provided me the best opportunity to get sufficient answers to the research questions. It is also in line with the belief in pragmatist's approach to understanding social issues. Pragmatism as an assumption views reality as both singular and multiple and therefore, values both objective and subjective knowledge to meet research objectives (Dawadi, Shrestha, & Giri, 2021). It offered me the liberty to employ methods or strategies from both quantitative and qualitative approaches to find best answers to the research questions.

3.2 Research Design

According to Creswell (2014, p.41) research designs are types of inquiry within qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches that provide specific direction for procedures in a research design. The researcher adopted convergent parallel mixed method design within mixed method research approach for this study. Convergent parallel mixed method design according to Creswell, (2014), "is a mixed method design in which the researcher converges or merges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. This enabled the to widen my enquiry with sufficient breadth (sizable number of participants) and depth (deeper insight into the problem from narrative). In order to deepen the study enquiry, the researcher intended to do it independently so that no one design (quantitative or qualitative) can influence another for complete understanding of the results. This design provided comprehensiveness and validity of the results. It was also appropriate to employ this design because of time constraints. Therefore, the researcher collected both forms of data at roughly almost the same time and then integrated the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

3.3 Population

The total population of pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District in 2021 was twenty-one thousand six hundred and nine (21,609) comprised of eleven thousand three hundred and eighty-two (11,382) males and ten thousand two hundred and twenty-seven (10,227) females (Upper Manya Krobo District Education Data, 2021). These figures were drawn from the 111 Public Primary Schools and 15 Private Primary Schools and 53 Public Junior High Schools together with 7 Private JHSs. The accessible population was the pupils in Basic 4 to 9 in the Upper Manya Krobo District which was made up of eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-one (8881) comprised of four thousand seven hundred and ninety-one (4,791) males and four thousand and ninety (4,090) females. The researcher considered pupils in Basic 4 to 9 because they were mature enough and could contribute effectively to the study. Besides, their ability to read and understand the questionnaire enhanced their cooperation in the study. The study was conducted in four selected schools namely Akotoe Tsrebuanya D/A Basic, Asesewa D/A Pentecost Basic, Asesewa R/C Basic and Dzomoa R/C Basic which together also had a total population of eight hundred and forty-four (844) consisted of four hundred and twenty-four (424) males and four hundred and twenty (420) females. The second part of the population was the parents of the pupils in the study areas of the study.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

In order to ensure a fair statistical representation of the accessible population, the researcher adopted the sample size determined by Krejcie and Morgan (1970). According to Krejcie and Morgan (1970), a population of 844 will use a sample size of 265. The sampling techniques employed to this study were both probability and non-probability. In the probability sampling techniques, systematic random sampling

was specifically used to select the participants to respond to the questionnaire which was embedded in quantitative aspect of mixed method approached employed to this research. In order to ensure that participants were rightly and fairly selected, the researcher obtained a sample frame using the pupils' attendance register for the systematic random sampling. In all, two hundred and ten (210) participants consisted of two hundred and five (205) pupils and five (5) adult (parent) participants were sampled for the study. The researcher selected fifty (50) pupil participants from each of the four (4) school comprised of twenty-five (25) from every Primary School and the same number from each JHS. The fifty pupils sampled from each school were based on the fact that none of the schools selected had a population of 1,000 and above. This according to Bryman (2012), there is no strict requirement of the sample size to use in a study due to other factors such as time constraint and cost, a lower number sample size from 50, 100, 150 and above in a population of 1,000 is accepted. The other factors mentioned including time limit and cost were also matters considered in this selection of the sample size to respond to the questionnaire. In all two hundred (200) pupils were randomly sampled to take part in the survey conducted. The selected pupils were the ones who were identified to have been working and going to school at the same time. The researcher precisely selected nine (9) participants each from every Basic 9 and 6 in each school, and eight from the rest of the classes, thus, Basic 8, 7, 5 and 4 respectively. With the help of the pupils' attendance register, for instance, a class of thirty-two (32) members, was divided into by eight (8) members to form four (4) groups. The third person from each group was selected then systematically selected the next person counting four from the third person which fell on the seventh person in the register and in the same order.

However, in the non-probability sampling, purposive sampling (also known as judgment sampling) was used to select the communities (schools) and participants (five parents and five pupils) for the qualitative aspect of the mixed methods employed for the study. The reason for employing this purposive sampling was that I had in mind questions that needed answers to and set out to look for participants could and were willing to provide relevant information (answers) based on the knowledge and experience they possessed. The selection of the ten (10) participants was considered when I reached the saturation point. The study was conducted in Asesewa and two other communities, namely, Dzomoa and Akotoe within the Upper Manya Krobo District. The consideration was based on the fact that Asesewa is a semi-urban center where service activities prevail most while Dzomoa and Akotoe are dominantly farming and fishing communities respectively. The selection of these communities was carefully considered and indeed reflected the true representation of the major economic activities carried out within the Upper Manya Krobo District.

3.5 Data Collection Instrument

The researcher used questionnaire and one-on-one (otherwise known as face-to-face interview) as instruments for collecting data.

3.5.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire is an instrument used for collecting quantitative data in research. It was used because of its specificity and precision in obtaining information. It was employed in the study because of its unique quality of presenting data generated with it in tables and figures to enhance readers understanding of the phenomenon. The researcher-structured questionnaire was structured under four sections: part 1 to part 4. Part 1 centered on participants' personal information whilst the rest of the questionnaire (2 to 4) focused on the research questions of the study. Both the close-

ended and the open-ended structured questions used aided in obtaining answers related to the research questions. The questionnaire was mainly administered to the two hundred pupils sample for the survey for the generation of the quantitative data. It was used to gather data on the pupils' personal details, pupils living with both biological parents, parents' ability to provide the needs of their wards, the use of income from children's work, forms of work engaged by children and nature of children's work and academic performance.

3.5.2 Unstructured Interview as Instrument for Data Collection

In the face-to-face interview (or one-on-one interview), the researcher specifically employed unstructured interview guide to collect detailed qualitative data. This interview guide was employed to this study for a free-flow conversation which strategically put the participants in a position where they felt more comfortable for an honest response. It also assisted me to get additional information that the researcher-structured instrument could not provide. Thus, it provided in-depth knowledge or information on the phenomenon studied from the participant's point of view. This interview was conducted on the five parents or guardians and the five pupils selected for the research to generate the qualitative data. It was employed for the collection of data on the socio-economic background of the participants', reasons pertaining to child work by participants, forms of work children engaged in, impacts of child work on their lives and family and how child work affects academic performance of pupils.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of the Instrument

Validity and reliability issues are very important in any research work to inform decisions and this study is not an exception. If decisions made out of a study could be right it would depend on how credible, authentic and trustworthy the findings were arrived at. And these are done within the validity and reliability of the instrument used, the procedural measures employed to get the results. In order to ensure the validity of the instruments used for the quantitative data collection, the researcher first constructed questionnaires based on the research objectives and the questions guiding the study. He then employed content validity where he submitted the constructed questionnaire to the supervisor who is expert in the field to ascertain its validity before he administered it to the participants. He further, piloted the study by administration of the instrument in two different basic schools in the Ashaiman Municipality. Twenty-five (25) pupils were selected. This was to ensure that the instruments used for data collection were able to measure the research questions adequately and accurately. On reliability issues, thus, how consistent the instrument used could provide same of similar results when administered to the same participant over required time, the researcher employed test-retest reliability within stability reliability. The alpha cronback formula used provided a result of 0.83 which is not bad according to experts. This was to ensure that errors and bias are limited in the study conducted so that the findings would not be skewed for personal interest but reflect the real situation on the ground in the perspective of the participants.

Qualitative validity aspect of the research, on the other hand was employed to check for the accuracy of the research findings from the researcher's, participants' and the reader's standpoint. In this case, the researcher employed triangulation where different data sources gathered were examined and the evidences from the sources

were used to build the themes for the analysis. The researcher also employed peer debriefing where he submitted the study to someone else for review. Issues raised about the quality of the work were addressed to enhance readers' understanding of the research report. The researcher attended to the issue of trustworthiness where he tested the credibility of the findings by employing triangulation as already described above. To make the work dependable, the researcher submitted the work to a peer debriefing and critique. The researcher applied objectivity to the study in that, he neither allowed his personal background nor values nor theoretical inclination to influence the conduct of the study and the findings derived from it.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher personally visited the schools and distributed the questionnaires to the children for completion. The participants sampled to respond to the questionnaire were the 200 pupils drawn from the four schools selected for the study. This was done to ensure maximum cooperation from the participants than the results that could be provided when someone else was contracted for the same exercise. The completed questionnaires were collected and computerized for analysis. The researcher also personally engaged five parents and five pupils in the one-on-one interview for the qualitative data gathering. He arranged and met them separately, face-to-face for the interview. He informed them that information given would be recorded and transcribed later for analysis. In all, data was collected from 210 participants sampled for both quantitative and qualitative data.

3.8 Data Analysis Procedures

Descriptive analysis was used to analyze the quantitative data collected from the pupil participants. Thus, the researcher used SPSS 16.0 which aided him for the generation of the descriptive analysis for the presentation of the results in charts and tables to enhance the understanding of the results. Thematic analysis was also employed to analyze the qualitative data that was collected from the one-on-one interview conducted. The researcher during the interview recorded what the participants said and then transcribed it. He then broke and coded the transcribed data into themes mostly in participants' quote from the emerging issues raised by the participants for easy interpretation and understanding of the results.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

The sampled participants were informed of the purpose of the study and were also assured of their anonymity and confidentiality, except those who willing would want their names to be mentioned in the study. Because the researcher was also dealing with minors who were under the authority of parents and institutions, the researcher obtained an introduction letter from the Department of Social Studies of the University of Education, Winneba which helped him to seek permission from the District Director of Education in the Upper Manya Krobo to enable him conduct the survey in the selected schools in that jurisdiction. He also sought permission from the parents of the pupils selected for the one-on-one interview before the exercise was conducted. The pupils in this case were told that the exercise was not an examination and would not be marked and used to grade them; it was only for fact finding and therefore responses related to the actual situation on the ground in line with the questionnaire should be provided without coping what others wrote. In order to win the trust of children, writing of their names was made optional. The participation in

the study was made voluntary and participant told that they could withdraw from the study at any point in time when they felt uncomfortable or lose interest in the study (Adzahlie-Mensah, Agordah & Gyamfuaa-Abrefa, 2017). During qualitative data analysis, the researcher used anonymous coding to ensure that participant's identity was concealed. Pseudonyms were used to conceal the true identity of the participations.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This section rather focuses on presentation and discussion of results and analysis, furthermore, this section sought to present the findings for question 1,2,3 and 4

4.1 Face-to-Face Interview Data Presentation

The qualitative data was generated through a face-to-face interview engagement involving five pupils and five parents. The individual interview aided the researcher to find out from the interviewee's point of view factors that accounted for basic school children combining school and work. The responses from both pupils and parents were similar and presented as below.

4.1.1. Poverty

One of the main reasons for engaging school going children in work was due to economic hardship or poverty which was consistent with the survey results. Pupils claimed that their parents were not able to provide their needs 'because there is no money'. Some of the parents had no regular source of income compounding the economic hardship of such households. In order to deal with the situation these parents sent their children to either their grandmothers in the villages or other relatives in the cities who engaged them in all kinds of work for survival. One of the children aged 15 years who was in class six said:

"I was sent to Bui to stay with a fisherman where I underwent apprenticeship for four year. I go to fishing in the morning to cast the net before school and in the afternoon after school to pull the net with fish to support my mother because there is no money (Field Data, 2021)"

Another pupil (name withheld) said:

“I work to get money to buy some school items such as mathematical set, exercise books, pens, school uniform and almost everything I needed. This is because my parents are not able to provide us our needs in addition to our feeding in the house (Field Data, 2021)”

It was observed that the boy was talking out of pain which meant that he was not happy about the phenomenon but there was little he could do to change the situation than to cope with it.

4.1.2 Poor health condition of parents

Poor health condition of some of the parents was revealed as one of the reasons why school children were engaged in child work. One of the parents (mother) who was a household head told me:

“I am not healthy as I used to be. When I was healthy I used to do everything for them out of the small business I was doing. Now because of ill health, I am not able to do so again and their father too does not even think about them. He does not visit them to know how they are faring or even give them money of clothing ever since we separated. This is why I have allowed them to do some work so that we can get something to feed ourselves (Field Data, 2021). “

A grandmother who was a household head reported that she was not healthy as before. According to her, poor health condition demanded that the children should be introduced to work as a cover up to meeting the demands of the family.

4.1.3 Working for pleasure

To my amazement, some of the children claimed that they felt happy when engaged in work. As one school girl told me:

“I enjoy selling and I will not be happy when they ask me to stop because my grandmother told me that if I help her to sell I will get skills to manage my own business in future. I also get the opportunity to interact with many people. Some people tell me good things about life. Apart from this, I also feel good when I sell all the cocoyam and bring the money home. When I am able to sell all the cocoyam before coming home, then I feel like I am able to complete a task and I am happy about it (Field Data, 2021)”

The girl's enthusiasm expressed about her role as child worker could perhaps be attributed to the kind of orientation given to her by the parents or guardians or there is another purpose the selling serves in her life. Her expression of joy as a child worker could also relate to the fact that she viewed herself to be part of the production machinery of the household therefore she felt proud about it. Appiah (2018) gave a similar report when he made a study in the tobacco growing community in Gbefe in the Volta Region of Ghana where children (some) run away from school to work in the tobacco farm even when their parents provided them everything they wanted in order to stay in school and learn for the reason that they wanted to acquire some skills and also for enjoyment. In the case of this girl too, petty trading was enjoyable because she was gathering some business skills which could support her livelihood in future.

4.1.4 Forms of Work Done by Children

In trying to investigate the kinds of work that basic school children engage in, the researcher asked the participants in the interview the question 'What are the kinds of work you do?' One of the children (name withheld) said:

"I do a lot; all kinds of household chores. In addition, I assist my father to work on his farm. I also do engage in 'gari' processing in the family and sometimes I fry 'gari' for other people and they pay me for that service. When no one called me for job, I weave basket and send it to Asewewa Market on Fridays to sell. I also get job to weed other peoples' farm, husk their maize, convey it home, and fetch water for people to spray their farms and they pay me. I carry wood for chainsaw operators and that one too I charge them and they pay me (Field Data, 2021)"

Another boy also said:

"I am a fisher boy. I go to the lake every morning with the boat to cast the net. In the afternoon or evening after school, I go to pull the net out. If there is a catch, I will bring it out of the water and collect them, dress them for

smoking either for domestic use or sell them to people. I also prepare the net and mend it if some parts are torn before casting it again the next time. But sometimes I also go to farm because the fishing alone is not able to support our livelihood as a family (Field Data, 2021)."

Another boy answered:

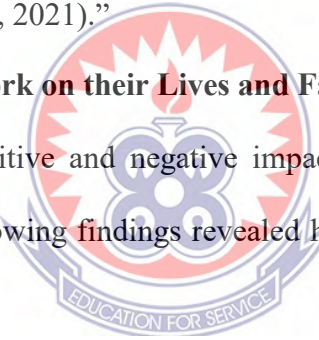
"I work in the house and do all the house chores in the morning before going to school. Then, after school in the afternoon, I keep the store for my sister so that she can go home and cook. But on Fridays I roam through the market selling sachet and bottle water and mineral drinks. So every Friday I do not go to school (Field Data, 2021)."

Another child (a girl) told me:

"I help my grandmother to sell cocoyam in the market after school on Fridays. But when some is left, I go round the community wit it to sell the remaining ones after school to make sure that it is finished before the next market days (Field Data, 2021)."

4.1.5 Effects of Child Work on their Lives and Family

Child work has both positive and negative impacts on the child worker and their families as well. The following findings revealed how child work had impacted their lives and their families.



4.1.5.1 Supporting Family Income for Sustainability

The researcher wanted to find out how working and schooling at the same time impacted the life of these children and the family. In response to the question: 'How does the work of these school children impact their life and that of their families? All the five parents who participated in the interview said that the children had been supporting them very well and that had enhanced their ability to cater for the family. Their response confirmed that the income generated from child work had made it possible for poor households to provide the needs of their members.

4.1.5.2 Acquisition of skills to face life in future

On the contrary, a grandmother of one girl who told me she enjoys selling and will not be happy when asked to stop said she wanted to give the girl some skills to face life in future. The grandmother was entertaining fear about the possibility of educational failure and hence the need to get an alternative plan ('B') ready for her granddaughter. This could also suggest that there was no trust in the educational system as being able to provide good return. According to Edmond (2003) theory on why children work, poor quality education and low accessibility to schooling lowers the return on a given education investment and the return to education may also depend on the opportunities given to educated labour. So the disconnect between education and the labour market in this case prompted parents to engage the children in work whilst attending school at the same time. The pupils who participated in the face-to-face interview also gave similar responses except one girl who claimed that she enjoys selling and will not be happy if she is been told to stop.

4.1.5.3 Fear of accident and inhumane treatment

Some of the children engaged in child work, especially those whose activities interfered with people in the market encountered fear for being involved in an accident and in some cases faced inhumane treatment from some adults. One of the pupil participants for instance, told me:

“I face many challenges combining school and work. I compete with the cars during the market days for space which is dangerous. Sometimes people insult me over slight offences especially if my basket pushes someone’s umbrella at the market (Field Data, 2021).”

4.1.5.4 Stigmatization

The researcher wanted to find out whether child worker faced stigmatization from people for the kind of work they have been doing. The responses were however, negative to the question. The participants claimed that no one made mockery of them.

4.1.6 Impact of Child Work on their Academic Performance

Child work affects the academic success of pupils who engaged in it due to a number of reasons. The following are the effects of child work on their academic success in the school.

4.1.6.1 Tiredness leading to poor academic performance of pupils

They all told me that they often got tired after work which was the usual thing to expect. They also told me that though they made effort to study after work they were not able to absorb anything due to tiredness and this had affected their academic performance negatively. According to Galli (2001), part time work which can be so much demanding may disrupt education since children may be too tired to adequately participate in school activities. A pupil participant told me:

“... I am not able to study after work, though I do make attempt to learn something. I want to become a policeman in future but I am not able to study hard. This has affected my academic performance and so I perform poorly. I do all this things aside the normal household chores. I wished I could stop and concentrate on my education to realize my life dream (Field Data, 2021).”

Another boy also told me that:

“I am not able to study after work. Besides, my concentration in class was also poor because sometimes I will be thinking about how to complete unfinished job contract I have whilst the teacher is teaching. ... sometimes my friend and I will be discussing where to get a new contract and how to complete the unfinished job. My friend sometimes would be telling me how his parents collected the money he made out of the work from him (Field Data, 2021).”

4.1.6.2 Absenteeism affecting academic performance of pupils

Absenteeism was one of the ways in which child work affected pupils' academic performance. Some of the pupil participants told me that they sometimes missed school in order to work and get money to provide for both their personal, school and family needs. Two boys for instance confirmed that they absent themselves from school to enable them work. When they missed lessons they were not able to recover the loss and therefore trail in their class performance since most of the lessons were taught whilst they were away working for money to support themselves and their families. This finding was consistent with the survey aspect of this study that some of the child workers, fifty-one percent (51 %) missed school to enable them engage in all sorts of work either for paid or unpaid activities.

4.2 Quantitative Data Presentation

Tables 1 below show the sex of the participants engaged in the research. The males constituted 103 (51.5%) of the participants whilst the females comprised of 97 representing 48.5% implying that majority of the respondents involved in the study are Male.

Table 1: Sex of children who participated in the study

Sex	Frequency	Percent (%)
Male	103	51.5
Female	97	48.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

From the Tables 2, the data revealed that 16 (8%) were between the ages of 8 -10 while 86 (43%) respondents were between the ages of 11 -13, also 98 (49%) respondents were found between the age of 14 -15. This suggests that majority of the respondents involved in the study were between ages 14 - 15. The age of children was included to reflect the 15 years of the ILO's minimum age set for admission of young

people to employment and work and also the right or appropriate age for completion of basic school. Besides, it was also important to know the age of the participants in the study.

Table 2: Age of children who participated in the survey

Ages	Frequency	Percent (%)
8 – 10	16	8
11 – 13	86	43
14 – 15	98	49
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

Table 3: Age of Adults (parents) and children engaged in the face-to-face interview

Age	Frequency	Percent (%)
26	1	10.0
37	1	10.0
43	1	10.0
62	1	10.0
66	1	10.0
14	1	10.0
13	1	10.0
15	3	30.0
Total	10	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

Table 3 shows the age of adults (parents) and children engaged in the face-to-face interview, from the data obtained, 3 (30.0%) formed the majority parent with age 15 while the rest had 1 (10.0%) being least. The inclusion of the age of parents or guardians was not based on any predetermined criteria because those were the parents of the children who were attending school and working at the same time. However, its inclusion added meaning to the study.

4.2.1 Pupils Living with Both Biological Parents

The results from the study showed from Table 4 that 101 (50.5%) of the children representing majority of the respondents surveyed were not staying with both biological parents, while 99 (49.5%) were staying with their parents. This implies that single parenting was high in the study areas which could account for the reasons for which basic school children worked to support the income generation capacity of the household because the single parent needed more helping hands to work and children could be fallen on to provide that support which was missing by the other counterpart or couple.

Table 4: Are pupils living with both biological parents?

Item	Frequency	Percent (%)
No	101	50.5
Yes	99	49.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

From Table 5 below, the reasons for not staying with both biological parents included death of parents, travel of either parent, divorce, leaving parents to have education (these were people whose parents were in the villages but wanted better education for their wards, had rented rooms for them in the Asesewa Township to enable their children attend school) death of parents accounted for 35 (17.5%), with regards to Divorce 31 (15.5%) respondents indicated respectively, 32 (16.0%) also indicated that parents have traveled, only 4 (2.0%) left parents because of education and an insignificant number of 2 (1.0%) participants were staying with people who were not directly related to their family. Tables table 5 below provide evidence for the above findings.

Table 5: Why children were not living with both biological parents?

Item	Frequency	Percent (%)
Death of father	30	15.0
Death of mother	5	2.5
Divorce	31	15.5
Travel of a parent	32	16.0
Left parents because of education	4	2.0
Living with someone else	2	1.0
No response	96	48.0
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

4.2.2 Parents' Ability to Provide Needs of Wards

It was revealed from the Table 6 below that 103 (51.5%) of the parents could not provide the needs of their children which accounted for children engagement in work to cater for the gap created in their needs. Again, the results of the study showed that household poverty was the reasons for child work in the study area. Thus, poverty (no money) accounted for 96 (48%) of responses.

Table 6: Parents able to provide all needs of wards

Item	Frequency	Percent
No	103	51.5
Yes	96	48.0
No response	1	.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

Tables 7 present results on why parents were not able to provide all the needs of participants respectively, and 96 (48.0%) respondents indicated there is no money, while 4 (2.0%) were unwilling to provide for their wards. Again, 8(4.0%) respondent blamed their wards for being disobedient hence they are punished by being neglected. Others 1(.5%) also indicated that they are not able to provide their children's need due to large family size respectively.

Table 7: Reasons why parents were not able to provide the needs of their children

Item	Frequency	Percent
No money	96	48.0
Parents' unwillingness to provide	4	2.0
Children's disobedience	8	4.0
Large family size	1	.5
No response	91	45.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

4.2.3 Use of Income from Children's Work

It was also revealed from the data presented in table 4.8 that children worked because parents were direct beneficiaries of child work and perhaps even encouraged its perpetuity; thus, 24% of the children who worked had their money collected by their parents whilst some others worked because they need to do so in order to help them provide for their school and personal needs such as buying of school items, get pocket money for school, buying of clothes and a means for feeding themselves at home. This finding is consistent with what Hamenoo et al (2018), reported that the reasons why children are compelled to work are to raise money to feed their families and provide their food, clothing, school uniforms and textbooks and many more. Better put, one can say that children work to support themselves and their immediate families; therefore, there is nothing wrong when parents collect the money realized from their ward's work. Table 4.8 below provides evidence to the above findings.

Table 8: Uses of income from children's work

Item	Frequency	Percent
Buy school items	33	16.5
Pocket money for school	16	8.0
Buy clothes	37	18.5
Feeding at home	3	1.5
Parents collect money	50	25.0
No Response	61	30.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

4.2.4 Forms of Work Engaged in by Children

On the forms of work school children engaged in, the results of study presented in table 4.9 below indicated that 22% of the children who worked were mostly engaged in farming activities. Similarly, children who engaged in petty trading also accounted for 22%. Other forms of work school children engaged in included fishing activities, gari processing, among others. The findings also showed that children were engaged in multiple-work, thus, doing two or more activities. It must be clarified that 'Farming' here refers to working on their parents or guardians farms only whilst weeding others farms for payment related to same work done by children for other people for monetary rewards. The evidence is presented in Table 4.9 below.

Table 9: Forms of work engaged in by children

Items	Frequency	Percent %
Farming	44	22.0
Farming and fetching water for payment	2	1.0
Farming, fetching water for payment and weeding others farm for payment	3	1.5
Farming and weeding others farm for payment	4	2.0
Farming and fishing	3	1.5
Farming, fishing and weeding others farm for payment	3	1.5
Farming, fishing and charcoal burning	1	.5
Farming, fishing, charcoal burning and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Farming, fishing and head porter	2	1.0
Farming and charcoal burning	1	.5
Farming, charcoal burning, herding animals and fetching water for payment	1	.5
Farming, charcoal burning, herding animals and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Farming, charcoal burning, herding animals and palm wine tapping	1	.5
Farming, charcoal and head porter	1	.5
Farming, charcoal burning, palm wine tapping and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Farming, charcoal burning and gari processing	1	.5
Farming, charcoal burning, gari processing and weeding others farm for payment	3	1.5
Farming and herding animals	5	2.5
Farming, herding animals and head porter	1	.5
Farming, herding animals and gari processing	4	2.0
Farming, herding animals, gari processing and weeding others farm for payment	2	1.0
Farming and petty trading	5	2.5
Farming, petty trading and fetching water for payment	1	.5
Farming, petty trading and truck pushing	2	1.0
Farming and head porter	1	.5
Farming and gari processing	2	1.0
Farming, gari processing and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Fetching water for payment	4	2.0
Farming, charcoal burning, palm wine tapping and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Fetching water for payment and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Weeding others farm for payment	2	1.0
Bus conductor	2	1.0
Fishing	9	4.5
Fishing, charcoal burning, palm wine tapping and gari processing	1	.5

Fishing and petty trading	2	1.0
Fishing, truck pushing and head porter	1	.5
Charcoal burning	2	1.0
Herding animals	3	1.5
Herding animals and head porter	1	.5
Petty trading	44	22.0
Petty trading and fetching water for payment	1	.5
Petty trading and child minding	1	.5
Petty trading, gari processing and fetching water for payment	1	.5
Truck pushing	1	.5
Truck pushing and fetching water for payment	1	.5
Head porter and fetching water for payment	1	.5
Head porter and weeding others farm for payment	1	.5
Head porter and mason	1	.5
Gari processing	5	2.5
No Response	18	9.0
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

4.2.5 Nature of Children's Work and Academic Performance

Child work affects their academic performance negatively in almost all circumstances. The evidence from the data showed that large number of children worked at home and outside the home. The results in table 4.10 below revealed that majority of the participants, thus, 191 (95.5%) worked at home whilst 8(74%) of them (presented in table 11) worked outside the home. The evidence of children combining domestic work and work outside the home is manifested in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 below.

Table 10: Do children work at home?

Items	Frequency	Percent
No	8	4.0
Yes	191	95.5
No response	1	.5
Total	200	100.0

(Field Data, 2021).

Table 11.1: Do children work outside home?

Item	Frequency	Percent
No	51	25.5
Yes	148	74.0
No response	1	.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: Field Data, (2021).

Longer hours of children engagement in work, be it domestic or economic work outside the home also accounted for the poor performance of children in the basic schools in the study areas. This was revealed in the study when children were asked to state the average hours of time they spent on work per day. The results indicated that children work for couple of hours ranging from one hour to ten hours. The effect of longer hours of engagement in work of any kind is tiredness. From the results presented in table 11.2, 24.5% of the children averagely work for four hours per day. The detail of the data is presented in table 11.2 below.

Table 11.2: the number of hours children work per day

Hours	Frequency	Percent %
1	26	13
2	27	13.5
3	30	15
4	49	24.5
5	29	14.5
6	14	7
7	14	7
8	8	4
10	3	1.5
Total	200	100

Source: Field Data, (2021)

Child work, especially, working in the morning before going to school resulted in absenteeism which also contributed to the poor academic performance of pupils in the study areas. Table 4.12 indicated that 82% of the children worked in the morning before going to school each day whilst Table 4.13 also revealed that 51% of the children missed school for work in order to provide for their basic and school needs. This was partly due to the long hours of work engagement and the volume of work they did in the morning. This resulted in fatigue which prevented them from going to school. All this culminated into the poor performance in school by these children because missing school for a day implies that one would need additional time to make up for the lessons taught during his or her absence. Meanwhile, the school system, as rigid as it was, did not make provisions for such children and therefore those found in that situation might be trailing in the class in terms of performance wise.

This suggested that combining school and work at basic level may definitely affect their potentials to academic performance negatively irrespective of their intellectual abilities. Arguably, an intelligent child without time and support may not be fully functional compared to a counterpart of equal capacity who receives all the needed support and time. These child workers were not dropout or withdrawn from school absolutely to the labour market, rather, the combination of the two divide their time, energy and mind making them least successful in their academic and even their income generating capacity which is dangerous to their personal development and the bigger society in general.

Table 12: Do children work in the morning before going to school?

Item	Frequency	Percent %
No	36	18.0
Yes	164	82.0
No Response	1	.5
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

The data in Table 12 sought to find out whether children work in the morning before going to school, it has been indicated by 164 (82.0%) respondents making up the majority that yes they work in the morning before school, while 36 (18.0%) also indicated no.

Table 13: Do children sometimes miss school because of work?

Item	Frequency	Percent
No	96	48.0
Yes	102	51.0
No response	2	1.0
Total	200	100.0

Source: (Field Data, 2021).

4.2.6 Impact of Child Work on Academic Performance

A combination of school work, domestic work and economic work outside the home resulted in 53% of pupil surveyed confessed that their academic performance was 'poor' (0 – 4 on the scale of 10 marks). The poor performance of child worker was associated with the interlocking factors mentioned above. Thus, children worked at home and outside the home in longer hours which resulted in tiredness, absenteeism and general lack of interest in the teaching and learning process of the school. In effect, child work therefore prevented children from focusing on studies which resulted in their poor academic performance. Table 4.14 provides evidence to children's poor academic performance in school.

Table 14: what is the Level of children academic performance?

Item	Frequency	Percent
Good	93	46.5
Poor	106	53.0
No Response	1	.5
Total	200	100.0

(Field Data, 2021).

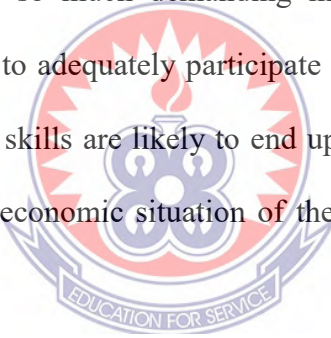
4.3 Discussion

The issue that led to this study was that majority of children in the basic schools at Aseewa and its surrounding communities combined work and schooling. Despite the interventions made by government and non-governmental institutions over the years, the phenomenon persists. In an attempt to look for why the problem continuously exists, four questions were raised to guide the research.

4.3.1 Household Poverty

To begin with, the first research question was: What factors accounted for basic school children combining schooling and work at that tender age. The evidence from the results showed that household poverty was the overriding reason for basic school children continuous combination of schooling and work. This result corresponds with Bhalotra (2000); Opong, Mensah and Aquah, (2000). They both asserted that the most causative factor for children's participation in work was household poverty. Household poverty is an old aged canker in society depriving many people the opportunities to realize their full potential for development. The condition goes beyond individual or family affair and the state needs to see poverty as an enemy that is stripping her off of her quality human resource base for national development. Udry (2003) consonantly states that "households that are very poor are much more likely to send their children to work, and child labour contributes to poverty in the next generation by reducing schooling attainment" which results in making the descendants of the poor very poor because they were poorly educated (Udry, 2003, p.6). Household poverty prevents its victims (poor but brilliant children) access to and retention of such children in school. It forced and removed them from the classroom, or worked and attended school at the same time thereby limiting their chances of developing their full potential. The findings of this study revealed that children were

not withdrawn from school completely but were doing all forms of work and attending school at the same time. That is, 82% of the children worked in the morning before going to school sometimes and after school in the afternoon whilst 51% of those who worked in the morning before going to school missed school sometimes due to the same reason. The long hours of work engaged in made them become tired and therefore, could not concentrate on class work whilst at school, and also unable to study after school giving the same cause. Because they were not able to study, it affected their performance or output in both academic work and work outside the school negatively resulting in low skills development. This reflects what Galli (2001) stated that “full time job have worst impact on the child’s future productivity and part time work which can be so much demanding may also disrupt education, since children may be too tired to adequately participate in school activities” (Galli, 2001: p. 3). People with limited skills are likely to end up gaining menial job with little or no pay compounding the economic situation of the family which in turn affects the country at large.



4.3.2 Poor Health Condition of Household Heads, Death and Divorce of Spouses

In addition, poor health condition of household heads, death and divorce of spouses were revealed as the factors accounting for child work in the study areas. These findings are in consonance with Hamenoo et al (2018), when they associated that death and divorce especially, separate children from their parents and therefore becomes the turning point in their lives which can result in inadequate care and support by the other family members. Children faced with these unfortunate situations would have to provide for themselves and their immediate families through their engagement in child work. Thus, child work becomes unavoidable in the lives of these unfortunate children because of lack of proper insurance and security services

for these families against such shocks (Lam, Duryea & Levison, 2000; Dendir 2007; Khenam 2010). There was also, a link between ill health and level of productivity of the household head. When one was not healthy, it meant that he or she could not work hard enough to increase or sustain the level of production. When production is low it affects the household consumption adversely. To increase or sustain production at subsistence level for consumption, children would have to work in order to achieve that. Thus, ill health means low production. Low production means inadequate food for consumption or poor nutrition. Poor nutrition itself complicates ill health condition of the household – one became more vulnerable to infections and diseases which required medical attention but since production was low, it meant that one would not get money for treatment and the situation would become more complicated and could even result in death. In such households, child work could be a demand as intervention mechanisms against the shock that hit the family. Todaro and Smith (2009, p. 437) made this assertion when they were explaining how poverty was perpetuated in a household that, “Lacking health and nutrition, they may be unable to work well enough to afford health and nutrition... they are denied opportunities which keeps them excluded.” Poor health condition and death of household heads is listed among the conditions that create shocks in poor families.

4.3.3 Working for Pleasure and Acquisition of Skills to Face Future Life

The data from the study gave revelation that, some of the children worked for pleasure. This finding corresponds with Appiah (2018). Appiah identified that some children engaged in tobacco production in Gbefi in the Volta Region of Ghana against their parents' will, even though their parents provided them everything and wanted them to stay at school and study; they would run from school to work in the tobacco

farms for pleasure as well as acquiring some farming skills. One of the participants of this study was quoted saying that:

I enjoy selling and I will not be happy when they ask me to stop because my grandmother told me that if I help her to sell I will get skills to manage my own business in future. I also get the opportunity to interact with many people. Some people tell me good things about life. Apart from this, I also feel good when I sell all the cocoyam and bring the money home. When I am able to sell all the cocoyam before coming home, then I feel like I am able to complete a task and I am happy about it (Field Data, 2021).

This phenomenon could be an indictment on the quality of education provided for by either the state or the locality in which the study was carried out. When educational quality begins to be in shamble, parents, as altruistic as they were would see it as an opportunity and would want to encourage their children to engage in other economically gainful activities rather than leaving them in a venture that would not bring good return. This was emphasized by a grandmother, one of the participants in the study that she wanted to give the girl (her granddaughter) some skills to face life in future, that is why she involved the girl in hawking (petty trading). Odonkor (2007), illustrated this clearly by elaborating on the key determinants in parents' decision to either send their children to school or the farm (work). This is because the work the children do contributes not only to the household upkeep and income but also trains them for their own future livelihood and simultaneously provides some degree of insurance against parent's old age. In the theory of why children work, Edmond, (2003), expressed that the return to education may depend on the opportunities given to the educated labour. Little reward to education may lead to lower return to it in subsistence economy. Children themselves would not want to be in school when they perceived that the school would not guarantee them any good prospect in life. They might run away from school to engage in those activities that they believed could help them become more successful in future. Thus, children see

work as able to give them both skills and capital to stand on their feet to face life in future. Notwithstanding, poverty itself could also redirect children's attention from formal education to work for money. When children realized that they could not further education due to lack of funds, they would prefer to start work early enough thereby escaping school to work or find more pleasure in work than being in school. A more quality education guaranteeing success in life would have convinced children to find happiness in school and focus on studies rather than work.

The findings mentioned above indicated that though government and other stakeholders were aware of the phenomenon and made some intervention of sort, those interventions could not adequately address the root cause of the problems and so long as the fundamental issues exist children would continue to work and attend school at the same time and may not realize the full benefit of their potentials through formal education. This may not affect them and their families alone but the state as well. The findings of this research and their implications are consistent with Dogramaci cited in Ligeve and Poipoi (2012) who associated that children who work and go to school at the same time not succeed in education because the long hours of job activities engaged in "result in fatigue, listlessness and lack of concentration in class" which lead to poor performance, failure and high rate of school dropout Ligeve and Poipoi (2012: p. 191). The perpetuity of the problem may cause government to lose skilled labourers for national development that could culminate into low productivity, wasting resource in dealing with challenges associated with social vices such as armed robbery, psychiatric related problems, among others.

The implications of the findings are that the persistence of the phenomenon if not adequately addressed may leave household no options than to continue in the poverty cycle due to lack of skilled training through formal education. Children who work are

likely to send their children to work in future without skill training, without high paid jobs and so remain in perpetual poverty trap Udry (2003). NGOs in the study area need to be informed through the findings of this research that their programmes and activities do not adequately address the challenge and therefore need review. Besides, government needs to reconsider its educational policy interventions that would focused on the root cause of the problem to get it resolved to the maximum degree if not entirely, else government would in the near future shrink its tax base since poor people may not be able to pay tax for national development.

4.3.4 Forms of Work Available to Basic School Children

The second research question asked was: ‘What are the forms of work available to Basic School children in the Upper Manya Krobo District of Ghana?’ The responses from the study were consistent. It revealed that children perform all kinds of work ranging from domestic work to those done outside the home (be it paid or unpaid). Children perform all forms of agricultural and farm related activities, petty trading involving hawking, local industrial activities (basket weaving), head porter, masonry, fishing and fishing related activities (refer to table 4.9). These findings are consistent with Appiah (2018); CREATE (2010); Ampomah (2012); Udry (2003); Madhavan & Raj (2005); Takyi (2014); Hilson (2010). Each of the authorities above identified one form of child work/labour or the other. These according to Ampomah (2012), child work or labour are stratified under light work, child labour and worst form of child labour.

Work per se would not be a crime but its nature and the conditions under which they were carried out was the source of worry to many child right activists. The ILO had classified work under light work, child labour and worst form of child labour under convention 183 of 1973. It was evident from the data that some of the works children

were engaged in were indeed light work whilst others could be classified as child labour or worst form of child labour. Washing of plates and cooking utensils at home could be considered as light work because it would not hinder child's attendance to school or affect their health and emotions. Some agricultural activities could be grouped under child labour whilst fishing could be considered under worst form of child labour because they were dangerous to their health and life, hinder their access to education and impair their emotions.

However, parents and guardians did not consider the above classifications of work by the ILO in that respect and therefore allowed children to engage in all forms of work provided it was able to bring economic returns to the family. Parents' disregard for the classification of work despite its legislative backing could be attributed to their cultural orientation which was being enforced through socialization. Work forms part of life for African children, for that matter Ghana. Children were allowed to work at an early age and increases in intensity with advancement of age. This could be due to the fact that parents wanted to bequeath their children with that legacy ready to face the challenges of life in every circumstance in their absence. Parents could buy a canoe for their children to be used for fishing because that was the only work apart from farming. It could also be that some of the parents disregard the kind of work children do because of their desperation to look for quick solutions to their socioeconomic problems. If the need for child work was indeed to boost household income for survival, then, it would be needless to be considering which work fell under which category and whether it was appropriate for children or not since the issue was divided between life and death.

4.3.5 Effects of Child Work on their Lives and Families

The next research question was ‘What are the effects of child work on their lives and families?’ It was revealed from the study that children engagement in work had impacted so much on their lives and that of their families both positively and negatively. The returns from child work were revealed to have formed the support base for the family income that enhanced the provision of the needs of such poor households (Walakira, 2009; Hilson, 2010; Bhalotra, 2000; Hamenoo et al, 2018). Some of the needs of the families were many but the basic necessities included food, clothing and shelter and perhaps school needs. The absence or inadequacy of the provision of these needs created discomfort for members of such households. Even though, children might not be paid well, they still formed the major contributors to the family’s income to ameliorate the impact of poverty of the household (Bhalotra, 2000; DFID, 2003; Dendir, 2007; Basu & Van, 1998). Formal education would be meaningless for households and children who were battling with basic necessities of life. They might prefer to look for opportunities that would ensure their survival first before considering any other option that could bring better returns in future – education. Thus, both parents and their children viewed child work as a normal phenomenon that was inevitable in the children’s life and that of their families. Indeed, according to them, the practice provided some relief for their upkeep, as Hilson (2010) postulates that child work rather makes formal education possible.

Though, the practice provided some assistance to the child workers and their families, it contravened Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 2 which aimed to providing universal primary education for all children. Apart from that, child work did not warrant permanent relief of such families from their woes to secure better life in future (Hamenoo et al, 2018; Gali, 2001). The government of Ghana over the years

was making some kind of interventions in this regard, it was clear that those remedies were not adequately provided. The School Feeding Programme (SFP) for instance, did not cover all the Basic Schools in the District. The provision of the free school uniform was also limited to only few schools children; some in actual sense did not need it whilst those in dire need were denied. In addition to this, there was no financial remittance to the poor households whose children were in school to ease the social constraints the families faced as compensation to motivate them for being in school to focus on skills training and total development of both individuals and their families.

The shift of focus from formal education to what I would call ‘family apprenticeship skills training’; to me, was a worrying situation. As it was revealed from the study, some of the children work to gain some skills to face life in future was a social error in the twenty-first century. It is true that allowing children to work is permissible in our cultures and forms part of our socialisation process (Opong, Mensah & Aquah, 2000) but that should not deprive them from enjoying their full right to education and life. Encouraging child work and schooling at the same time by Basic School children, however, suggested that parents were either harbouring doubt about the returns and efficacy of our educational system as suggested by Canagarajah & Coulombe (2014) that labour markets are changing in nature resulting in low returns to education which have made education less attractive for many parents; or parents still had limited knowledge on the greater returns child schooling could yield in future, a situation ILO (2018) described as “knowledge gap”. It could also mean that parents were using family apprenticeship skills training as a cover up to enable them make the most use of the children’ time to enable them enjoy leisure as children perform unpaid labour contributing to family work (ILO, 2018; Eldring, 2000). It

could also be a fact that despite the provision of free SHS in the country, all children might not want to further their education after completing their basic education (JHS). The creation of that conception and subsequent orientation of children into believing that education is not the answer to our social problems (poverty) is unfortunate which might considerably not be too good for the country's development.

Child work also has directly harmful effects on the health and general well-being of these less privileged children in society. It was revealed from the study that some of the children work in unfavourable conditions that posed threat to their lives. Thus, some of the child workers carried heavy loads on their heads, worked in longer hours and competed with the moving vehicles on the street during market days. This phenomenon according to Hamenoo et al (2018) could endanger the child workers' health and lives, though, the children and their parents might not realize the effects on their lives today, it could definitely affect their health negatively in future. The ILO also considers it as child labour when children's work has the potential ability to threaten their health and lives. Many children according to Odey et al (2017) have been hit by cars, tricycle, motor cycle, bicycle among others which could result in deaths, disabilities and various degrees of injuries posing serious threat to their lives. Parent, however, were aware of these consequences of child work but supervised its perpetuity for the reason that child work was so eminent that its exclusion or elimination could increase the family's predicaments.

However, the results for whether participants suffer stigmatization from friends and other people in society was in variance with the report of Odey et al (2017), that most times child workers suffer mental related sicknesses such as stigmatization. The reason for not stigmatizing children could suggest that the entire communities' perception about the phenomenon was positive in that they perceive it to be a normal

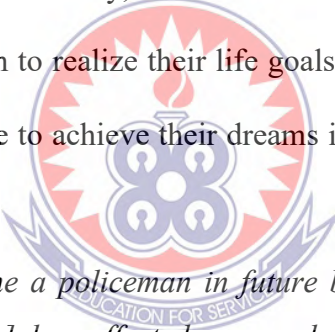
practice, harmless, able to develop children for better future life, or consider it to be part of normal socialization process. It could also mean that because the practice was common, people found it to be normal. It was a good thing that child workers were not stigmatized because they were faced with unfortunate situation in which they had no hand in its cause yet needed to be battled out by them, and that, stigmatizing them would be unfair and an infringement on their right, at the same time, non-stigmatization in itself could be a recipe for promoting child work which could also be very dangerous for our societal development.

4.3.6 Impact of Child Work on their Academic Success

The final research question was ‘What significant impacts do children’s engagements in work have on their academic success?’ Child work was identified as able to affect the academic performance of children negatively. Some of the children reported that they got tired after work most often and could not study after their engagement in their work activities and even if they did, their concentration was limited. Tiredness experienced by working children resulted in sleeping in class, lack of focus and listlessness and total lack of interest in the academic work carried out in the school. This is related to Meer (2009) found in Anumaku (2012) that the performance in education relates to the total involvement of the child in the school environment which includes social and emotional development, communication and participation in the classrooms as well as out of class activities (Anumaku, 2012). The findings also reflect the assertion made by Gali (2001) that full time jobs or occupations have ill effects on the child’s future productivity and part time work which can be so much demanding may also disrupt education, since children may be too tired to adequately involve in school activities. Tiredness could also result in some sicknesses such as headache. Sickness itself could cause victims to lose interest in work including

teaching and learning which might affect productivity and for that matter academic performance of such children. The severity of tiredness could also result in absenteeism which caused pupils to miss the day's lessons taught completely.

Absenteeism itself was revealed as one of the findings of this study that child work resulted in. Some of the children did not go to school to enable them work for money to cater for their basic needs as well as school needs. In the words of Hamenoo (2018), the output of the child in school is the direct result from time spent in studying which often are influenced by the happenings outside the child's control and if he or she lacks basic school supplies and food, it pushes them from school to engage in economic activities and their focus would be redirected to the larger society (Hamenoo, 2018). Thus, in reality, some of these children would genuinely love to remain in school and learn to realize their life goals but social needs compelled them to work in order to be able to achieve their dreams in life. This was expressed by one of the boys interviewed:



'I want to become a policeman in future but I am not able to study hard. This [work] has affected my academic performance and so I perform poorly. I do all this things aside the normal household chores. I wished I could stop and concentrate on my education to realize my life dream' (Field Data, 2012)

The same effort put up by these children to overcome the life challenges for success had hindered them from becoming what they hoped to be in life. This is grounded in Gali (2001), that children sent to work do not accumulate human capital, missing opportunity to enhance their productivity and future earning capacity (Gali, 2001). If such pupils were to have the support base in terms of adequate provision of their basic and school needs, encouragement and good guidance they could have remained in the classroom, focusing on their studies and benefiting from the higher returns provided for by formal education. This calls for stakeholders' consultation to find solutions to

the causes of child work and its resultant effects on human capital development of these children. Children are future leaders who formed the human resource base of the country for national development. They need to stay in the classroom to learn for their skills and talent development to help achieve their personal and societal objective.



CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the major findings, conclusion, and recommendations of the study based on the findings from the research.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of the study was to explore the effects of child work and schooling on their human capital development for nation building in the Upper Manya Krobo District. To achieve this, four objectives were set and used to formulate the research questions. The following research questions guided the study; what factors accounted for basic school pupils combining schooling and work, what are the forms of work engaged by Basic School pupils, what are the effects of child work on Basic School pupils and what is the significant effect of engagements in work have on their academic success in the Manya Krobo Basic School pupil. A mixed method approach specifically convergent parallel mixed method design was employed to the study. The total population of pupils in the Upper Manya Krobo District in 2021 was twenty-one thousand six hundred and nine (21,609) comprised of eleven thousand three hundred and eighty-two (11,382) males and ten thousand two hundred and twenty-seven (10,227) females, out of a total population of 844, 265 was sampled and used for the study. The sampling techniques employed to this study were both probability and non-probability. The researcher used questionnaire and one-on-one (otherwise known as face-to-face interview) as instruments for collecting data. The researcher personally visited the schools and distributed the questionnaires to the children for completion. The completed questionnaires were collected and computerized for analysis.

5.2 Key findings

What are the factors that account for Basic School children combining school and work?

After the study, the main findings were that household poverty was the main factor on which child work hinged on in the study area. This made it impossible for parent to provide all the needs of their children. Unmet needs compelled children to work in order to fill the gap created in the provision of such needs. Another finding was that poor health condition of parents made it difficult to work hard for the provision of the family needs which called for intervention through child work. There was the issue of single parenting which also made children to work. Apart from this, parent were reported to be the direct beneficiaries of child work and so supported, encouraged and even supervised its enforcement. Some of the children reported that they found pleasure in working whilst attending school at the same time.

What are the forms of work engaged in by Basic School children in the Upper Manya Krobo District of Ghana?

It also manifested from the study that farming and petty trading (hawking) were the main forms of work children were engaged in. There were also evidences of children engagement in other work activities such as fishing, charcoal burning, herding animals, local industrial activities such as basket weaving and ‘gari’ processing. Most of the children were also engaged in multiples of work activities. That is, they were doing more than one economic activities such as fishing and farming; farming, basket weaving, carrying loads for people, gari processing, charcoal burning, truck pushing, among others.

What are the effects of child work on their lives and family?

Child work was revealed in the study to have affected the lives of the children engaged in and their families both positively and negatively. Child work was reported in this study to have supported the household income thereby contributed greatly to its sustainability. It was also found out from the study that the phenomenon aided children to acquire traditional apprenticeship skills to face life in future. However, other findings of the study also revealed that child work posed serious threat to their life due to the high risk of danger faced each day. Children entertained fear that they could be involved in accident because of their competition for space with the moving vehicles. Again, children reported of verbal abuse suffered from other people due to some mistake that the committed whilst selling at the market.

What significant impacts do children's engagements in work have on their academic success?

And finally, on how child work impacted children's academic success, the findings indicated that the nature of work and long hours of their engagement in work resulted in tiredness and absenteeism which led to the poor academic performance of such pupils in school. Thus, 82% of the children in the study work in the morning before going to school whilst 51% of them missed school for the same reason.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusion can be drawn. That household poverty was interwoven with other factors like single parenting as a result of the death of the household head, divorce or separation and travelling of a parent. These are inescapable shocks that can hit a family without anybody's fault. Their effects on such families could be minimized if not completely eradicated should there be strong and effective life insurance system specially designed for such poor

families. Though, the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) program is being paid to some orphans in some of the villages, it is woefully inadequate (GH¢120.00 every two month but was not forthcoming). Failure to finding lasting solution to these problems could have the propensity to increasing the crime rate in the district such as drug addiction, armed robbery, prostitution, hooliganisms among the youth and many more, which could have their trace to lack of proper parental control mechanisms which resulted from single parenting. The issue of parents been the direct beneficiaries of child work is perpetuating the phenomenon in the district which could be as a result of the failure to implement to the full, the laws on child rights including those on education. Children's own orientation of acquiring some skills for future life are all giving the signal that people are losing trust/interest in our education system. The kind of educational training in the district for that matter the country did not provide the needed return expected since many trained professional are unemployed due to the fact that the training received failed to empower them for self-employment whilst their colleagues who dropped out and entered businesses are making it big.

Children can be permitted to do some kind of work since it prepares them for adult life but must be done consciously such that it does not become a detriment to their health, education and emotional development. Child work puts huge burden on the school children involved due to the nature, conditions and long hours under which they work, compounded by the unfriendly educational system operated in the country. Children wanted to go to school because it is their right, at the same time, they were lacking support and therefore needed to work for its provision in order to enjoy that right. If those needs were provided they might have stayed in the classroom focusing

on their studies but the absence of basic needs due to household poverty made child work inevitable.

Child work, to a large extent brings some economic relief to such poor families but those relieves are not able to take the child and the household from the poverty. This is because those who hire the services of these vulnerable child workers do not pay them well yet exploited them of hard labour. Future returns of these children are drawn in attempt to solving current problems which are not sustainable and thereby worsen their condition in future.

It is eminent for stakeholders to ensure that child work does not push children from the classroom since education is the right of children, it must be provided to them by all standard and effort, so that no child is denied that opportunity due to his or her economic, social, political or cultural background. Failure to find lasting solution to this unfortunate phenomenon could deprive the district and the country at large of some key professional (skilled human capital) needed for building the country we are looking forward to have in future since no foreign national can do that better other than ourselves.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion of this research the following recommendations are made under the research questions:

What are the factors that account for Basic School children combining school and work?

Since the factors that accounted for child work and schooling are mostly household poverty and single parenting of which their causes are not predetermined, social policy interventions such as special insurance policy system should be designed for such households to ameliorate their effects on such children.

Government should consider extending the School Feeding Programme to all Basic Schools in the district so that those who work to get pocket money for school can be sure of feeding in the school.

Government should also enhance the provision of free school uniforms, free exercise books and pens; absorb PTA dues, special development levies, examination printing fees, teacher motivation, increasing the Capitation and Base Grants as well as ensuring prompt release of such grants to the schools to ease the burden (secret payment of educational cost) on the poor households.

Government should also consider giving grants (remittances), to children from the poor background to cater for other personal needs through the establishment of national education endowment fund.

What are the forms of work engaged in by Basic School children in the Upper Manya Krobo District of Ghana?

Some of the works engaged in by these children (fishing, hawking, carrying wood for chainsaw operators among others) are not meant for children and therefore, Civil Society Organizations, Opinion Leaders, Local Government Authorities, the media and NGOs should rise up against such practices to stop its occurrence in the study areas.

If child work is inevitable, then policy makers should consider making the education system flexible enough to allow children who unfortunately found themselves in that situation to be able to manage both schooling and work so that they will not be left out.

What are the effects of child work on their lives and family?

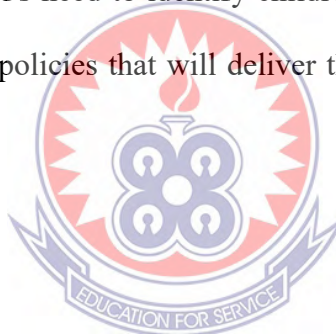
Since child work and schooling among basic pupils is so much devastating and harming the future prospect of such children than supporting them, parents need to

ensure that they look for alternative means of sustaining the family and relieve their children from work that hinders their children's academic success so that they can focus on schooling to facilitate skill training as a requisite for high paid job in the future to liberate the family from acute poverty that recur in the households.

What significant impacts do children's engagements in work have on their academic success?

Since child work and schooling among basic pupils has dire effects on their educational success, all stakeholders in education should work together to remove the bottlenecks that hinder the educational success of these children to ensure that they receive the needed skills training in school for nation building.

Stakeholders such as NGOs need to identify children who are truly in need and help them with programs and policies that will deliver them from their pride for personal and societal development.



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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DATA COLLECTION

This questionnaire is developed to collect data on participants' personal information, reasons for child work, forms of work engaged in by children, the uses of money earned from work and how work affect their academic success.

PART I

PERSONAL INFORMATION)

1. Name (optional)
2. Age.....
3. Sex: male female
4. Name of your school or form
5. Class

PART II

REASONS FOR CHILD WORK

1. Do you live with both parents? YES NO
2. If 'NO', specify why
3. What is the source of parental (or guardian) income?
4. Are your parents able to provide all your needs? YES NO
5. If 'NO', why?
6. Do your parents cause you to work at home? YES NO
7. Do you work outside the home? YES NO
8. Do you get payment for the work you do? YES NO
9. If "YES", how much money do you make averagely? GH¢
.....
10. What do you use the money you make for?

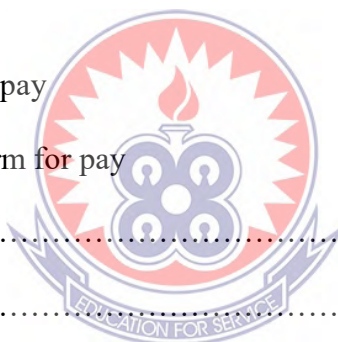
PART III
WORK AVAILABLE FOR CHILDREN

1. Choose from the list of work(s) by ticking the kind(s) of work you do.

1. Farming
2. Fishing
3. Charcoal burning
4. Herding animals
5. Petty trading (selling)
6. Pushing trucks
7. head porter
8. palm wine tapping
9. gari processing
10. fetching water for pay
11. weeding others farm for pay

2. Others (specify).

.....



1. In average, how many hours do you work in a day?

.....

2. Do you work before going to school? YES NO
3. If 'YES', indicate whether (1). Always (2). Sometimes
4. Do you miss school sometimes because of work? YES NO
5. Are you able to study after work in the evening? YES NO
6. If 'YES', indicate by ticking whether (1). Always (2). Sometimes
7. Are you able to concentrate in class when you work in the morning before going to school? YES NO

8. What is the level of your academic performance? (50% and above is 'Good'; below 50% is 'Bad') (1). Good (2). Bad



APENDIX B

Letter of introduction from the from the Department of Social Studies Education,
UEW.



7th June, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION: MR. TEYE TETTEY (200020982)

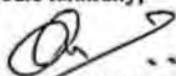
We write to introduce Mr. Teye Tettey to your outfit to assist him conduct his research. Mr. Teye Tettey is pursuing a Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) in Social Studies Education in the Department of Social Studies Education of the University of Education, Winneba.

As part of the requirements for the award of M. Phil in Social Studies Education, he is undertaking a research on the topic "*Examining the reasons for the persistence of basic school children combining school and work in the Manya Krobo District*".

We would be very grateful if he could be offered any assistance he may need to enable him achieve the purpose of his study.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,


Mr. Clétus K. Ngaaso
Ag. Head of Department

APPENDIX C

Permission letter from Upper Manya Krobo District Educational Directorate to the selected schools for conducting the study.

GHANA EDUCATION SERVICE UPPER MANYA KROBO DISTRICT - ASESEWA

In case of reply the number and date of this letter should be quoted

My Ref No: GES/ER/UMKD/MC 1934

Your Ref NO:



District Education Office
Post Office Box 49-Asesewa
Tel No.:0505393139
Email: uppermanyakrobo@ges.gov.gh
Date: 16/06/2021

RE - PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WORK IN SOME SELECTED SCHOOLS

TEYE TETTEY (200020982)

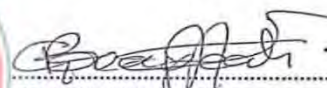
Kindly permit the above-named teacher to conduct research in pursuance of his Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) in Social Studies in the Upper Manya Krobo District.

He is to conduct the research on the topic "Examining the reasons for the persistence of basic school children combining school and work in the Manya Krobo District".

I rely on your usual co-operation.

TEYE TETTEY
DZOMOA R/C JHS
P.O. BOX 25
ASESEWA




GRACE ADZA-AWUDE (MRS)
(DISTRICT DIRECTOR)
DISTRICT DIRECTOR
GHANA EDUCATION SERVICE
UPPER MANYA KROBO
P.O. BOX 49, ASESEWA

CC:
ALL SELECTED HEADTEACHERS