

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF COPING STRATEGIES OF ADULT
SURVIVORS OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE CENTRAL REGION OF GHANA**



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PHD, 2015



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BY

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A Dissertation in the Department of Psychology and Education, Faculty of Educational Studies, submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, University of Education, Winneba, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy (Guidance and Counseling) Degree.

SEPTEMBER, 2015



DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I, Nyuiemedi Ama Agordzo, declare that this dissertation with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for any other degree elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature.....Date:

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of Dissertation as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Principal Supervisor: Professor George Kankam

Signature..... Date.....

Co-Supervisor: Dr. Stephen Antwi-Danso

Signature..... Date.....

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DEDICATION

To the memory of

Manfred Kwasi Agordzo (Togbe Flami IV)

who had this vision in Nyuiemedi-afee and prayed for it.

Papa, I know you are proud. You deserve a golden page here.



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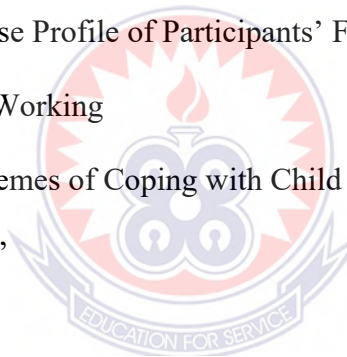
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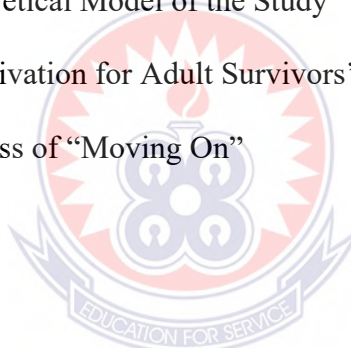
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ABSTRACT

Child labour experienced in childhood continues to have an enduring traumatic effect into adulthood. The scars it leaves can impact on personal lives, education, employment, and long-term emotional and social lives. The traditional system of studying survivors of either natural or man-made situation has focused heavily on posttraumatic stress disorder and related conditions, and mental health treatment of survivors. The goal of this study was to explore the coping process of adult survivors of child labour, to gain insight into their period of transition and moving on, and to contribute to the field of counselling psychology by developing theoretical model and counselling guideline for practitioners. Using grounded theory methodology, eleven participants and five significant others from seven districts in the Central Region of Ghana recruited through the snowball and theoretical sampling methods participated in the study and described their process of coping with “lived” experiences of traumatic child labour and survival through individual interviews and focus group discussions. Data were coded using coding processes of grounded theory methodology with inductive data analysis. Coping strategies such as *personal resources* and *social supports* were identified as supports promoting coping and survival. A theoretical model was developed for successful coping strategies and a counselling guideline outlined for counsellors and survivors. The main findings were the untapped resilience and strength of each survivor, the uniqueness of each of their stories, and the reality that in spite of past traumatic child labour experiences fraught with childhood abuse, survivors experienced traumatic growth though with some psychological challenges such as aggression and fear. This study has positioned child labour experiences within trauma studies and positive psychology. The

central phenomenon of this process is “Moving On” from traumatic experiences of child labour. Implications for theory, methodology and counselling, were discussed and directions for future research delineated.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Available scientific and non-scientific literature indicates a large and escalating impact of child labour on individuals and their communities. Given that the Government of Ghana and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are working assiduously to assist international organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) and the International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in fighting child labour for its possible elimination (Donnellan, 2002), it seems important to find out how adult survivors of child labour in the Ghanaian communities have coped with child labour.

As some have reached adulthood and old age, there is the need to study the consequences of child labour on the present adult survivors and explore their coping strategies and processes. These adult survivors' peri-child labour experiences might be different from the experiences of child survivors or rescued children both from trauma-experiential and child-developmental points of view. According to van der Hal-van Raalte (2007), individuals who had gone through difficult experiences or recollections of their childhood that was not more benevolent to them, have differences that influence their personality development.

The challenge of child labour today occupies an important place as a subject of concern in the public and academic consciousness (Donnellan, 2002;

ILO, 2004). Concerned individuals and international institutions such as the ILO, UNICEF and IPEC have researched and are still researching into child labour issues (Schlemmer, 2000). According to Ame, Agbenyiga and Apt (2012), the incidence of child labour globally fell by 11 per cent and that of children in hazardous work decreased by 26 per cent from 2000 to 2004. Since 2004, 13.9% of children were involved in child labour and 8.1% of children were in hazardous work globally (ILO, 2006).

Studies revealed that the issue of child labour has some variations in definition (Schlemmer, 2000; Donnellan, 2002; ILO/IPEC, 2004). Several researchers also defined child labour variously. George (1979) viewed the problem of child labour as social conditionings that contribute to the occurrence of child labour as a result of unsuccessful efforts to legitimately achieve societal goals especially as they relate to money and power which will help the individual to obtain material and social status. However, Anker and Melkas (1996) defined child labour as encompassing monetary and unpaid activities which are mentally, physically, socially and morally hazardous to the child; work done by very young people that make schooling impossible. According to UNICEF (1997), UN Convention No. 182 stated among other things that child labour involves

... full time work at too early an age; too many hours spent working; work that exerts undue physical, social, and psychological stress; work and life on the street in bad conditions; inadequate pay; too much responsibility; work that hampers access to education; work that undermines children's dignity and self esteem, such as slavery or bonded labour and sexual exploitation; and work that is detrimental to full social and psychological development (p. 24).

UNICEF considered age, the workload and its effects and whether the work is paid or unpaid to classify child labour. Another issue presented above is the general influence that the work has on the holistic development of the child. From the sociological point of view, French (2002) and Agordzo (2011) found with Brazilian and Ghanaian child labourers respectively that, child labourers have positive attitude toward their work if their work provides them with autonomy and self-reliance.

The genesis of child labour dates way back in human existence. The issue of child labour occurred in earlier ages in agrarian societies where children were used on plantation farms. However, during the Industrial Revolution, children in the Western world were more involved in production factories, mines and chimney sweeps jobs with dangerous working conditions and this was opposed all around Europe (Thompson, 1968; Banpasirichote, 2000). Due to economic hardship, children of poor families were expected to work to contribute to the family budget. These works were often dangerous and low paid. Many bills were passed into law to outlaw child labour yet, long after the Industrial Revolution in Europe, child labour still existed in America and Europe. Children work as domestic servants, errand boys (Daniels, 2010), prostitutes, cigarette rollers and bobbin doffers (Cody, 2010).

In spite of the efforts to eliminate child labour, it is still common in many parts of the world and takes many forms and shapes (Agordzo, 2011). According to Diallo, Hagemann, Etienne, Gurbuzer and Mehran (2010), most child labour issues are found in the agricultural sector and service industries. In the agricultural sector children are involved in activities such as farming, fishery and forestry, and in the service industries, children engaged in activities such as

retailing, hawking goods, working at restaurants, storage and packaging, shoe polishing, domestic service, and scavenging among others. Other working children found themselves working in family businesses, factories, mines, and operating machines (Natalia, 2007; Diallo et al., 2010) among others.

Legislations worldwide proscribe child labour. Article 32 of the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN-CRC) as cited by Donnellan (2002) stated among other things that:

State parties recognise the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development (p. 1).

The UN-CRC (1989) enjoys an almost universal ratification with only the USA and Somalia as exceptions; and this legislation has become, over the years, the pivot around which children's rights issues are measured universally (Ame et al., 2012). Globally, two major perspectives exist in the debating arena of child labour: the abolitionists and reductionists. The abolitionists propound that child labour is very bad therefore, should be abolished while the reductionists are of the view that child workers and their conditions should be managed to their own betterment and of their societies (Schultz, 2009). Taking a cue from the reductionist view, it is believed that child labour can only be managed since there seems to be no possible elimination of the menace. And since most children use child labour as a means to a positive end by putting themselves in school (Agordzo, 2013), then one is tempted to believe in reductionism rather than abolitionism.

Africans believe in the prosperity in numbers where one's children are seen as assets. People with more children tend to have larger farms, thereby becoming more prosperous (Achebe, 1958). Akin to this, there was yet another form of child labour in most Africa countries during the colonial era. This form of child labour was where the colonial administrators encouraged what was known as "traditional-kin-ordered" modes of production where households were hired (Bass, 2004; Grier, 2009). This practice encouraged the use of children in work alongside their parents, guardians and adult siblings in colonial agricultural plantations, mines, and domestic service industries.

In Africa, the tragedy of child labour is disturbing since majority of the internationally reported cases are from Africa. IPEC/ILO (2012) observed that Africa has the highest percentage of children aged five to seventeen years employed as child labourers and this percentage translates into a total of over 65 million children working on the continent. According to UNICEF (2012), sub-Saharan Africa had the highest occurrence of child labour practices where over half of the population of children of five to fourteen years are working. Some nations on the continent such as Mali, Guinea-Bissau and Ethiopia, have more than 50% of all children aged five to fourteen years at work to survive. Child labour accounts for 32% of Africa's workforce and there are variations in the proportions among the countries and regions within the countries. This implies that the current African labour force comprises more children. This trend would pose a serious threat to the labour development/ human resource of the continent if nothing is done to avert the trend.

According to ILO (ICFTU, 2006), Ghana is one of the West African countries with an increasing use of child labour including child slavery and child

trafficking. The organisation further stated that Ghana is one main provider of child prostitutes and child domestic labourers to neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire. Cheerful Hearts Foundation [CHF] Annual Report, (2013) on child labour in the Ghanaian media indicated that 20% of Ghanaian children are engaged in child labour. In all these cases, Article 28, Clause 2 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana makes it lucid when it says, "Every child has the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his health, education or development". This, however, does not totally debar the child from working if only the assigned task will not impede his health, education or development. The constitution does not prevent any child from assisting his/her parents, caregivers, peers or elderly in providing for basic necessities of life. Division of labour in the home demands that the child also gives some assistance.

Parents and caregivers therefore, involve their children and wards respectively in the performance of some chores. This practice helps to inculcate in the child a sense of responsibility and hard work (Agordzo, 2011). Excluding the child from all duties can breed laziness. For the growing child to reason well and to take swift decisions in life training is needed yet, this training should not turn into exploitation of the child. The issues, therefore, would have to do with the kind of work, the age and physical strength of the child, the health condition of the child and the prevailing conditions under which the child is to work (UNICEF, 1997).

Assigning the child some task is training (GSS, 2003; Agordzo, 2011). Sometimes, there is confusion when some scenarios are described as child labour. On a child's way to school for instance, he/she can help carry firewood to the market for the mother to sell later. Provided the load is not heavier than the child

and does not affect his time of reporting to school, then no crime is committed and there is no child labour. In cocoa growing areas and fishing communities, the use of children for some labour is normal in Ghana. Children can assist parents head load cocoa beans from farms to nearby buying centres or help preserve fish. What parents must guard against is the temptation to let their children become habitual late comers to school or to drop out of school completely just to aid them in their farming, domestic and economic activities. Again, children must not be made to carry heavy loads and walk over long distances.

The ILO presented a surprising report that "...in many countries, employers see children, including their own, as a cheap and uncomplaining source of labour even though many countries now have laws regulating the work of school-age children" (ILO, 2003, p.23-24). A study conducted by Agordzo (2011) on child labour in the Central Region of Ghana concluded that female participants who lived with either their own biological parents or caregivers perceived their heavy work load in the home as a kind of child labour because their work, though performed within the confines of their homes, leave them very exhausted, deprive them of studying, and make them ill very often.

In indigenous communities in Ghana, it is assumed that individuals coping with past child labour experiences rely on their personal and social skills for results in coping. Enhanced knowledge and reflections are however, demanded to promote better understanding of the coping strategies that have been employed and deemed useful for the management of child labour experiences. Adults who had experienced child labour had grown up in the shadow of the aftermath of the child labour experience. The vast knowledge and literature well documented on child labour has socio-econometric focus mainly on the causes

and effects of child labour on schooling and economic development of nations with seemingly no study on adults who had gone through it and their coping strategies. Adults who had experienced child labour often endured losses, separation, maltreatment, neglect and starvation during their very formative years. It appears no specific, systematic research exists focusing exclusively on the effects of child labour experience and its aftermath on the individual personality development. In view of this, it is important to explore and understand the coping strategies that these adult survivors employed to combat the consequences of child labour and to move on in life.

Ghana has made tremendous efforts in projecting the challenging vices of child labour and has chalked some successes in attempting to reduce the problem. Having recognised the enormity of the problem, the Government of Ghana became the first African country in 1990 to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Articles 87 and 88 of The Children's Act of Ghana (1998) clearly stated that "No person shall engage a child in exploitative labour" and that "Labour is exploitative of a child if it deprives the child of its health, education and development" (p. 27). Additionally, a number of laws and human rights declarations have been put in place over the last decade with the aim of realising the constitutional provisions and moral obligations for the protection of children from abuse and exploitation. This is to ensure that every child in Ghana has the right to education, health, and self- development, the ability to compete effectively on the labour market, as well as the ability and the opportunity to contribute to the prosperity of their households, communities and the nation as a whole in accordance with the law (Ghana Statistical Services [GSS], 2003). The Constitution mandates some commissions such as the Ghana National

Commission on Children (GNCC), Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), Domestic Violence and Victims Support Unit (DOVVSU) among others to formulate constitutional provisions that address the welfare of children in the country.

The laws of Ghana, therefore, prohibit child labour and put the minimum age for employment at 15 years. According to the GSS (2003) and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions ([ICFTU], 2006), Ghana has an increasing use of child labour with figures of about 1.27 million children and the statistics further aggregated that most of them were girls who had not finished primary school. GSS (2003) further stated that over 88 per cent of about 6.36 million Ghanaian children between 5-17 years work as unpaid labour in the fishing, agriculture, mining, quarrying, truck-pushing, domestic work, commercial sex and hawking enterprises.

Stephen McClelland, Chief Technical Advisor, International Labour Organization (ILO), in his remarks at the media launch of the 2013 World Day Against Child Labour in Accra said research estimates in total a number of 15.5 million children engaged in paid and unpaid domestic work in homes across the globe and these children are found to be exposed to various dangers, rights violations and deprivation of childhood liberties while growing up under restriction, hazardous and harsh conditions. This underscores the fact that child labour deprives children. Thus, it is clear that the challenge of child labour is alarming and in need of constant research to find possible means of defining and combating it.

In an attempt to understand the coping strategies employed to handle a given traumatic situation, it is imperative that we understand the traumatic

experience itself. Psychological trauma involves an experience of such intensity that it damages underlying assumptions or expectations about the world or the self. When traumatic experiences occur in early childhood, they undermine the development of the very sense of self and the basis for future developmental stages (Folkman, 1991). According to Gordon (2009), traumatic damage or injury needs to be “worked through” and “resolved” properly. It is certainly necessary for the affected person to gain control of the fear, distress, and confusion that accompany the intense emotion or event and not to confuse the present with the past. Working on the passage of trauma through life, Gordon (2009) posited that intrusive and distressing memories must be reduced in intensity so they can be linked to other past experiences, and turned from disconnected fragments into episodes of personal history. These can then, have a relationship of meaning, cause and effect, value, and ethical clarity for the person. But alongside this, adequate treatment or intervention must help the affected person to confront the impact of the experiences and reduce their intensity so they do not have to avoid and block them out or shut down anything that might evoke them. When these are achieved, Isakson (2008) observed, the persons can say they have the memory of a past event which they have survived and can begin to create their lives as an expression of who they are and want to be.

According to Pargament (1997), coping is defined as “a search for significance in time of stress” (p.90). Pargament further contended that individuals employ many forms of coping during stressful events and that coping strategies are utilised by individuals specifically as a response to crises. Frazier (2009, p. 14) referred to the term as “a broad spectrum of behavioural and cognitive strategies used to manage stress”. The most widely adopted definition

is that of Lazarus and Folkman (1984, as cited in Harrop, Addis, Elliott & Williams, 2006, p.5) who defined coping as “constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person.” They emphasised that coping is a dynamic process involving continuous interaction and adjustments between the environment and the person’s attempts to cope. It fluctuates over time and life experiences thus, obliging a person to appraise regularly both the demanding situation and available resources to deal with it effectively in order to survive.

Faced with a challenge, individuals use their coping resources (internal and or external) that help lessen the negative points of stress to overcome difficulties. These coping resources correspond to the personal and environmental factors. The internal resources are the personality characteristics such as optimism, self-esteem, confidence, self-efficacy, knowledge and intelligence. These interact positively in the individual to master or minimise the adverse impact of traumatic events. Religion, spiritual beliefs and values also help people to find meaning in the face of adversity. By contrast, negative traits such as pessimism, low self esteem, poor confidence and emotional distress will have opposite effect on the individual (Pahud, 2008). Pahud indicated that external resources include environmental support emanating from family, social networks (friends, work colleagues), social and financial support systems. Coping thus, is a process that has to do with approaches, skills and abilities that allow people to face and manage life’s difficulties. It is a process through which individuals attempt to manage or handle life threatening events such as traumatic experiences of child labour.

As a counselling psychologist, I believe in assisting individuals to address and overcome life challenges as they evolve and I see coping as a prerequisite for mental well-being and subsequent survival (Ebersohn & Eloff, 2006). I am also of the view that individuals have the ability to enhance their own coping skills and to identify and mobilise resources both social and personal, to assist themselves in addressing life threatening events such as child labour. Therefore, I believe that first, people who are able to cope with life challenges of child labour can live a contented and meaningful life. Secondly, I perceive the answers to challenges as being present and within individuals themselves (and their contexts) though they might benefit from some external facilitators to act as catalysts in initiating or promoting the coping process.

The concept of survival refers primarily to a phenomenon or situation where there is, for instance, a pestilence and people die and others did not die. Or that there is a war as in the civil wars around the world, the holocaust, suicide bombings, natural disasters of flood and fire, or an epidemic where an uncountable number of people died yet some others in the same given conditions or situations did not die. The people who went through the same life endangering phenomena but did not die are said to have the power of resilience and survival. Resilience is not simply passing through a crisis unscathed or bouncing right back. It means to “struggle well” through the pain and suffering (Higgins, 1994). A survivor is a person who went through an intense difficulty or a traumatised situation and got scathed. It is that person who went through, suffered some degree of untold hardship, got stifled, scathed, yet managed to put the past behind him and move on with a meaningful life or come out with some degree of achievement in the areas of education, employable skills, and gained personal and

social acceptance or recognition. It is a person who had undergone child labour while growing up yet today, can be referred to as a successful person or an achiever. Achievement is a relative term. It is determined and described from the personal and social perspectives and constructions of the word. An achiever is a person who has reached a certain status in society to be recognised and referred to as above average, an outstanding or a distinguished personality.

There is a kind of misnomer in the literature where children who have been rescued are misconstrued as having survived child labour. In a sense, these rescued children could be said to have survived but in this study, the focus is on adults who had spent their childhood in child labour and are 21 years and above at the start of this study. Adult survivors of child labour in this context are those individuals who were child labourers till the age of 18 years and above and who had to use employ personal and or social resources to cope with traumatic child labour experiences and is currently in a gainful employment and has contributed to society. This perspective, therefore, necessitates a study into adult survivors' coping strategies so as to learn some lessons and apply to current situations of child labour. The reality of child labour is that the canker is affecting individuals on a world-wide level and that its effects will continue in future. It is, therefore, necessary that individuals and communities are required to cope with the challenge for the sake of their own general well-being and survival. Facing and addressing a challenge means engaging in an action or reaction whether this action/reaction encapsulates avoiding the difficult situation or employing strategies to combat it in a manner acceptable and convenient to the individual involved. It is important that individuals confronted with the experience of child labour, deal with the challenge of child labour by using some coping strategies in

order to survive. Since human beings are a product of their childhood experiences, and these experiences determine their course of life and the choices they make, then it is worth understanding the past experiences of people who had been child labourers across the continuum. It is important to enter into those repressed memories of difficult childhood experiences of adult survivors in order to find out how much these experiences have shaped the lifestyle of this population and what coping strategies they employed to survive.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

It is widely recognised, in the literature as well as in practice, that people who have experienced life-threatening or traumatic experiences have an increased risk of suffering from psychological distress (Jordans, 2002; South Eastern Centre Against Sexual Assault [SECASA], 2011-2014). People who have been exploited as children often suffer terrible traumatic events. The vulnerability is heightened when the victims had been children especially, child labourers, posing an extraordinary challenge in their coping and healing process (CHF, 2013). To assist this vulnerable group in dealing with their psychosocial consequences, individuals and or professionals working with them need to understand their traumatic experiences in order to provide such adequate assistance. The experiences that child labourers go through are torturous and against the most fundamental human rights. After rescue or liberation, the problems of victims continue as they are confronted with physical, psychological, social and educational difficulties hence the need to take into account many complex challenges they went through and the processes of coping.

It is important to achieve as deep an understanding as possible about child labour survivors' feelings, experiences, and resources for coping. Understanding these aspects of adult child labour survivors is necessary for the counsellor in order to learn how to modify practice and apply appropriate services so that this population will more readily offer assistance when required, feel safer when doing so, and contribute to providing assistance to children in child labour.

The ILO, the main international body in charge of eliminating child labour practices the world over, has been trying to combat this challenge head on with little or no hope of ever eliminating it completely. The Child Labour Unit (CLU) of the Department of Labour in charge of child labour in Ghana has asserted in ILO's (2013a) Report that "the CLU is quite simply insufficiently funded and otherwise resourced to live up to its mandate and role" of elimination of child labour in Ghana (p.v). In view of this assertion, it is believed that child labour may not lend itself to possible complete elimination.

There is a high level of assumption that individuals who experience one form of life threatening events (such as child labour or war), employed several coping strategies which serve as positive role in the adjustment process (Ellison, 1991; Koenig, 2002). "Unfortunately, the research to confirm or disprove this assumption is minimal" (Frazier, 2009, p.4). For example, North, Smith and Spitznagel (1997) in their effort to determine the level of psychological vulnerability following the aftermath of disaster, conducted a longitudinal study of disaster survivors which found that comorbidity of various psychiatric disorders was prevalent among 25% of their sample. In another study, Norris (2005) reviewed 225 articles covering 132 disaster events including natural, technological and mass violence. This study found that mental health conditions

including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress as well as somatic complaints were typically exacerbated by disaster but did not find out the coping skills of the respondents. Though this study was on survivors, it did not explore the coping strategies of the survivors neither were the study participants, child labourers.

However, Shamai and Levin-Megged (2006) did combine phenomenological and psychodynamic methods in their study titled, “The myth of creating an integrative story: The therapeutic experience of Holocaust survivors”. Shamai and Levin-Megged explained that they used this combination of methods in their study because they aimed to “understand the subjective experiences of the therapeutic process and meaning assigned to it by Holocaust survivors” (p.695). Though this study employed qualitative research methodology, these authors did not, however, use the grounded theory design in their study, neither did they work with adult survivors of child labour.

Conducting an article review about human resilience in the presence of loss and trauma, Bonanno (2004), argued that the majority of people experience minor reactions to major traumatic events. Bonanno provided evidence that resilience is a distinctive reaction to loss and trauma, and that individuals possess multiple mechanisms of resilience which is an alternative reaction to trauma from that of recovery. Bonanno (2004) used the terms resilience and coping interchangeably describing several forms of coping that may explain alternative paths following trauma and loss including repressive coping styles. He suggested that more research is required to be carried out to provide better understanding of the multiple paths of resiliency. He, however, did not make any specific recommendation regarding coping and child labour. From the perspective that

coping is a prevalent response to traumatic events such as disaster, it is suggestive to say that the literature lacks sufficient evidence that adults who survived child labour experience some traumatic events and thus might have employed some coping strategies to respond to their conditions that need to be understood.

A study conducted by McCool (2009) on disabled postgraduates in tertiary educational institutions in New Zealand, found that disabled participants in spite of their adverse stories, “developed successful coping mechanisms and made achievements ... by living with and acknowledging their differences” (p. ii). This study, though on disabled postgraduate students, is a study into a group of marginalised people in society. It is a study that, though the impairments or disabilities may or may not be caused by others in society, they found themselves just the same way as children put to work and need to survive. Disabled individuals with impairments need and do adopt survival mechanisms in order to cope with physical barriers, discriminations among others. Though this work is on survival, coping and achievement, it is on disabled postgraduate students in New Zealand and not on adult survivors of child labour in Ghana.

Yet another very close study was one carried out by Frazier (2009) on coping strategies among religiously committed survivors of Hurricane Katrina in the states of Mississippi, United States of America. This work focused on the role of positive and negative religious coping and outcome of mental health distress with a sample of 253 United Methodist Church leaders from the Mississippi counties in the USA using regression and path analyses to establish relationships among variables. The study concluded that positive forms of general coping and religious coping provided no significant contribution to the presence or absence

of mental health distress and that among the religiously committed sample, religious coping was not significantly predictive of the presence of mental health distress; that religious coping may be indistinguishable from other generalised forms of coping. The focus of this study was not on all coping strategies that participants employed neither was it on the processes of the strategies through a qualitative methodology. It employed the use of existing instruments to generate data thereby denying data to evolve by itself.

Given that disasters, be they natural or man-made such as child labour or hurricanes have such far reaching psychological consequences for survivors, the need to understand coping strategies that adult survivors of child labour employed to recover from this traumatic experience is of utmost importance to practising professional counsellors who are often in the frontline of crisis management. It is very clear that individuals who experience natural or man-made disasters are at higher risk of psychological difficulties and need to be studied and understood for appropriate interventions. However, there is also the equal need to explore their resources that assisted them in coping and surviving.

There is available literature on coping strategies or processes of diverse groups of people who were refugees (Isakson, 2008; Pahud, 2008), have survived one form of natural or man-made disasters (Frazier, 2009), survived abuse and discrimination on account of disability (McCool, 2009). Yet, there appears little or zero existence of literature both internationally and locally, on adults who have survived child labour; coping strategies employed to survive; what challenges or barriers they encountered during the process of coping and survival and the struggle to achieve. There is the need to develop a theoretical model to better understand the consequences of child labour and prepare counselling guidelines

in order to provide appropriate intervention to the large number of “normal” individuals seeking counselling and display severe psychological symptoms (Lundberg-Love, Marmion, Ford, Geffner, & Peacock, 1992). Again, the call from DeGregori (2002) that “the struggle to end child labour is necessary but getting there often requires taking different routes...” (p. 3) seems to lend further credence to the study of child labour from the perspectives of adults who have survived it.

It is clear those adults who have been exploited as children during child labour often suffer terrible traumatic events that pose an extraordinary challenge in their coping process for survival. However, their coping strategies and processes seem not to be known. This study, therefore, sought to explore through GT design, the coping strategies and processes of ASCL in the Central Region of Ghana and how they have moved on in spite of their childhood “lived” experiences of exploitation and abuse and to provide counselling guideline for practitioners and theoretical explanation to their coping strategies and processes.

1.3 Paradigmatic Perspective, Rationale and Researcher Positionality in the Study

This section establishes the general orientation and the necessary background from which this dissertation should be read. It provides a brief discussion on the selected paradigm and the methodological choices and processes (detailed discussion on these are included in chapter three), and my position within the study.

Mouton (2001) suggested that researchers work in multiple and varied worlds to gain knowledge. He was of the view that these *worlds* are situated

within the contexts of *everyday life world*, *scientific world* and *meta-science world*. Following in this direction to gain knowledge of the worlds within the context of my study, the *everyday life world* refers to the social phenomenon of the challenges faced and managed by (the “lived” experiences of) the adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana (see section on Setting: Chapter Three). Applying the *world of science* to my study provides the background and progress of my research in terms of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks consisting of the trauma and life course approaches, and social cognitive learning theory specifically, self-efficacy and relating them to the concepts of child labour, coping, survival and moving on. With regard to the *world of meta-science*, my qualitative methodology is anchored in and guided by the constructivist-transformative paradigm from which grounded theory is selected as the research approach to develop a theoretical framework that would explain this social and cultural phenomenon.

This study attends to the exploration and understanding of coping in the context of child labour, putting the counselling values into action, and then walking with adult survivors on this same journey through individual and group interactions. As a student in counselling practice I became aware that people who had been abused and exploited, became vulnerable persons, powerless, despaired, and deprived yet some still possess resources or were resilient enough to survive.

I had researched into socio-cultural context of child labour as part of my M.Phil programme. During this research period, I became aware that a lot of community members from the study sites had been child labourers and a large number of people who had left the study communities and were said to have survived or made it today, were child labourers. I carried this realisation further

by trying to find out from other people outside my M.Phil study site whether there were adults who had been child labourers. My informal fact finding mission proved that there were quite a number of adults who had had such experiences and yet are living meaningful lives and contributing significantly to their communities though others with same experiences could not survive or make any meaningful life. I realised that it would be insightful to research into this group of people who seem to be models for present day child labourers in their communities. In addition, I wanted to know from their perspectives how they coped and survived (if at all they did).

I entered the research field with my own personality and history, being a Ghanaian, a female graduate and a counsellor. I approached the study from the premises that study participants possess the understanding and solid perspective on the topic under discussion (the *emic* approach) and that the stories/narratives are their bona fide intellectual and existential properties and that they possess the power and ability vested in them by their sheer “lived experiences”, to give account from an insider’s perspective (Webber & Ison, 1995; Chambers, 2004) and this forms the basis of the assumptions that underlie this study. Rather than viewing myself (and my thesis supervisors) as outsider professionals who can provide information and our own advice (*etic* approach) to lay bear on the research findings, we allowed the research participants to be the “drivers” of the research especially the data and its interpretation while we “co-piloted” putting the ends together.

According to Scheyvens and Storey (2003), how we position ourselves during fieldwork either as an insider or outsider has great consequences on the final outcome of our work. To them, it is of crucial importance to strike an

appropriate balance between being an insider and an outsider. As realised by Mullings (1999), outsiders are not related in any way to the group they are studying, they have little knowledge of them, and this makes it difficult to gain any meaningful information about them before commencing the study. My position, as a student researcher was to ask questions in order to get information for my thesis. Although I saw and carried myself more as an outsider researcher, I found myself in the position of an insider who belonged to the same group of participants by virtue of being a Ghanaian myself; having observed child labourers at work at some of the participants' child labour locations; and having lived in the study region for more than two decades. This means that to some extent, I share in their language and culture, their narratives as well as their general daily lifestyle. This also explains my ability to understand and capture the nuances embedded in the participants' narratives and to connect the strings as they told their stories. Naples (1996) argued that the positions of researcher insider and outsider are shifting and permeable, and that one is never fully inside or outside of a community. Even those who are insiders in some way may be outsiders in others, and vice versa. This issue is especially important in cases, such as this one, in which I am not only relatively an outsider, but also in an advantaged social location on many axes.

Being able to communicate with all my research participants either in English, Pidgin English or Fante¹ languages facilitated the interview process and enriched our discussions. Where a participant switched from English to Fante yet I was able to carry on with the conversation, I was seen as an insider and this

¹ Fante is the dominant native language of the people of the Central Region of Ghana.

helped in the establishment of rapport leading to the provision of rich data. Indeed, though majority of the participants could speak English, my engagement with them in Fante, mentioning their names properly, knowing some of the places around and some child labour locations in the region and elsewhere in the country provided a cordial atmosphere where we talked about other related or non related topics. This also provided credibility of their stories located within specific contexts that I could identify. This brought in a deep sense of togetherness and facilitated the research process.

Scheyvens and Storey (2003) drew our attention to inevitable power relations that may exist between a researcher and his or her participants. They put them into two categories: real differences related to access to money, education and other resources; and perceived differences which exist in the minds of participants who may feel inferior, as well as researchers who consciously or unconsciously show their superiority. The first time I spoke to a participant to introduce myself and to seek the would-be participant's consent, I observed a feeling of intimidation just for the fact that I indicated that I am a Doctoral student. To remove this barrier, I quickly switched to Fante language and joined him in his backyard garden (where he was working before I entered). He got a bit puzzled but saw the determination in my eyes and allowed me to join him. So our first conversation on acquaintanceship was developed while we picked weeds from among his cabbages. With this attitude towards my participants, I easily warmed my way into their life and family. Each participant became a family: I willingly participated in funerals and other ceremonies with them upon invitation. This approach also made it possible for me to observe my participants among their family compositions. Additionally, I wore simple attires to my interview

sessions, dressed in culturally acceptable ways and spoke to them in simple language, without the use of any big jargon. All these facilitated and ensured the credibility of data process.

1.4 Assumptions Underlying the Study

The following assumptions underlie the conduct of the study. It was assumed that:

1. the Central Region has child labour communities in Ghana.
2. the selected region has some adult survivors of child labour who would be open and willing to respond to and discuss their childhood experiences regarding child labour and how they coped.
3. adult survivors in the region have employed some personal and or social resources to cope and to survive.
4. child labour survivors might have received some form of counselling interventions to cope and survive.
5. the grounded theory could be successfully applied to the study in order to generate theoretical propositions regarding coping strategies and processes that would be useful for the management of child labour conditions and survival issues.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

The principal intent of this study was to explore the coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana. Specifically, this study attempted to understand the “lived” experiences of adult survivors, the diverse strategies that participants used, and to explore how their experiences influenced and or still influencing their lives. This study also sought to develop a theoretical model of the process of coping based on grounded theory tenets which was used in developing counselling guideline that would assist stakeholders in the field of counselling to understand and manage the menace of child labour in our society.

1.6 Research Questions

The central question of this thesis was: *How did adult survivors of child labour cope with child labour in the Central Region of Ghana?* This central question generated a couple of sub-questions during data collection and these are presented below:

1. What was the nature of the “lived” experiences of adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana?
2. In what way(s) does the experience of child labour influence the lives of the participants?
3. Which strategies contributed to adult survivors’ coping processes to overcome their child labour experiences and to survive?
4. What are the consequences of the coping strategies employed by these adult survivors?

5. What counselling services, if any, did this population in the Central Region receive and how did the services contribute to their survival?

1.7 Significance of the Study

The existing literature has described survivors as an extremely difficult population for professionals to work with and more specifically as being distrustful of the professionals who treat them (Rosenfeld, 2001). Inadequate information available to professionals about adult survivors and the experiences the survivors have endured can result in a negative perception of survivors, and professionals' inability to understand this population's potentials ultimately may lead to poor counsellor-client relationship (Rosenfeld, 2001). Being informed about child labour survivors' traumatic experiences, understanding their coping processes and being vigilant of their potentials or resources is useful in building trust and rapport with this population. Child labour is an issue steeped in shame, stigma, and ignorance, and there is a pervasive attitude in communities that adults who were child labourers should simply be able to get over it. This attitude silences survivors, keeps them isolated and stops them from getting the help they need, and from exposing their resources to assist children still caught up in the web of child labour. The thrust of this study, therefore, is on addressing the important research issues of adult survivors of child labour and demonstrating its policy relevance and providing methodological, theoretical and practical benefits to the areas of research and counselling.

1.7.1 Methodological and Theoretical Significance

The qualitative methodology, and very importantly, the grounded theory approach helped to explore, define and develop theoretical categories such as the personal and social resources that participants possessed. It has deepened the use of grounded theory in psychological studies as a force to reckon with. This approach to the study also provided in-depth knowledge to researchers by providing rich description and discovering the relationships embedded in the coping processes of child labour to take a methodological shift from the usual strong statistical approach. The study also helped situate child labour debate within positive developmental psychology and the broad social learning theory and specifically within the self efficacy model and the trauma and life course approaches moving away from the usual socio-econometric theories used to interrogate child labour studies. This knowledge would assist counsellors to identify counselling theories and techniques that are critical in providing useful interventions to help the numerous people who have been affected by the menace and are seeking to make life meaningful to themselves and their societies. Participants' input helped the understanding of adult survivors' coping processes in the face of child labour adversity and thereby adds to existing literature. A theoretical model that evolved through data analysis for the coping processes of adult survivors and their ability to move on has formed the basis of guideline formulated at the end of the study to assist individuals, organisations and institutions working fervently to reduce child labour.

1.7.2 Professional/Practical significance

The study also has practical significance in that it would be useful for policy makers to shift attention from the usual need-based approach to resource/asset-based approach in tapping on the resources available to child labourers to handle their conditions since child labour defies possible elimination. This study again, could contribute to capacity building of counsellors to enable them to address child labourers' psychological needs by focusing on their resources in assisting child labourers to handle traumatic child labour experiences and to empower these individuals for a positive future life in adulthood. It would also empower practitioners in identifying and helping clients with history of child labour. Moreover, this study seeks to stir a debate on study into this group of population of which little is known. It would help researchers and counsellors to learn what we can from child labour survivors in order to assist other similarly traumatised populations. This research is, therefore, an important one with potentially significant implications for the future of counselling practice and child labour studies.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

The study covers the narratives of only adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana. Adults who had been child labourers yet have not made it into the social limelight even though they are no longer in bondage, (any improvement in their lives in terms of education and employment) were not categorised as survivors and therefore, did not form part of this study. Narratives as data were based on participants' memory of the traumatic experiences.

However, though it was difficult to establish the veracity or otherwise of their stories, their narratives were triangulated from friends and family members and a cross-reference approach with the different data instruments. The exploratory nature of this study and the focus on people's "lived experiences" require the use of a qualitative research method (Rubin & Babbie, 1993). However, since findings in qualitative research are generally not geared toward generalisation, the findings of this research do not aim at generalisation of its results. Yet, the hypotheses developed from the major findings may consequently eventually pave the way for a future quantitative research on this topic. Finally, ethical concerns did not permit data collection from an unwilling survivor whose information would have otherwise enriched this research.

1.9 Operational Definition of Key Terms

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

Achiever: an adult who has reached a certain socio-economic status to be referred to as either above average or outstanding/distinguished personality.

Adult Survivors: persons of 21 years and above who had been child labourers and had endured some degree of trauma, passed through suffering, employed some coping strategies, came out and moved on in spite of the odds against them. It is that person who went through, suffered some degree of untold hardship, got stifled, scathed, yet, used personal and social supports to come out with some

degree of achievement in the areas of education, employable skills, and has gained personal and social acceptance/ recognition.

Child Labour: activities that do not permit children to study at home; make children physically and psychologically exhausted; where children have to work to care for their basic needs including their own education; and work as income-earners for their families; and they do not attend school or are frequently late to school because of work.

Coping strategies: actions or a series of actions, approaches, skills, abilities or resources chosen and used to manage child labour experiences. It is what these resources are used for when personal meanings are disrupted and smooth functioning of life breaks down. The goal of coping is the restoration of meaning. Coping is a series of strategies that individuals choose to handle a condition.

“Lived” Experiences: child labour activities that individuals have “lived” or gone through, or have “living knowledge” of therefore, have an inside information of its ins and outs, and the ramifications thereof and have changed as a result.

Survival: a condition or situation of life threatening events of child labour where there is the possibility for people to have perished or amounted to nothing but they did not rather, coped and moved on to contribute meaningfully to themselves and society.

1.10 Organisation of the Study

This dissertation, except the preliminary pages, is in six chapters. Chapter one focused on the background of the study and explained the rationale for undertaking the research. I related my decision to work within the context of child labour and adult survivors and its relevance to research in the area of child labour menace and my justification for this decision to focus on coping that adults who survived and have moved on have coped successfully with child labour in spite of their traumatic child labour experiences. Furthermore, I linked my decision to use the grounded theory as the method of data collection and analysis that would drive the study to build a theory on coping process of adult survivors of child labour. Based on the background, the statement, purpose and assumptions of the study, I formulated five research questions that guided the conduct of the study. Finally, I linked the work to its implications for child labour studies and counselling and psychology, and provided an overview of the organisation of the study.

Chapter Two provides a contextual backdrop of child labour issues both nationally and internationally from which the study should be viewed. Based on this, relevant literature pertaining to theoretical and conceptual frameworks was reviewed. Theoretically, Cain's life course approach, Herman's stage recovery theory and Bandura's self efficacy model were integrated to explore traumatic experiences in human life within the life span and how individuals mobilise their personal and social resources to cope and move on with child labour. This integration was further moved conceptually to discuss empirical works on child labour in relation to traumatic experiences, coping and moving on. This

integration helped identified the gaps in the literature that justify a study of this nature.

In chapter three, I explored the dichotomy of the philosophical and theoretical issues regarding research in quantitative and qualitative paradigms and the current debate on the use of mixed method approach to research. I used the constructivist grounded theory method for data collection and analysis. The snowball, self-recruit, and theoretical sampling techniques were used to collect data from eleven adult survivors and five significant others. Semi-structured interview and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) guides were the main instruments for data collection though observation was also used to supplement data on participants. Data collection span over 15 months. The chapter concludes with discussions on quality criteria and ethical concerns. In chapter four, I reported the results of my study. Typical of grounded theory, inductive analysis of data evolved at the start of data collection. Relying on the paradigm model designed by Strauss and Corbin (1990), the analysis employed the open, axial, and selective coding procedures to code categories and subcategories, determine relationships, and to develop a comprehensive and coherent story line that told the stories of eleven adult survivors describing their traumatic “lived” experiences of child labour and the process of coping, moving on and surviving linking the elements of the theoretical model and my research questions. Thematic presentation of the results was done where I included verbatim quotations in addition to references to field notes and general reflections on the study. Then I interpreted the results in terms of grounded theory paradigm model finding the relationships of the categories discussed in the thematic section. The process of coping as described in the results section is a recursive process with

many interconnected relationships. It presents interactions between personal and social supports that both promote and hinder coping and moving on after child labour.

Chapter Five contains discussion of my research findings arrived at in chapter four vis-à-vis existing literature presented in chapter two with the aim of relating them so as to arrive at conclusions regarding the research problem. Confirming and disconfirming relations between my study and the existing relevant literature are highlighted and interpreted. Based on the results and findings, guideline for counselling survivors was developed to help build the capacity of practitioners.

Finally, in Chapter Six, I presented the summary of the main findings of my study in terms of purpose and research questions as formulated in Chapter One. I also drew main conclusions, provided reflections in terms of contributions both as strengths of my study and challenges encountered during the research project. I ended with recommendations based on the findings of the study regarding counselling practice and further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Major life events impact on the general outlook of the individual and this impact may change the life course and have lasting effect on the said individual. The current study specifically explores the coping strategies and processes of adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana. It reviews the existing related literature on the coping strategies employed by adult individuals who had experienced trauma during their developmental years as a response to the effects that their experiences had on them. A research exploring the construction of survival and the processes of coping and moving on after child labour would of no mean standard, offer insight into the existing literature on coping with man-made trauma and the coping process after traumatic experiences, and shifting attention from need based-approach to tapping on both personal and social resources of survivors in managing the child labour canker. This chapter, thus, is divided into three major sections namely: the contextual backdrop, theoretical framework, and conceptual perspectives underlying child labour and trauma studies.

Rather than positioning the study in the usual socio-econometrics of child labour and child labour theories such as household determinants of child labour, this study is situated within positive psychology rooted in socio-cultural context of developmental theories. Socio-cultural developmental psychology is a kind of

cross-cultural and holistic social research which interprets and analyses interactions between cultural values and beliefs, social relations and historical changes that affect patterns of daily life and personal experience of individuals within a specific space and time (Pahud, 2008). The positive psychology is based on the philosophy that “there is personal gain to be found in suffering” (Joseph, 2009, p.12). The Socio-cultural positive developmental psychology thus blends with life course approach as the two seek to understand the individual across the lifespan in relation to his environment for functioning. The recovery theory relates how individuals recover and build resilience after a major traumatic experience and bounce back to life. The self-efficacy and development psychology expatiate on how individuals employ their internal resources to deal with past experiences in order to progress or move on.

2.2 Contextual Backdrop to Child Labour Epidemic

This section provides a brief history, definitional issues and the state of child labour especially as it pertains to the Ghanaian context looking at the impact on education, and personal-social influences then placing child labour in the domain of psychology.

2.2.1 Introduction on Child Labour

The issue of child labour has been widely researched and debated for decades but it is still a significant issue for many developing nations. In each country, child labour is caused by unique mix of level of economic development in the country, social attitudes towards children, cultural factors, educational

quality and quantity, duality in labour market, labour laws governing labour markets and the stringency with which these laws are enforced. It is aptly described, ‘child labour is a symptom and not the problem’. Despite the countless policies and programmes launched against the challenge, the resultant dent caused in the increased numbers of cases is very meagre. This study is an add-on to existing knowledge on child labour, with special focus on how adult survivors coped with their traumatic “lived” experiences.

Archampong (2001) reported that the problem of child labour has risen to the forefront of the global agenda with both developed and developing countries calling for an end to the practice. While most developed countries have effectively curbed child labour, it continues in developing countries particularly in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Since time immemorial child labour has been the world’s problem due to some discriminatory political, cultural and economic practices against children (Ame et al., 2012) and this has caused countries all over the world to recognise the need for the protection, development and survival of children. The United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (1989) generally, guarantees three broad categories of the rights of the child: (1) right of provision (of adequate nutrition, health care, education, economic welfare); (2) rights of protection (from abuse, neglect, violence, exploitation); and (3) rights of participation (a voice in decisions affecting the child).

Though numerous research findings are available on the topic (UNICEF, 1997; Schlemmer, 2000; ILO, 2004; Ame et al., 2012), the specific statistics of children involved in child labour activities are still uncertain. Estimates for child labour vary. Figures range between 250 million to 304 million of children of 5-17

years engaged in work (ILO, 2008). According to ILO survey over a decade ago, a rough estimate of the number of children between 5-14 years who were employed was pegged at 250 million and out of this figure, 120 million children were full time workers and were involved in hazardous and exploitative work (Ray, 1999; Donnellan, 2002). ILO (2003) report also indicated that in 2000, one child out of six children between the ages of 5 and 14 were doing some form of work. According to estimates from ILO (2006) in 2004, there were generally 218 million child labourers between the ages of 5-17; 126 million in Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL); 69% in agriculture; and 9% in industry. Within the same year ILO indicated that Asia-Pacific regions account for the largest number of child labour with 122 million followed by sub-Saharan Africa with 49.3 million child labourers and Latin America and Caribbean having 5.7 million child labourers (International Trade Union Confederation [ITUC], 2008). In 2008, ILO estimated that there were 153 million child labourers aged 5-14 worldwide. This figure indicates a 20 million decrease in child labour cases recorded between 2004 and 2008 (ILO, 2008).

According to Eldring, Nakanyane and Tshoedi (2000) General Agricultural Workers Union of TUC (GAWU)/IUF/ILO listed child slavery/debt bondage, illegal mining, human portorage, brewing and tapping, fishing, contract farm labour, and herding among others as some of the WFCL in agricultural/rural areas in Ghana. These authors further indicated that low family income, large family sizes, tribal ethnic conflicts, certain cultural beliefs and practices, lack of proper legislation, single parenthood, societal acceptance of child labour as part of child upbringing, and the collapse of extended family systems are some possible causes of child labour in Ghana.

Regarding measures and strategies put in place to combat child labour, Ghana has a National Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (NPECL). The aim of the programme is to put about 1500 child workers into regular formal or non-formal educational programmes, pre-vocational and vocational training, and provide them with counselling, health services and recreational activities. Additionally, rescued children will be returned to their families of origin. The priority is on children working in extremely hazardous or abusive conditions, children below the age of 12 and girls (Eldring et al., 2000).

Furthermore, a national ILO-IPEC is established which consists of some concerned ministries, workers' and employers' organisations and NGOs. The government has created the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC), which is the coordinating body for publicising the ILO Convention and the processes needed to effect the provisions of the convention. Additionally, the Free Compulsory Basic Education Programme (FCUBE) seeks to address the problem of child labour through educational measures. The programme aims to ensure that children of school going age have access to education, at least up to basic education level.

The government of Ghana has also addressed the issue of child labour through poverty reduction activities such as the National Poverty Reduction Programme (NPRP), and the Technical Committee on Poverty (TCOP). Additionally, educational interventions by the government such as the school feeding programme and free school uniform are all geared toward reducing the child labour menace in Ghana. The Department of Labour has set up a Child labour Unit to develop training programmes on issues concerning child labour, while the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare has the official mandate to

monitor, control and prevent child labour. However, the NPECL stated that; "... the policy provisions to promote and ensure the concept of Child Rights in Ghana appear weak in relation to the existing universal conventions and laws on the basic rights of the child in general and the working child in particular" (Elshof, 1995, p.7). A number of NGOs such as RESPONSE, Plan International, Action Aid, Save the Children, and also Ghana Employers Association (GEA), university research institutions and religious organisations are engaged in efforts related to working children and their condition. However, according to NPECL, hardly any of them has developed specific activities on child labour (Elshof, 1995). GAWU considered the combat against child labour as crucial:

We have played a leading role among Trade Unions in the fight against child labour not only for its inhumanity but also for the fact that where one child is employed an adult loses a job (Eldring et al., 2000, p. 3).

While there is no direct engagement of children in formal sector employment in Ghana, the situation is however rampant in the informal sector which is dominated by agriculture and allied rural industries.

According to GAWU, with the continued contractualisation and casualisation of labour, child labour is gradually but indirectly creeping into formal agriculture sector and that the more children are involved in work the more difficult it is to get adult job. Eldring et al. (2000) concluded that it is extremely difficult to produce accurate numbers and that there is a need for more research both on the extent, causes and possible solutions when it comes to child labour in Ghana.

Jones, Ahadzie and Doh (2009) noted that children are especially vulnerable, owing to their immaturity and dependence on adults. They are of the

view that severe shocks and deprivations can be life threatening for very young children and that the abuses and deprivations during childhood can have lifelong consequences. To conclude, they stated that in order to address the wide range of socio-cultural, gendered and economic risks to which children are vulnerable, it is important to continue to strengthen the social welfare programmes that provide preventive and responsive child protection services. This implies that the risks faced by children cannot be addressed solely by cash transfers and social insurance, but require specialised services such as counselling.

Another significant issue with regard to child labour is based on the fact that there is problem with differentiating between child work and child labour (Whittaker, 1986; Fyfe, 1989; Bourdillon, 2000; Agordzo, 2011). The question that arises is what is child labour? Is it culturally determined or it is an economic phenomenon? The concept of child labour is again defined as work which does not take place under such relatively idyllic conditions. It is assumed to have a degree of economic compulsion associated with it and it involves time and energy commitment which affects children's ability to participate in leisure, play and educational activities, and that it impairs the health and development of children (Whittaker, 1986; Fyfe, 1989). Fyfe and Whittaker's proposition is premised on the fact that work cannot necessarily be termed child labour unless it detracts activities such as leisure, play and the education of the child. One can say that, child labour can be either good or bad depending on the social context in which the work takes place. This theory also leads to the assumption that there may be clear distinction between acceptable and unacceptable work for children.

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

one constitutes labour considering the wide range of activities that children undertake in the home. On studying the socio-cultural context of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana, Agordzo (2011) concluded that “majority of parents finds it difficult to draw the line between what constitutes ‘child work or service’ to the home and what constitutes ‘child labour’ in their attempt to bring up their children to become responsible adults in future...” (p. 170). According to Admassie (2000)

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

Admassie thus connected child labour to the way of life of a people which can take any form depending on their main occupation, financial and social standing.

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

The issue of the definition of child labour poses a challenge when one examines child labour from child development perspective. Child labour poses

developmental challenges such as social withdrawal, loneliness and lack of sense of belongingness (Agordzo, 2011). Human development needs a holistic approach: a condition that must provide total development of the child in order for his or her optimum development in adult life. Absence of provisions that gear toward these achievements, are not in the best interest of the child and do not seek to promote the survival, development and protection of the child.

Child labour is culturally differentiated. The services child labourers in Ghana offer differ from and include polishing shoes, wiping wind shields, selling dog chains, carrying goods for shoppers in the markets, selling drinking water and polythene bags. There are also child labourers in stone quarries, fishing and farming sectors. Most child labourers are sent out to work by their parents (Schlemmer, 2000). Some of Ghana's child labourers attend school and work after school but most of them are either not in school at all or attend school only intermittently (Archampong, 2001). These incidents of child labour in Ghana touch a significant part of the country's population and need to be addressed. Children engaged in child labour find it difficult to attend school regularly and this has serious consequences for their future as well as that of the country (Archampong, 2001; Agordzo, 2011).

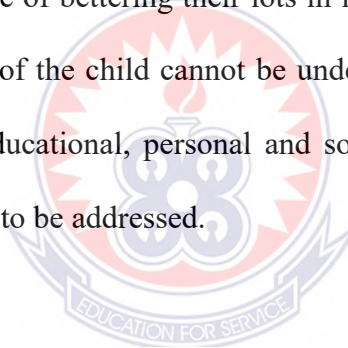
The exploitation of children and the kind of work they are made to perform have been classified variously. Bonded child labour is a term widely used for the virtual enslavement of children to work and repay debts owed by their parents or relatives (Donnellan, 2002; ILO, 1999). According to UNICEF (1997), in South Asia for example, children of about eight and nine years are often pledged by their parents to factory owners in exchange of small loans. However, their lifelong servitude never succeeds in even reducing the debt and

the children who work like slaves in the name of debt bondage, never knew when their debt would be considered paid finally. In Ghana, the practice of “trokosi” is seemingly noticeable amongst the Tornus of the Ewe land and the Adas in the Ga-Adangbe land where young female virgins who are pledged to deities and in some ways, to priests of shrines, have been mistaken to mean working to repay the debts of their parents or relations. Of late, the issue of “trokosi” has been the subject of several controversial debates amongst civil rights activists and the media (Barker, 2009).

Commercial sexual exploitation is designated by the ILO as a WFCL. Child prostitution is appalling to the sane in society. Children are especially powerless to refuse abuse by their employers, either as perpetrators or intermediaries (Agordzo, 2011). Most child employers often use sexual exploitation as a condition of safeguarding a child’s employment (Donnellan, 2002). According to Donnellan (2002), UNICEF’s 1995 situational report on child trafficking and prostitution in Cambodia for instance, indicated that about half of the child prostitutes surveyed were either sold or deceived by someone they knew: 40% were sold by their parents and 15% were sold by relatives.

Domestic child labour dubbed “the world’s most forgotten children”, is the practice where children work as domestic helps in households that are not their own and undertake household chores such as cooking, cleaning, taking care of younger children, and running errands for promises of remuneration (Donnellan, 2002). Agordzo (2013) however, found that some children in their own parents homes believe that they are child labourers and stated that it is an unfortunate situation because these children are deprived of affection, play and social activities. They are also vulnerable to physical, sexual and verbal abuse.

Child domestic workers or house-helps are the most forgotten, most difficult to see, and most difficult to reach in terms of any assistance due to the close nature of their locations (Donnellan, 2002). In Africa, and of course, Ghana as well, most middle class and upper class families engage children of poor families as young as eight years as house-helps who were called house-girls. In few instances, a paltry number of this class of child labourers gets the opportunity to go to school while in the service of their masters or mistresses but a monstrous number of them work long hours with very little or no opportunity for rest (Awake, 1999). These child workers are mostly girls who migrated from rural areas to urban centres either on their own, trafficked or through a relative (Anne, 2002) under the guise of bettering their lots in life. The influence of child labour on the development of the child cannot be underestimated. Children involved in child labour have educational, personal and social challenges as result of their work and these need to be addressed.



2.2.2 Impact of Child Labour on Education

Curle (1973) stated that majority of students who dropped out of school before the completion of high school, are those from families that are not economically sound. He contended that most of these children abandoned school to honour their parents' call on them to help in fishing and fishing related activities to look after themselves and or their siblings. Schlemmer (2000) reiterated this by noting that, where an under fifteen year old child from a poor home is confronted with the issues of benefiting from primary school education

and money-making activities, the preferred choice will be to work to make money for his or her own upkeep than to continue his or her studies.

King (1994) reported that in the Philippines, 15% of boys and 9% of girls in rural areas working therefore cannot attend school. In a research on how child labour interacts with child schooling in Peru and Pakistan, it was found that positive increase in education of the adult plays significant role in reducing both boys' and girls' child labour. It was also noted that the more educated parents in both countries see the value of their child's education and resist the temptation to pull the child out of schooling and put him or her into paid employment (Ray, 1999a). Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (1997, p. 398) in their study on the family size and child labour in Peru, observed that Peruvian children combine employment with schooling to a large extent, better than children in other countries. They stated that "working actually makes it possible for the children to go to school."

Agordzo (2011) noted that there are clear indications that child labour adversely affects both education and career aspirations of child labourers regarding their school attendance, study habits, among others. Looking at the circumstances under which child labourers in the Central Region in fishing communities find themselves, one of the difficult things was for a child labourer to get adequate time during the day to combine the two. Faced with the choice between studying enough and working to earn money, Agordzo (2011) found that participants preferred working to studies. With the preference for work, child labour accounts for a large number of absenteeism and lack of concentration in class. The study concluded that this attitude results in poor academic

performance in school and that child labourers performance may be better if child labour is taken out making room for more time for studies.

2.2.3 Impact of Child Labour on Social Development

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

Ray (1999b) was of the view that employment of children has devastating effects including destructive consequences for the child's intellectual and physical development. Ray further pointed out that child labour puts constraint on the "child's ability to benefit fully from schooling and education, thereby, possibly condemning him or her to perpetual poverty and low wage employment" (p.1). One of the mainspring objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Ghana is to find the links between poverty, vulnerability and exclusion, and identify strategies to poverty reduction (Ministry of Women and Children [MOWAC]/UNICEF, 2009). ILO (2003) however, stated that many low-income countries may not achieve the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring that all children complete a full course of primary education by 2015. Could this statement be true in the case of Ghana?

Antithetical, however, to the reviewed literature, Admassie (2003) and Zeirold, Garmani and Anderson (2004) were of the view that child labour

provides child labourers positive self-identity and self-reliance and autonomy over their pay or money. They also believed that it empowers the children to challenge the institutionalisation of their status as children within the home. It is often said that poverty accounts for the presence of child labour in Ghana (GSS, 2003). Admittedly, poverty is one factor, but there are also socio-cultural practices coupled with problems within the institutions charged with implementing child labour laws that make it difficult to curtail the practice.

2.2.4 Why is Child Labour a Psychology Issue?

Psychologists have a responsibility towards society and children in general to ensure that children are raised in an atmosphere of care, provision of basic needs and protection from violence or anything that will impede their development, and that these children receive attention and respect that will foster bond and affection. Psychology looks at the important contributions that society makes to individual development. Childhood is the most important stage in human life that shapes the future individual through formal and informal education, self-learning through play and interaction with other children, adults and the environment. Through these, the child becomes a better person in private and public life who is aware of rights and responsibilities. However, not all children have the chance to enjoy their childhood. Millions of children are toiling at inhumane working conditions to earn their livelihood (Donnellan, 2002; ILO, 2008).

Although it seems apparent that there would be increased psychiatric morbidity among child labourers, there seems not many studies conducted on

Africa that systematically examined or demonstrated the higher prevalence of psychiatric disorders. Abiodun (1993) reported that 15% of 500 surveyed child labourers aged between 5- 15 years were found to have mental disorders, 2/3 of which were emotional and conduct disorders. The empirical evidence is scanty, and is based mostly on screening questionnaires (Fekadu et al., 2006). Forastieri (2002) was of the view that ILO's published bibliography on child labour, with very useful compilations on child labour health has not provided any information on the prevalence of psychiatric disorders, or about its association with risk factors such as different forms of child abuse. These studies have, thus, identified the relationship between child labor and psychological conditions and the need for research into these variables.

A study from Brazil has shown an almost three fold rate of behavioural disorders among child labourers compared to controls (Benvegna, Fassa, Facchini, Wegman, & Dall'Agnol, 2005). Similarly a survey from Jordan reported higher rates of substance use in child labourers compared to controls (Hawamdeh & Spencer, 2001), although a study from Lebanon did not see any difference in mental health states of cases and controls (Nuwayhid, Usta, Makarem, Khuder & El- Zein 2005). Another multi-site study from three urban areas in Ethiopia showed that the controls had almost two fold prevalence rates of childhood disorders compared to child labourers which according to the authors were possibly due to selection bias or healthy worker effect (Alem, Zergaw, Kebede, Araya, Desta, Mucbe, Chali & Medhin, 2006). Woodhead (2004) has outlined a detailed account of psychosocial problems mainly based on relevant literature review, and his extensive field work in Africa and Asia. The descriptions and narratives of the subjects in his study fit into a range of

psychopathologies commonly clustered as internalising disorders (emotional and anxiety symptoms) rather than externalising disorders (conduct and disruptive behavioural symptoms). Internalising disorders are more likely to be readily self-reported by child informants and less likely to be easily detected by teachers and parents. Conversely, externalising disorders are more likely to be easily detected by teachers and parents as they are noticeable but reported less by child informants because of poor insight (Bird et al., 1992). In view of the above literature reviewed, it is evident that child labour is a psychological issue and more attention needs to be paid to it in order to help reduce the psychological challenges that most individuals face in adulthood.

2.3 Theoretical Framework of the Study

With the review of literature regarding the context of child labour, the theoretical framework explores the relevance of first, Leonard Cain's (1964) life course approach which deals with the interrelationship between the individual and his environment/society, hooking it on to how both past and present experiences influence individual lives across time and space. It further examines Judith Herman's (1992) three stage recovery model to process the individual's survival after a major life threatening event such as child labour through resilience. Then it draws from the social cognitive theory of development specifically drawing on Albert Bandura's (1994) model of self-efficacy of human development to place the personality (participant) within its environment for functionality based on his or her perceived self-efficacy.

2.3.1 The Life Course Approach

The concept of the life course was first introduced to the social sciences by Leonard D. Cain Jr. in 1964 who drew on other sociologists but also on scholarship as wide ranging as anthropology, psychology and history, transforming research about the aged, into research on aging as a social process (George, 1993; Marshall, 1995; Marshall & Philippa, 2010). Later, Abeles and Riley (1977) outlined three central premises that still form the core of the life course perspective: that (1) developmental change and aging represent a continuous process; (2) change occurs in interrelated social, psychological, and biological domains, and (3) life-course development is multi-determined. Little was said about social institutions and social structure, but these pioneers did set forth a cross-disciplinary research agenda covering domains such as the sense of self and self-esteem; health, physical functioning and stress; social networks and relationships; and work and retirement. This study seems to hinge more on Abeles and Riley's (1977) third central point which is pivotal to survival that individual life trajectories are determined through various paths of which the unique "lived" experiences of survivors are significant.

Heinz and Marshall (2003) and Heinz, Huinink and Weymann (2009) worked further on this approach and brought to bear that broad social changes at the institutional level influence individual life courses, but people actively struggle to construct their lives over time, and also to alter the factors that structure the life course. This study identified that individuals who, by a change in the social structure had their childhood disorganised, managed through the use of some coping strategies to reconstruct their lives over time to become survivors. They also are actively engaged in changing the same structure of child labour that

contributed to their childhood abuse experiences by helping other children still caught up in child labour. Society was seen as increasingly a 'risk society'--- that is, a society in which institutional protections against the vicissitudes of life are diminishing in importance, requiring the individual to more reflexively assume the responsibility to, in effect, self-insure against life course risks (Beck 1992; Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994). This seems to be the case with child labour laws not being fully implemented in Ghana and where children's rights are continuously violated mostly in the name of culturally pervasive attitude of child training (Jones et al., 2009). The very family system and community that was previously seen as the protective factor in children's upbringing in the context seems broken.

There is no "unified theory of the life course approach", however, life course theoretical perspectives or frameworks share several common principles (George, 1993, p.358). Understanding lives through time is the main principle behind the life course framework (Fry, 2003). Also significant is that life course perspectives consider the intersection of individual biography and social structural factors; they are concerned with the interplay of micro, mezzo, and macro level factors in human lives (George, 1993).

The thrust of this life course framework is the interrelationship between the individual and society and the ways that both past and present experiences, transitions, and barriers and supports are all interdependent and able to influence lives. According to Jamieson (2002),

This theoretical perspective does not specify a particular stage in the life course as the focus. Rather, the focus is on the implications of the passing of time for individuals, on the implications and

experience of being at a particular point in time, and the links between earlier and later points in time as well as the links between social structures and individual experiences (p.11).

Individuals who had once been rooted from their family and friends, placed in traumatic conditions of child labour where they were abused and exploited, delayed in development especially in terms of education. To this end, the use of this perspective on the study of adult survivors of child labour is to explore the impacts of their child labour (childhood) experiences on their adult life, at the same time interrogating the roles of the social and cultural dynamics on their individual “lived experiences”.

George (1993) noted that there are two subsets of life course studies. The first are population-based studies of transition: timing of transitions, sequences of transitions, transitions as life course markers. These are not the focus of this study. The second subset deals with individual-based studies and it is these which are extremely relevant to this discussion. The emphasis of these studies is to explain the processes “by which early transitions exert enduring influences on later life patterns” (George 1993, p.361). This allows for the opportunity to explore the impact of earlier life experiences of child labour on later outcomes of adult survivors and processes of their coping strategies to survival and moving on.

2.3.2 Self-efficacy Model

Social cognitive theory, formerly called social learning theory, emphasises the role of thoughts and images in psychological functioning. An important aspect of Bandura’s theory is that individuals learn by observing

others. Bandura proposed a *triadic reciprocal interaction system* in which he believes that the individual evolves and interacts among the environment, personal factors, and behavioural actions. At the center of this triad is the self-system, a set of cognitive structures and perceptions that regulate behaviour (Bandura, 1997; Nevid, 2009). These cognitive structures include self-awareness, self-inducements, and self-reinforcement that can influence thoughts, behaviours, and feelings. Related to these is the concept of self-efficacy, which deals with how well people perceive that they are able to deal with difficult tasks in life (Bandura, 1986). Associated with a strong sense of self-efficacy is the ability to accomplish significant tasks, learn from observation, believe that one can succeed, and have a low level of anxiety. Bandura (2005) posited that social cognitive theory takes on an agent-like perspective to change, development and adaptation. According to Bandura, an agent is someone who intentionally influences one's functioning and life circumstances and he concluded that "people are self organizing, proactive, self-regulating, and self-reflecting... They are contributors to their life circumstances not just products of them" (Bandura, 2005, p. 1).

In describing social cognitive theory, Bandura (1997), stated that reinforcement is not sufficient to explain learning and personality development. He believes that much learning takes place through observing and modeling the actions of others. For example, children may learn by watching parents, friends, movies, or by reading. By far, this is what the social context of the child provides directly or indirectly and he or she models after them. In the process of learning, behavioral processes are important, as are cognitive processes that symbolically code observations and memories (Bandura, 1986). The processes that explain

observational learning or self-efficacy have been described by Bandura as having four basic functions: attention, retention, motor reproduction, and motivation.

The self-efficacy theory is Bandura's major contribution to the social cognitive theory. Self-efficacy theory has been extensively researched to find answers and meaning to the level and strength of individual's beliefs in their own capabilities to achieve and or perform tasks/goals. Self-efficacy refers to an individual's judgment of his or her skills and capacity (whether accurate or not), to execute actions so as to achieve an adequate performance required in a specific situation. This leads to expressions such as: "I know that I can solve that problem.", or, "I feel confident that I can answer that question". This construct of perceived self-efficacy, based on cognitive and behavioural concepts, is defined as people's beliefs about their capacities to produce designated levels of performance that exercise influence over events that affect their lives and their beliefs in their capabilities to mobilise the motivation, cognitive resources and courses of action needed to exercise control over tasks' demands (Bandura, 1994).

Additionally, this construct is domain-specific: indeed a person may possess self-efficacy in one area but not in another (for example, the ability to scoop water from the fishing boat but the unable to pull fishing nets). This self-efficacy changes over time, and develops according to the context and through acquired experiences. It requires the mobilisation of inner abilities and personal attributes such as optimism, self-esteem, and self-determination or goal commitment.

According to the theory, self-efficacy beliefs determine how people feel, think, motivate themselves and behave (Bandura, 1994; Redmond, 2010). In this

case, self-efficacy influences individuals' behaviour by predicting their goal setting and subsequent task performance. It influences also their level of motivation and persistence in pursuance of those goals despite failures, their sense of control over the sources of stress, and their choice of behaviour to face or avoid challenges according to their perceived inner capacities.

Bandura (1997), opined that self-efficacy is the individual's perception of her ability to deal with different types of situations. People with high self-efficacy expect success, which often leads to success itself, whereas those with low self-efficacy have self-doubts about their abilities to accomplish tasks; thus, the chance of successful outcome may be lower, and self-esteem will be lowered. Those who have high self-efficacy are likely to have imaginal coding and verbal coding that reflect success. In other words, a child labourer with a high sense of self-efficacy can visualize himself or herself working hard to come out of child labour, and go to school someday and can think confidently and positively about having education and becoming an achiever.

In describing the acquisition of self-efficacy, Bandura (1997) believes that self-efficacy comes from four major sources: mastery/past experiences, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion, and lowering emotional arousal. Mastery experiences refer to the fact that past successes are likely to create high expectations and a resulting high sense of efficacy. This reflects adult survivors of child labour's success in overcoming obstacles through persevering efforts used during child labour which is reported to be very effective because, in contrast with failure, success builds a robust belief in personal control over events experienced after child labour. Past experiences of survivors have made them resilient and ready to face any challenges in life. Vicarious experiences or social

modelling mean opportunities to observe someone else and say, “I can do that” or, for those with low self-efficacy, “I don’t think I can do that”. It is when people observe others similar to themselves who are able to succeed in their tasks (modelling) that encourages the “observers” to reproduce comparable activities because they believe that they possess the same capacities. As in the case of most adult survivors, the ability of others to succeed or the knowledge that there were others in the same conditions as them gave them hope and encouraged them to persevere to survive.

Verbal/social persuasion refers to the impact that encouragement or praise from parents, friends, or others can have on expectations of performance. It aims at convincing and strengthening people’s beliefs that they are capable of performing a task and succeeding (Redmond, 2010). When this source is applied appropriately, it brings out or encourages individuals to do their best or persevere. Persuasive messages or acts of encouragement and recognition of participants’ worth can move them to act and to succeed.

Emotional regulation refers to lowering powerful anxiety that will allow individuals to perform more accurately and calmly, leading to a stronger sense of self-efficacy. Emotional regulation reduces people’s emotional proclivities during unusual and stressful situations which can impact negatively on their physical state thereby affecting their self-efficacy. When individuals encounter stressful phenomena and are encouraged to remain calm, they tend to have control over the phenomena and perform better. Of these four sources of self-efficacy, Bandura believes that the strongest factor is an individual’s performance accomplishments or past experiences.

This study on adult survivors of child labour reveals that each participant used two or more sources of perceived self-efficacy as coping strategies. These sources employed by participants bring together both the personal resources they possess and social support they received from caring persons to cope and move on.

Self-efficacy, or the belief in one's own abilities to deal with various situations, can play a role in not only how one feels about himself or herself, but whether or not one successfully achieve goals in life. Virtually all people can identify goals they want to accomplish, things they would like to change, and things they would like to achieve. However, this is not so with everyone. Bandura opined that successful individuals are those with a strong sense of self-efficacy who view challenges as tasks to be mastered; have a stronger sense of commitment to work; and recover quickly from setbacks. He indicated that those who tend not to achieve goals are those with a low sense of self-efficacy. These people avoid challenges; focus on personal failings and negative outcomes; and quickly lose confidence in their personal abilities. Adult survivors tend to have a strong sense of perceived self-efficacy as they become resilient as a sequel to their past traumatic experiences and believing that there was nothing they could not achieve if they set achievable goals and applied themselves to the task well.

2.3.3 Herman's Three Stage Recovery Model

Herman (1992) developed a three stage model that has been used to treat trauma survivors during rehabilitation process. The model provides a useful set of goals for treatment providers, regardless of theoretical orientation. Judith

Herman's model gives an in-depth description of the healing process (coping process) of people who struggle with a number of problems relating to abusive or past traumatic experiences. The three stages of this process are (1) the establishment of safety, (2) remembrance and mourning, and (3) reconnection. This process is not typically linear; there are often advances, regressions, and impasses. Many people do not complete all three stages during their recovery.

Establishing safety: Herman (1992) identified establishing safety as the first step in the treatment of trauma because no intervention can succeed without the survivor feeling safe. Safety includes protection from violence and maltreatment by other people, basic needs being met such as medical care, financial security, safe living environments, adequate food and sleep, legal protection, and a supportive social network. van der Kolk (1996) indicated that the establishment of safety helps the survivor to interpret emotional stimuli in a grounded, present manner instead of interpreting the stimuli as a return of the trauma. Researchers have identified safety as an important aspect of recovery and survival from a traumatic event, such as torture and [child labour]. Child labour in which is embedded torture and other forms of trauma, can cloud an individual's sense of security and safety especially when trauma is experienced in childhood. The disorganization and fragmentation in both cognitive and behavioral domains caused by traumatic events can lead to additional safety issues such as displacement (van der Veer & van Waning, 2004). However, adults who escaped or survived child labour, the transition from abusive environment provided them some sense of safety and was significant to their coping and moving on.

However, Silove (1999) suggested that the life-threatening situation of trauma may trigger psychobiological mechanisms associated with the preservation of safety. The torture survivors may not feel safe because they may be experiencing flashbacks, dreams, and memories which remind them of the torture (Fabri, 2001). Herman (1992) posited that the reestablishment of safety is important in the development of relationships that can be beneficial in the process of recovery.

Several studies examined safety and stability in refugees and torture survivors. For example, refugees who received asylum in their new countries displayed higher levels of mental health and quality of life compared to refugees with similar traumatic experiences and pre-migratory stress who did not receive asylum (Davis & Davis, 2006; Keller, Lhewa, Rosenfeld, Sachs, Aladjem et al., 2006; Momartin, Steel, Coello, Arocha, Silove & Brooks, 2006). Further, Isakson (2008) reported on torture survivors from various African and Asian countries and concluded that moving to a new country away from the torture scene was a major step in establishing safe environment for survival. By implication, establishing or reestablishing safety and stability seems a prerequisite for coping and survival.

Remembrance and mourning: In the remembrance and mourning stage of Herman's model (1992), the survivor constructs a narrative of his or her experiences in a therapeutic relationship. One of the major clusters of symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is the avoidance of thoughts and behaviours that remind a person of the traumatic experiences. The memories are stress inducing and the person has difficulty functioning in various aspects of life because he or she avoids thoughts, people, and activities that remind the person

of the traumatic event. Avoidance is a coping strategy that survivors use to maintain psychological stability when faced with destabilizing traumatic memories and hyper-arousal symptoms. However, when memories and emotions related to the trauma are constantly avoided, the survivor is unable to extinguish the related anxiety and process so as to integrate the memories and emotions. Thus, the survivor is most likely to continue re-experiencing the trauma without recovery (Briere & Scott, 2006). Several studies have examined the impact of avoidance. In a study of college age trauma survivors, avoidance was found to mediate the relationship between trauma exposure and PTSD (Orcutt, Pickett & Pope, 2005). Avoidance was also found to be positively related to physical health problems in a sample of adult female trauma survivors (Woods & Wineman, 2004). Andrews, Troop, Joseph, Hiskey, and Coyne (2002) found that attempted avoidance was related to PTSD and to mental control strategies of punishment and worry. However, in this same study, survivors who were able to successfully reduce arousal symptoms through avoidance displayed significantly less PTSD symptoms and more mental control strategies related to positive well-being.

According to Herman (1992), to overcome the stress of remembering, the survivor relates his or her experiences in depth with great detail. The goal is to modify the traumatic memories so they become more meaningful in the person's life and less anxiety provoking. In addition, the survivor is encouraged to examine the social and political context of the trauma. As the narrative develops, the memories become less disjointed, more depersonalised and more coherent. With this emotional reworking and cognitive restructuring, the memories become more manageable and the significance of the trauma changes from a story of victimisation to one of dignity and agency. Once the survivor is able to

emotionally and cognitively process the traumatic experiences, the survivor is then able to mourn the losses experienced. They face the reality that they may never regain what they lost. Herman (1992) argued that with the new story, the intrusive and hyper-arousal symptoms subside and this seems the case of child labour survivors whose narrative exposition during this study by way of data collection, seems to deepen the coping process.

The basic concept of this stage of recovery, the reconstructive disclosure of traumatic experiences, has been examined widely in theory and research. Cognitive-behavioral therapy that focuses on exposure to memories and emotions has been found to be a powerful method of treating PTSD with survivors of sexual assault (Foa, Rothbaum, Riggs & Murdock, 1991) and physical assaults or accidents (Marks, Lovell, Noshirvani, Livanou & Thrasher, 1998). Much of the controlled research on disclosure has been done through writing about traumatic experiences. The benefits of writing about highly stressful and traumatic experiences may include decreased inhibition, facilitating the assimilation of traumatic experiences (Pennebaker, 1997) and emotional processing (Murray & Segal, 1994). During the process of coping, participants in this study used understanding the role of their perpetrators, forgiveness, avoidance of disclosure, and the narrative exposition as a way of recounting grieving over their experiences. This way, participants seemed let go of their past and are able to move on with life.

Reconnection: In the reconnection stage (the last stage) of Herman's (1992) three-stage model of recovery, the focus is on building a future and empowerment. Once the past has been assimilated, the survivor can focus on developing a more resilient and complete identity. He or she may work to

develop personality characteristics and skills that were underdeveloped due to the trauma. The trauma survivor strives to make a meaningful life through trust and hope. The survivor may have a desire to help others who have been victimised similarly and to prevent future victimisation by raising public awareness through educational, legal, and political activism. In a qualitative study of adult African American survivors of childhood abuse, Bryant-Davis (2005) found that activism through helping others with similar experiences to gain a sense of empowerment was a helpful coping strategy for the participants in the study to deal with their own trauma history. Through this, survivor may seek to bring the perpetrators to justice (Herman, 1992) by demanding justice not for them, but for children still caught up in child labour and engage in rescuing activism as a way of helping others and educating parents on the negative effects of child labour. Figure 1 below graphically presents the theoretical framework of this study.

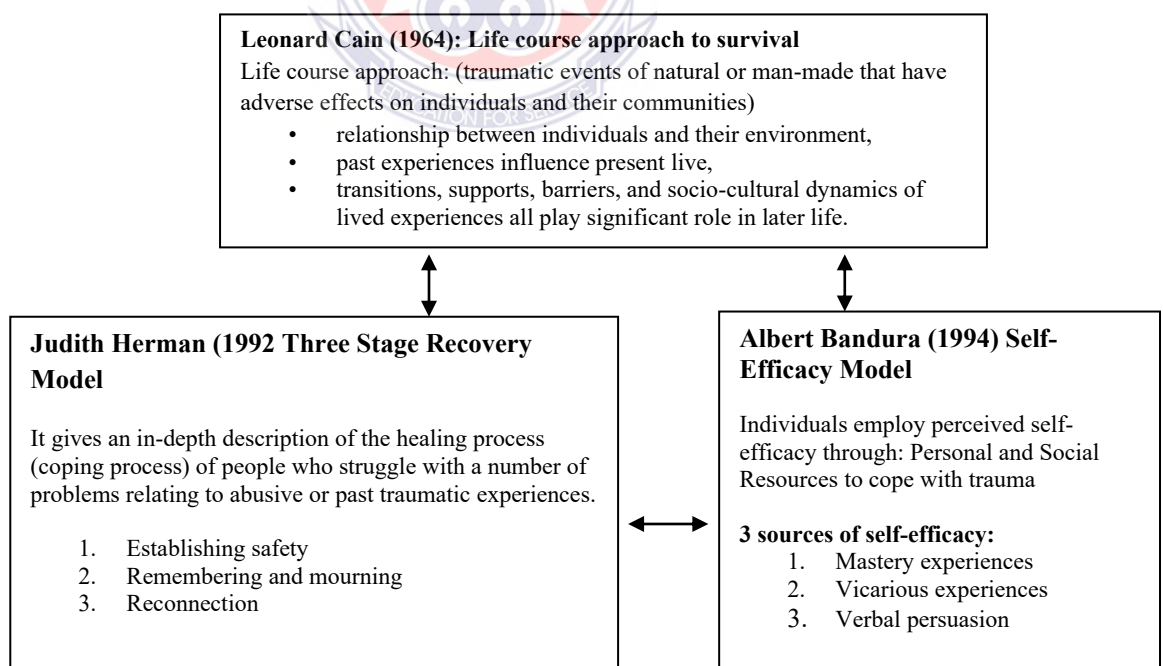


Figure 1 Graphic Development of the Theoretical Framework of the Study

Source: Researcher Constructed: 2014

The three theoretical approaches used as a pillar for this study are interrelated/ connected. As individuals experienced traumatic events in the past that adversely affect them as they journeyed through life in time and space receiving supports and encountering barriers, they had to employ some coping strategies in the form of perceived self-efficacy as they move through the stages of recovery. This movement brings about resources that either promote or inhibit the coping process.

The life course approach identifies that individuals with past traumatic experiences need to recover from their traumatic experiences. In a stage-wise process, for the individual to recover and or survive, they need to establish safety and security. They need the opportunity to recall past repressed experiences into consciousness in order to mourn and move on and reconnect to the communities. In the process of all the three stages of recovery, self-efficacy is paramount in coping and recovery. In similar vein, individuals' self-efficacy to appreciate and utilise supports they have and could receive from the environment and have the ability to overcome the barriers during their transitions through life is paramount. Thus, transitions, supports, barriers, and socio-cultural dynamics of "lived experiences" all play significant role in later life.

2.4 Conceptual Framework of the Study

This section explores existing empirical work on coping, survival relating to other traumatic experiences such as war victims, refugees, holocaust, violence and sexual abuse survivor issues to help understand the topic and position it in research. To this end, I reviewed empirical literature on traumatic stress and

coping; coping and traumatic growth; resilience; and self-efficacy among others to prepare the background to understanding of participants' later life development and coping strategies employed to adapt to and find meaning to life after traumatic experiences of child labour.

2.4.1 Traumatic Stress and Coping

Raphael (1986) noted that traumatic stress tradition is crucial in our comprehension of natural or man-made disasters in the range and extensiveness of losses experienced by victims, and the occurrence of these losses outside the rubrics of a normal social structure. The definition of a traumatic event has been broadened to the point that not just experiencing, but also witnessing or hearing about a tragic event qualifies as a traumatic event (Pitonyak, 2011). In addition, natural disasters, motor accidents, and human-to-human atrocities have been included together as possible traumatic events (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). Certainly, adult survivors of child labour experienced extreme losses where they were stripped off their social identities, close family ties and friends, school, homes and homelands and most often with denigrating experiences of all kinds of abuse.

Catani, Kohiladevy, Ruf, Schauer, Elbert, and Neuner (2009) conducted a research in which the extreme cumulative adverse childhood experiences such as war, family violence, child labour and poverty were assessed in a sample of 287 school children in Kabul, Afghanistan. This study found strong gender differences with respect to both the frequency of such experiences and the association of different types of stressors with PTSD symptoms. According to this work, boys reported higher overall amounts of traumatic events specifically

experiences relating to violence at home. This finding was reflected in a 26% prevalence of probable PTSD in boys as compared to 14% in girls. Child labour emerged as a common phenomenon in the sample and was furthermore associated with an increased likelihood of experiencing family violence for girls. The results suggest that the interplay of multilevel stressors in Afghanistan children contributes to higher vulnerability for the development of PTSDs.

Coping strategies deal with mobilisation of internal and or external resources or specific efforts and behaviours which people develop to master, tolerate, reduce, or minimise stressful events. The two most commonly described are those used in the “transactional approach” classified by Folkman and Lazarus (as cited in Straub, 2003) into emotion-focused coping and problem-focused coping. In emotion-focused coping, people try to moderate and regulate distressful emotions by strategies such as seeking support from others, avoiding, minimising or reappraising the problems. They tend to rely on this style of coping when they believe little or nothing can be done to alter the stressful event, or they consider their coping resources to be insufficient to deal with it (Lazarus, 1993). In contrast, problem-focused coping refers to efforts to confront and eventually solve the problems directly by being proactive or reactive. People tend to rely on this style of coping when the stressor is appraised by the individual as being amenable to change. The nature (i.e. severity, importance) of the adversity usually determines the choice of strategy to moderate or buffer the stress effects.

There is substantial evidence, however, that individuals use both problem-focused and emotion-focused coping (Lazarus, 1993; Straub, 2003; Harrop et al., 2006; Caplan & Schooler, 2007; Agordzo, 2011) to manage life threatening events of which child labour is one. Nevertheless, any situation in which

constructive action is possible seems to enhance problem-focused coping whereas situations that have to be accepted are more likely to trigger emotion-focused coping.

There seems to be no widely accepted theory of how child labour survivors cope with the challenges of adult life in terms of personal, social and economic spheres of life. There is, however, a growing body of knowledge on coping strategies in general, which points to key factors in the coping process, including some works on coping by refugees and holocaust survivors. The following sections review some of the most reported types of coping strategies employed by survivors in general to overcome difficulties and adjust to life in their adulthood. Among these, the coping strategies reviewed are religion, spirituality and beliefs, resilience, self-efficacy, and social supports and reconnection.

2.4.1.1 Coping with Religion, Spirituality and Beliefs

In recent times a consistent body of research and literature has examined the impact of religion and spirituality beliefs and behaviour on health outcomes (Peach, 2003). This growing interest has different aspects varying from the importance of religion and spiritual beliefs in peoples' lives to the limitations of modern sciences, including psychology and medicine, to meet emotional and spiritual needs which people might experience in times of life-threatening and uncontrollable events such as child labour, diseases and persecution. Most religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism also contain positive psychology in their dogmatic teachings. The impact of traumatic events is well documented within the clinical psychology literature where it is

recognized that people who experience traumatic events may go on to develop posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). However, within the last two decades the topic of growth following adversity has become a focus for empirical work (Joseph, 2009). The negative effects of religion and spiritual beliefs remain contested. They often refer to maladaptive processes such as attributing illness to sin, justifying physical or psychological abuse in the name of a spiritual discipline or, refusing potential life-saving treatment (Koenig, McCoulogh & Larson, 2001). On the other hand, many people closely associate religion or spirituality's positive effects with personal well-being, an association supported by reviews (Koss-Chioino & Hefner, 2006; Koenig, 2007; Williams & Sternthal, 2007). In this respect, it is acknowledged that spirituality supports the personal quest for meaning, purpose, transcendence, connection with others and values, while religion organises the collective experience of a group of people into a system of beliefs and practices.

Clinicians working with war victims have emphasised that after a severe trauma the central point in the recovery process is to integrate this traumatic experience into a meaningful context in the life story of the affected person (Vanista-Kosuta & Kosuta, 1998). Furthermore, this integration of past experiences of traumatic events into meaningful life story resonates well with Herman's remembrance and mourning stage in the recovery process where individuals tell their stories to begin the healing process of their traumatic experiences.

Studies on refugees and their coping strategies have shown perceived importance of belief systems to overcome terrifying events and the challenges of exile. Brune, Haasen, Krausz, Yagdiran, Bustos and Eisenman, (2002) when

investigating the outcomes of psychotherapy for 141 traumatised refugees resettled in Sweden and Germany, established that those with the strongest convictions, either religious or political, dealt better with their traumas and resettlement life. Dorais (2007) found that religion played an important part during the Vietnamese boat people's flight and their resettlement in Canada. It was an important source of hope throughout their migration process. It gave meaning to their dangerous sea journey and served as a remedy against the lack of activities during their long and uncertain stay in refugee detention centres.

Religious coping strategy was motivated by a search for meaning, intimacy and "self" and was often problem-focused because God was seen as "an empathic other" (Hornblow, 2007). Such findings suggest positive associations between a full range of beliefs and religious coping methods used by individuals to deal with psychological distress. Faith and related practices appear to answer individual spiritual needs such as hope, meaning, acceptance and transcendence and go beyond traditional measures of religious commitments such as church attendance because they raise fundamental philosophical and theological questions (Hornblow, 2007). Moreover, most of the refugee studies insisted that refugees' migratory experiences must be understood as a liminal state corresponding to a transitional period where normal limits to thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed. During that stage, individuals lack social status or rank, could be undermined, and to some extent lose their sense of identity and dignity. This period often makes people turn to faith as a source of emotional support to face difficulties, a form of social mobilisation and group identity to cope with the uncertainty.

Multiple studies have been conducted examining the role of religious and spiritual beliefs in the healing process. In a literature review of 11 empirical studies on the connection between religion, spirituality and posttraumatic growth, Shaw, Joseph, and Linley (2005) found that religious and spiritual beliefs and behaviours may develop through traumatic experiences and that they promote psychological recovery, personal development, and posttraumatic growth. In addition, they argued that religious beliefs can provide a systematic framework that may help victims accept difficulties and reassess their situations as less of a threat and more of a challenge to be overcome. Calhoun, Cann, Tedeschi, and McMillan (2000) found that ruminating about religious questions was associated with positive outcomes after traumatic events. Religiosity and spirituality have been found to be helpful in coping among Jewish teenagers in Israel facing threats of missile attacks during the 1992 Persian Gulf War (Zeidner, 1993), survivors of devastating effects of flood (Smith, 2000), Muslim-American women who experienced interpersonal violence (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2003), a community sample of trauma survivors (Falsetti, Resick & Davis, 2003), Somali and Oromo refugee young adults resettled in the United States (Halcon, Robertson, Savik, Johnson et al., 2004), and Kosovar and Bosnian refugees resettled in the United States (Ai, Tice, Huang & Ishisaka, 2005). All these studies indicate that in addressing (coping with) traumatic experiences, relationships have been identified as very important coping strategies in most life threatening situations.

Vanista-Kosuta and Kosuta (1998) observed that giving place to painful events in a person's story is a central component in the recovery of trauma. During and after torture and other traumatic experiences, it is common for

survivors to try to make meaning of the experience. They may question their faith in God or the existence of God, wondering how God could allow such things to take place (Ortiz, 2001; Piwowarczyk, 2005). A lifetime of faith may be extremely challenged and devastated. Some people may face similar experiences with their faith strengthened yet they may wonder how a person could intentionally hurt another person in such a manner.

2.4.1.2 Social Support and Reconnection

The social network of trauma survivors is often shattered (Pahud, 2008). They may be separated from and lose loved ones or even witness the death of loved ones. Support systems can also be damaged by fear and mistrust of others after the torture experience. Pressures of displacement and psychological symptoms can disrupt family life (Behnia, 2003). The reconstruction of social networks and cultural institutions is vital in the healing process (Holtz, 1998). Social support is particularly important in collectivist cultures that place high value on relationships in families and communities as in the case of Africans and for that matter, Ghanaians. According to de Jong (2004), families are often the main source for social support and mental health care for torture survivors and refugees. In this sense, it is prudent to find out how people who have gone through child labour reconnect with their family, reintegrate (if at all) into their cultures and communities, and whether these support systems have helped them in the coping process as indicated in the third stage of Herman's recovery theory.

Several studies have found that social support before or after a torture experience acts as a protective factor from psychological distress. Lee (1988) found that strong family support before the traumatic experiences of the

Holocaust acted as a protective factor in Holocaust survivors. In a longitudinal study of torture survivors from various ethnicities, Carlsson et al. (2006) found that strong social relations was related to both mental and physical health quality of life. Gerritsen, Bramsen, Deville, van Willgen, Hovens, and van der Ploeg, (2006) found that less social support was significantly related to PTSD, depression, and anxiety in a study of Iraqi, Afghani, and Somali refugees and asylum seekers resettled in the Netherlands. Isakson (2008), working on 11 adult torture survivors from various African and Asian countries opined that a sense of safety and support actually empowers survivors to move on from their past to live in the present by exploring action strategies such as disclosing experiences, controlling memories, supporting others, and utilizing available supports. He found that moving on led to improved relationships, more adaptive functioning, improved health, and release from emotional pain.

In a related study, Frederick (2002) working on psycho-social rehabilitation and occupational integration of child survivors of trafficking and other WFCL in Nepal observed that assisting trafficked survivors to successfully re-enter society most commonly termed rehabilitation (or recovery) and reintegration are also problematic, and NGOs, governments and donors are now facing challenges that they have not faced before.

Informal support networks can be very beneficial to survivors. In a large study of Somali and Oromo refugee women resettled in the United States, many of whom were torture survivors, Robertson, Halcon, Johnson, Spring, Butcher, Westermeyer, & Jaranson (2006) found that while only 10% of the women received formal counselling services, 46% reported that they talked to friends to cope. Members of an informal social network often include family members,

friends, religious leaders, neighbours, and co-workers who are supportive (Behnia, 2001). One form of informal connection with others is found in peer support groups. Behnia (2004) investigated the benefits of peer support groups. He was of the view that these groups allow survivors to meet other survivors who have experienced similar atrocities. Some of the other benefits include advice on finding friends, being understood, learning and talking about their problems, and learning about community services. 'Community gardens' have also been used as settings for connecting survivors with other survivors, community members, and caring professionals. These settings allow survivors to reconnect with the environment and provide a safe setting for survivors to express their challenges and hopes for the future.

Besides relying on informal support, survivors may benefit from making meaningful connections with formal support networks. These people are turned to because of their training, credentials, and supposed expertise (Behnia, 2001). These professionals include medical doctors, nurses, psychologists, social workers, lawyers, and counsellors among others. The quality of the helping relationship established between these professionals and survivors assists survivors to cope and move on with life. Behnia (2001) found that these relationships were particularly valuable when the survivors felt that the professionals spent quality time with them, really listened, and were truly trying to be helpful. To make a strong connection, it is helpful for helping professionals to understand trauma and child labour experiences.

2.4.1.3 Resilience

The concept of resilience originated from Physics and is used to describe the quality and capacity of a material to be able to return to its original shape after

being bent, compressed or stretched. Today, resilience spans several fields of discipline including psychology. The core issue in resilience is the ability to get back to normal or original state of being after going through some abnormal or traumatic situation. Resilience refers to “strengths under stress in response to crisis, forged through dealing with adversity” (Walsh, 2003, p. 52). Resilience is not simply passing through a crisis unscathed or bouncing right back but it means to “struggle well” through the pain and suffering (Higgins, 1994). Resiliency is related to self-esteem, self-confidence, and the ability to adapt and solve problem (Watters, 2001). It is the ability to cope and adapt successfully despite significantly threatening situations.

In the field of psychology, several longitudinal studies have been conducted in the area of child psychology to understand why and how some disadvantaged children and teenagers did not develop behavioural problems but managed to cope despite being exposed to chronic or severe stress such as domestic violence, social isolation, poverty or discrimination (Harrop et al., 2006). Findings revealed that many achieved a better level of functioning than expected and that some turned out to be competent and successfully adapted over time because of personal capacities and external support. Garmezy, (1991), Werner, (1996), Rutter, (1999), Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker, (2000), Masten, (2001) were all of the view that during the developmental stage, resilience has to do with the protective factors that foster the development of positive outcomes and healthy personality characteristics among children exposed to unfavorable or aversive life circumstances. Garmezy (1991) and Rutter (1999) observed that many people were overcoming adversity in their daily lives that suggest resilience to be a “real phenomenon”.

As people progress through the life cycle, they are all the time confronted with life challenges or events. Contrarily, resilient individuals may experience transient perturbations in normal functioning such as sporadic preoccupation or restless sleep but generally exhibit a stable trajectory of healthy functioning across time with the capacity for generative experiences and positive emotions (Bonanno, Papa & O'Neill, 2001).

Pahud (2008) noted that considerable variability in conceptualising resilience depends on the specific research approach or the context of the study. It can be described as: (i) an individual trait such as, personal positive behaviour despite adversity, (ii) a dynamic process of adaptation in the presence of significant challenges or, (iii) an outcome facilitated by personal and environmental factors. Resilience, however, remains a complex concept which has resulted in multiple meanings and ambiguous terminology (Zimmerman & Arunkumar, 1994). There is no universally accepted definition of resilience although it is generally regarded as a person's ability to "bounce back" or adapt successfully after negative life experiences, lifespan transitions or difficult circumstances. Resilience to traumatic experience as conceived in this dissertation pertains to the ability of adults in otherwise normal circumstances who were exposed to an abusive or life-threatening experiences of child labour, yet, maintain relatively stable, healthy levels of psychological, physical and social functioning. However, a recent integrative review on resilience conducted by Harrop et al. (2006) reported that some agreement is emerging amongst authors viewing resilience as a dynamic process which underpins mental well-being and quality of life in avoiding mental dysfunction or maladaptive behaviour in times of difficulty.

Though there is no single definition to adequately cover the complex meaning of resilience, there is a general consensus which considers that for resilience to be inferred, risk and protective factors need to be present. Risk factors refer to major, acute or chronic traumatic events (physical/psychological abuse such as child labour, or life crisis), life changes (moving, transition), and cumulative stress, social disadvantages (child labour, poverty and discrimination). The personal and social resources are usually divided into individual, family and community factors and refer to personal skills (communication, social) and temperament (positive attitudes and character) and environmental support (family, friends, institutions and community at large). All these provide the resources with which to deal effectively with stress induced by risk factors by altering or even reversing their negative outcomes.

Personal and social resources, therefore, are fundamental elements in the conceptualisation of resilience because they increase the likelihood of overcoming difficulties by moderating the negative effect of risk exposure on an individual's behaviour. Nevertheless, the dynamics of the interplay between these factors in supporting or inhibiting the process of resilience are not well understood (Pahud, 2008) and there is the need for further studies to clarify how personal and social resources are employed in overcoming adversity. This is an aspect of the gap in the literature that this dissertation seeks to fill. Moreover, it is worth underlining that those individual characteristics and environmental factors which foster resilience in one context may not lead necessarily to resilience in another. For instance, individuals can find themselves in a situation where they have limited or no access to social support and where their resilience capacities (such as working or social competences, problem solving, self-esteem or faith)

might be of limited use. Although adult survivors are often noted among community members as exemplars of resilience (Pahud, 2008), there seem to be no studies that have researched resilience in the context of the experiences of adult survivors of child labour. Comparatively, Hollifield (2005) stressed this gap by stating “that the resilience of refugees is all too often not honoured or included in research” (p.1605).

However, available information was collected by Wilson (1995, as cited in Agaibi and Wilson, 2005) when reviewing studies on victims of war, torture, holocaust and natural disasters which identified similar manifestations of resilience amongst survivors in relation to trauma and PTSD. These include: (i) internal locus of control, (ii) acceptance of the trauma experience, (iii) a sense of group identity and “self” as a positive survivor, (iv) the perception of personal and social resources to cope in a recovery environment, (v) altruistic and pro-social behaviour, (vi) the capacity to find meaning in their past trauma and life afterwards and, (vii) connection-bonding and social interaction within the community of origin or friends and fellow survivors. This review brought together personal attitudes and skills and forms of coping that promoted the resilience function as a response to acute or prolonged forms of stress and its long-term positive adaptation. Conversely, Gakuba (2001) investigated the contributing factors to develop resilience amongst young Rwandan refugees resettled either in Switzerland or France after the 1994 genocide. He found that despite severe past traumas and adaptation barriers in the host country the environment of school or university was a critical protective factor and was seen by the majority as being essential to embracing the future.

Cone (2007) reviewed Russian immigrants and refugee resilience attitudes in the U.S.A. Personal characteristics such as flexibility, political and /or religious convictions, taking risks, complying with the resettlement requirements, maintaining their cultural roots through community events and strong hope and determination to succeed were powerful forces underlying the Russians' resilience.

Positive psychology has introduced a shift from studying pathology exclusively to examining how “normal” people deal with their life challenges and what key processes are used in healthy functioning. It is a shift from a focus on failure to a focus on success. This understanding can facilitate repair and growth in troubled people (Walsh, 2003). Although many people experience acute reactions after a traumatic event, most are able to cope, adapt, and bounce back; most do not develop long-term disturbances (McFarlane & Yahuda, 1996; Smyth, Hockenmeyer & Anderson, 2002; Litz, 2004).

Resilience may be enhanced by an internal locus of control, a supportive social network, optimism, the use of problem-oriented coping strategies (Ayalon, 2005), recognition of what can and cannot be changed leading to efforts made toward areas that can be changed (Walsh, 2003), stability, building on ones strengths, and making meaning of traumatic experiences (Walsh, 2007).

In a review of literature examining Holocaust survivors, Lomranz (1995) concluded that survivors displayed levels of well-being and adaptation that were equal to or greater than non-Holocaust survivors. In one study, when compared to a control group, Holocaust survivors were more favorable to family, friends, and work and reported more stability and satisfaction with their current life situation (Shanan & Shahr, 1983). In a more recent study, Bogar and Hulse-Killacky

(2011) in a phenomenological, qualitative study examined resiliency determinants and resiliency formation among 10 women who had been sexually abused as children. They found that five determinant clusters (interpersonally skilled, competent, high self-regard, spiritual, and helpful life circumstances) and four process clusters (coping strategies, refocusing and moving on, active healing, and achieving closure) facilitated resiliency in participants' adult lives.

All humans possess some amount of will to fight stress in life. Frazier (2009) in studying survivors of hurricane Katrina, observed that a high number of individuals show major distress in the event of a large scale of natural and human made disasters or displacement yet, Bonanno (2004) and other earlier studies indicated that some others possess the ability to withstand and overcome life threatening events. Conducting articles review about human resilience in the presence of loss and trauma, Bonanno (2004), argued that majority of people experience minor reactions to major traumatic events. Though little can be done about what has happened in the past in the lives of child labourers, there is consistent knowledge about the adverse effects of child labour on their social, economic and educational lives. There seems no literature on how resilience is conceptualised, yet available information offers insight into understanding the tasks and the challenges faced by child labourers. Available findings, either in the field of health or psychology on refugees or other groups of survivors, describing or identifying people's abilities and available supports which promote resilience (Pahud, 2009) can help potentially to activate effective coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour. Interventions, therefore, could shift the focus on child labour from social and economic perspectives of their problems to individuals'

strengths and reinforce the buffer role of social support, to sustain child labourers in coping during and after child labour.

2.4.1.4 Self-Efficacy

Since Bandura's work, self-efficacy theory has been criticised because of the ambiguity existing between "self-efficacy expectancies" and "outcome expectancies" and also the similarity between self-efficacy and other concepts such as self-confidence (Maddux, 1995). Nonetheless, a consistent body of research using the self-efficacy construct has been conducted in various fields such as education to understand, assess or treat emotional and behavioural problems. For example, some research has highlighted the relationships between people's perceived self-efficacy and their ability to cope with stress induced by being unemployed (Salanova et al., 2006). Those with a high perception of self-efficacy appeared to invest more effort and to develop active coping by having a "winner spirit". By contrast, those with lower self-efficacy tend to be more passive and to use emotion-focused strategies.

In the field of health, several research studies (Bandura, 1997; Palsdottir, 2008) have analysed the relationship between health promotion messages and individuals' judgments about their capabilities in applying such information so as to manage their health in a successful way. Findings suggested that the enhancement of people's belief in their abilities to perform the necessary behavioural changes was a critical factor for effective health promotion. A research team in Indonesia (Kanbaras, Taniguchi, Sakaue, Wangm, Takakim et al., 2008) found that emotional support, such as encouragement and empathy

which are two examples of social persuasion, positively influenced self-efficacy leading to active coping by diabetic patients and thereby to a reduction in daily stress because of their sense of control over the disease. Further, empirical studies of the application of the self-efficacy theory in understanding depression found there is strong evidence that low self-efficacy beliefs can cause depressive moods (Bandura, 1994; Maddux & Meier, 1995). Similarly, self-efficacy impacts on the handling of anxiety-related problems, especially when believing oneself to be unable to exercise control over harmful events which gives rise to increased anxiety (Williams, 1995).

Scholz, Dona, Sona & Schwarzer (2000) have investigated the understanding of self-efficacy in different countries and cultures (Asia, Arab Peninsula, Eastern Europe, South America) using the general self-efficacy scale to measure the broad and stable sense of personal competence to deal effectively with a variety of stressful situations. Findings suggested that the self-efficacy construct tends to be universal despite cross-cultural differences. Although self-efficacy theory could be useful in investigating individuals' experiences in their mastery of adverse circumstance, yet no research on adult survivors and their self-efficacy competence whilst coping with child labour could be found. Such a gap could be filled within the exploratory arena of this study. Indeed, articles regarding psychosocial determinants of recovery from diverse types of trauma (Benight & Bandura, 2003; Schwarzer, Boehmer, Luszczynska, Mohamed & Knoll, 2005) have underlined that people who believe they can defeat their trauma demonstrated proactive coping abilities to regain control over their lives rather than having their lives dictated by adverse circumstances.

2.4.2 Coping and Traumatic Growth

Traumatic growth is one term that has been applied to the positive life change that sometimes comes out of trauma or life crisis. While the term “resilience” implies a return to earlier levels of functioning, the terms “thriving” and “post-traumatic growth” both suggest the development of something higher and more desirable (Chesler, 2003). The literature is replete with studies indicating that exposure to stressful and traumatic events can produce severe and chronic psychological consequences. However, mindful of the suffering often caused by trauma, there is also a growing body of evidence testifying to posttraumatic growth: the positive psychological changes that can result for survivors of trauma.

While most theories focus on the negative consequences of trauma, several theories have been developed to describe the positive effects of experiencing trauma (Joseph, 2009). These theories examine possible positive transformations following trauma. When only the negative aspects of trauma are examined, a biased understanding of posttraumatic reactions occurs (Linley & Joseph, 2004). These alternative theories recognise the possibility of “remaining unscathed” following trauma (Almedon, 2005).

Antonovsky (1979, 1987) developed the broader concept of salutogenesis (origins of health) in response to the negative concept of pathogenesis (etiology of disease). In this model, individuals mobilize their “generalized resistance resources” to manage stress and deal with the negative effects of the environment. Included in these resources are sense of control, intelligence, genetic predisposition, individual identity, material assets, stable values and beliefs, social ties, cultural stability, and sense of coherence.

Tedeschi and Calhoun (1995; 1996; 2004) developed the concept of posttraumatic growth. Posttraumatic growth is the positive psychological change experienced after the struggle with a traumatic or very difficult life experience. The growth is not due to experiencing a traumatic event, but struggling with the new reality after the event. People who experience such growth experience improvement in some areas that exceeds what was present prior to the traumatic experience. They go beyond the status quo. The trajectory for trauma is not either growth or pathology, but growth and distress are often found together (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). Tedeschi and Calhoun pointed out research that shows the reports of growth following traumatic experiences far outnumber the reports of psychiatric disorders. They identified five domains of posttraumatic growth: (1) warmer, more intimate relationships; (2) a greater sense of personal strength; (3) greater appreciation for life and changed sense of priorities; (4) spiritual development; and (5) recognition of new possibilities or paths for one's life. In a controlled study of Israeli ex-prisoners of war, Solomon and Dekel (2007) found that severity of PTSD was related to posttraumatic growth. They argued that despite the distress and negative affect, people can still continue to function and grow and that the presence of PTSD does not indicate an absence of maturation and growth. In addition, posttraumatic growth was related to severity of the traumatic event.

The development of a coherent narrative is an essential element of post-traumatic growth, allowing people to make sense of their experiences and integrate them into conscious memory (Chesler, 2003). In a review of 39 empirical studies that reported positive change after trauma and adversity, Linley and Joseph (2004) identified the term, "adversarial growth" which they found to

be associated with cognitive appraisal variables (how individuals interpret events and their feelings about those events); coping through problem-focused acceptance and reinterpretation; optimism; and religion. Joseph and Linley (2009) explored the role positive psychology can play in how clinical practitioners treat and work with survivors of stressful and traumatic events and offer an optimistic perspective in the treatment of those who suffer posttraumatic stress following devastating events such as terrorist attacks, childhood sexual abuse, cancer, and war.

As safety is the foundation of effective treatment of trauma, and other challenges, the finding of new meaning and purpose is often its crowning achievement. The generation of meaning from adversity has long been a cherished concept in the field of recovery from substance use disorders (Kurtz, 1979; Kurtz & Ketcham, 1992; White, 1998). According to Frankl (1984), even trauma itself can provide a foundation for meaning and purpose. “The way in which a man accepts his fate and all the suffering it entails, the way in which he takes up his cross, gives him ample opportunity—even under the most difficult circumstances—to add a deeper meaning to his life” (Frankl, 1984, p. 76).

Silver and Wilson (1996) wrote that “For some veterans, their old view of reality is forever shattered by war trauma, but can create the need to reformulate the existential meaning of life. Thus, experiences of war can alter individuals in many ways, depending on events in the post war recovery environment” (p. 299). These authors were of the view that while some perish, others survive with deepened understanding of life. Indeed, sometimes traumatic experiences serve as pathways to finding meaning and purpose that we would not have otherwise found. Shaw, Joseph and Linley (2005) found that traumatic experiences can lead

to a deepening of religion or spirituality and that positive religious coping, religious openness, readiness to face existential questions, religious participation, and intrinsic religiousness are typically associated with posttraumatic growth.

2.4.2.1 “Moving on” after Trauma

Moving on and focusing on the present has been identified as an important aspect of adjustment to life and achieving after a traumatic experience (Almedon & Summerfield, 2004). According to Turkovic, Hovens, and Gregurek (2004), taking part in normal routines such as schooling/education, work, sports, and social activities is helpful in regaining self-respect and self-confidence. It allows survivors to regain control of their lives. Cienfuegos and Monelli (1983) stated that getting life back into a routine “involves making [one’s] previous history -- political commitment, personal relationships, work and social connections -- meaningful in the present and future” (p. 44). Then a holistic, deep understanding of self-history is important in moving on after an adversity.

Silove (2005) argued that the best treatment for immediate care after a crisis is social interventions that provide opportunities for work and study, reunite families, provide safety, establish effective systems of justice, and re-establish religious and socio- cultural systems. Regarding adjustment, Summerfield (2003) found that Kosovar refugees did not feel they had mental health issues and did not want counseling. They were concerned with finding adequate employment, family reunification, and education. The question here is “do adult survivors of child labour in Ghana need counselling?” or are their concerns related to establishing relationships, getting education and employment. There is the need

to explore whether adult survivors of child labour in Ghana had the opportunity to receive any counselling or that they need counselling but it was not available.

2.4.2.2 Models of “Moving on”

Moving on, coping, and survival are difficult to define. Many interventions claim to add to the survival of torture survivors, but they do not define survival. Perhaps being healthy after a torture experience could be a definition of survival. The following section reviews several models of factors that promote moving on.

2.4.2.2.1 Application of Silove’s Adaptive Systems of Health to “Moving On”

Silove (1999) developed an ecological framework that described five adaptive systems of health that help individuals and communities maintain psychosocial stability. These five adaptive systems are 1) safety and security, 2) attachment, 3) justice, 4) existential-meaning, and 5) identity/role. Silove hypothesised that these systems are often threatened or disrupted by war and mass trauma. First of all, Silove extends Herman’s first stage (establishing safety) of the recovery theory that the system of safety and security is threatened in torture and mass trauma through loss of physical safety and economic and material stability. In the case of adults who have survived child labour, their detachment from their families and parental bonds create a vacuum and enhanced their state of vulnerability as they lived and worked for other families in very hazardous conditions.

The safety that these individuals need are in the areas of leaving both mentally and physically, the environment that had kept slaves; that stigmatised

them; that denigrated them during their developmental years. They need to find a safe haven outside their child labour locations and a sense of security that comes in achieving education and economic independence. Components of the attachment system, namely social support, a sense of belonging, and social cohesion, are threatened during the period of child labour through separation from family, friends and community. The justice system is greatly destabilised by child labour, an extreme example of a child's rights violations. Individuals and cultures are dehumanised, humiliated, and degraded. Sometimes victims of child labour are forced to look on while loved ones are tortured or murdered. They are abused and or forced to witness abuse at very young age. These experiences of abuse affect them long after the abuse event and are infringement on the human rights of the individuals.

Also threatened is the existential-meaning system. Being exposed to abuse can often lead a person to question his or her faith in God and humankind and in the goodness of life. Adult survivors of child labour often search to find a meaningful reason for the trauma experienced. The last system is the identity/role system. One of the goals of the traumatic experience of child labour is to detach a person from his or her individual and cultural identity, which is often additionally threatened by the loss of holistic development in the areas of attachment, education, and socialisation. Just as a torture survivor must resettle to a new culture, must develop a new identity within the bounds of that culture (Silove, 1999; Silove, 2004; Ekblad & Jaranson, 2004), so it is with adult survivors of child labour who must relocate from the child labour locations going back to their original home or finding safety and security elsewhere in order to start life all over and develop new identities.

2.4.2.2.2 Testimonial and Narrative Therapy

One form of overcoming trauma is narrative therapy. This method was first discussed by Cienfuegos and Monelli (1983) as treatment for survivors of political violence in Chile. In this treatment the survivor and interviewer work together to tell the survivor's story. Often, the story is made into a formal document, and together they look for ways to share the story with others. Testimony serves as a means for individual recovery from trauma through catharsis and exposure. Testimony is also an opportunity to bear witness to the historical and social effects of political violence (and any other violence), which is often overlooked in traditional Western treatment models (Weine, Kulenovic, Pavkovic & Gibbons, 1998). Testimony is an individual's narration of collective trauma put into a new context in which the survivor is able to develop new understandings of individual and collective history and community identity that supports social trust and peace (Weine et al., 1998). It is a constructive opportunity to integrate the individual's experience and history with the social and political context that lead to the torture (Cienfuegos & Monelli, 1983). Weine *et al* (1998) explained that testimonial psychotherapy is beneficial to survivors of political violence, particularly with non-Western populations, because of the relational aspect of the survivor and therapist working together to develop the story. Also, it is similar to the oral traditions of the cultures that many survivors come from. Weine et al. (1998) found that testimonial psychotherapy reduced symptoms of PTSD and depression in a group of 20 Bosnian refugees resettled in the United States.

Cienfuegos and Monelli (1983) found that testimonial therapy was particularly beneficial for torture survivors. Twelve of 15 Chilean torture

survivors reported that the use of testimony led to the alleviation of anxiety and acute symptoms such as depression, sleeplessness, and bouts of weeping. Neuner, Schauer, Klaschik, Karunakara, and Elbert (2004) in a controlled study of Somali refugees resettled in Uganda, found that brief narrative therapy significantly reduced PTSD symptoms compared to supportive therapy and psycho-education. The use of testimonial or narrative therapy in working with traumatised individuals is, therefore, very essential.

2.5 Gaps in the Existing Reviewed Literature

In spite of the critical and timely need for information about the coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour, it seems no specific literature could be found. Even in the most general sense, there is clearly a lack of research to help guide the practice of counselling as regards adult survivors of child labour. As noted above, the research which does exist, mostly addresses working with Holocaust survivors, refugee survivors, and other forms of disasters and abuse survivors, but not those who survived traumatic child labour experience. The dynamics of using both personal and social supports as protective factors in coping with traumatic experiences are not well understood (Pahud, 2008) and it seems no research has been conducted on the coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour using the grounded theory design or on the adult survivors and their self-competencies while coping with child labour. The small number of empirical studies on counselling with survivors in institutional settings is atheoretical, and lack rigour (Pahud, 2008). A more substantial anecdotal literature on this topic is, however, available in the form of Television programmes and newspaper articles. All of this literature, relating to child labour

survivors in the media, is based on the perceptions of programme presenters/hosts, rather than from the angle of counselling profession and research.

Based on this information, I make the attempt to fill the lacuna in the existing literature by conducting this research on adult survivors in order to have a literature to widen the scope of knowledge on their experiences, coping strategies and how they coped to be successful. This is something that the existing literature lacked.

2.6 Summary of Related Literature Reviewed

This chapter began by summarizing various theories that have previously been suggested in the existing literature for working with survivors (of other forms of trauma such as childhood abuse, holocaust, hurricane Katrina among others) including Bandura's self-efficacy model, Cain's life course approach and Herman's stage theory of recovery. The life-course framework attempts to understand lives through time and space and acknowledges that earlier life experiences such as child labour may be linked to one's needs, choices, and transitions later in life (Uhlenberg & Miner, 1996; Smith & Moen, 1998). It was noted that experiences considered traumas "overwhelm the ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection, and meaning" (Herman, 1992, p.33). It was concluded that to responsibly understand the coping strategies of child labour survivors, self-efficacy theories must be considered in conjunction with the life course framework and stage theory of recovery. Closely linked with these theories were discussions on key concepts of traumatic stress and coping, coping strategies, coping and traumatic growth, and moving on after trauma.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In chapter two, both the theoretical and conceptual frameworks have been provided for the study. Based on this background, I engaged in an empirical study of my topic which sought to explore how some adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana, coped with their traumatic child labour experiences by relying on their personal and social resources. This perspective, therefore, demands an open and in-depth approach that enabled participants to speak for themselves about their ‘lived’ experiences; their construction of survival; and their coping processes during and after child labour. It is based on this that I found the qualitative research approach the appropriate method in conducting this research. Besides presenting and relating methodological choices that were made regarding the study in this chapter, I also justified these choices in terms of the research questions and purpose of this study.

This chapter, therefore, provides a brief discussion on the theoretical and philosophical paradigms of the research, the current debate on mixed methods, the research design, participant selection techniques and procedures, instrumentation, data collection procedures, and data analysis. Other areas in this section are ethical considerations, trustworthiness of data and analytical process and overcoming researcher bias in the study.

To begin, Figure 2 provides a summary of the research process in general which is discussed in subsequent pages. Figure 2 delineates the research process.

Based on the initial research topic identified to undertake this project, the purpose in terms of addressing the primary issues of how adult survivors of child labour coped with their experiences by relying on social and personal resources, and how grounded theory approach could generate theory of coping for survivors with past traumatic experiences were outlined in line with qualitative research using constructivist grounded theory.



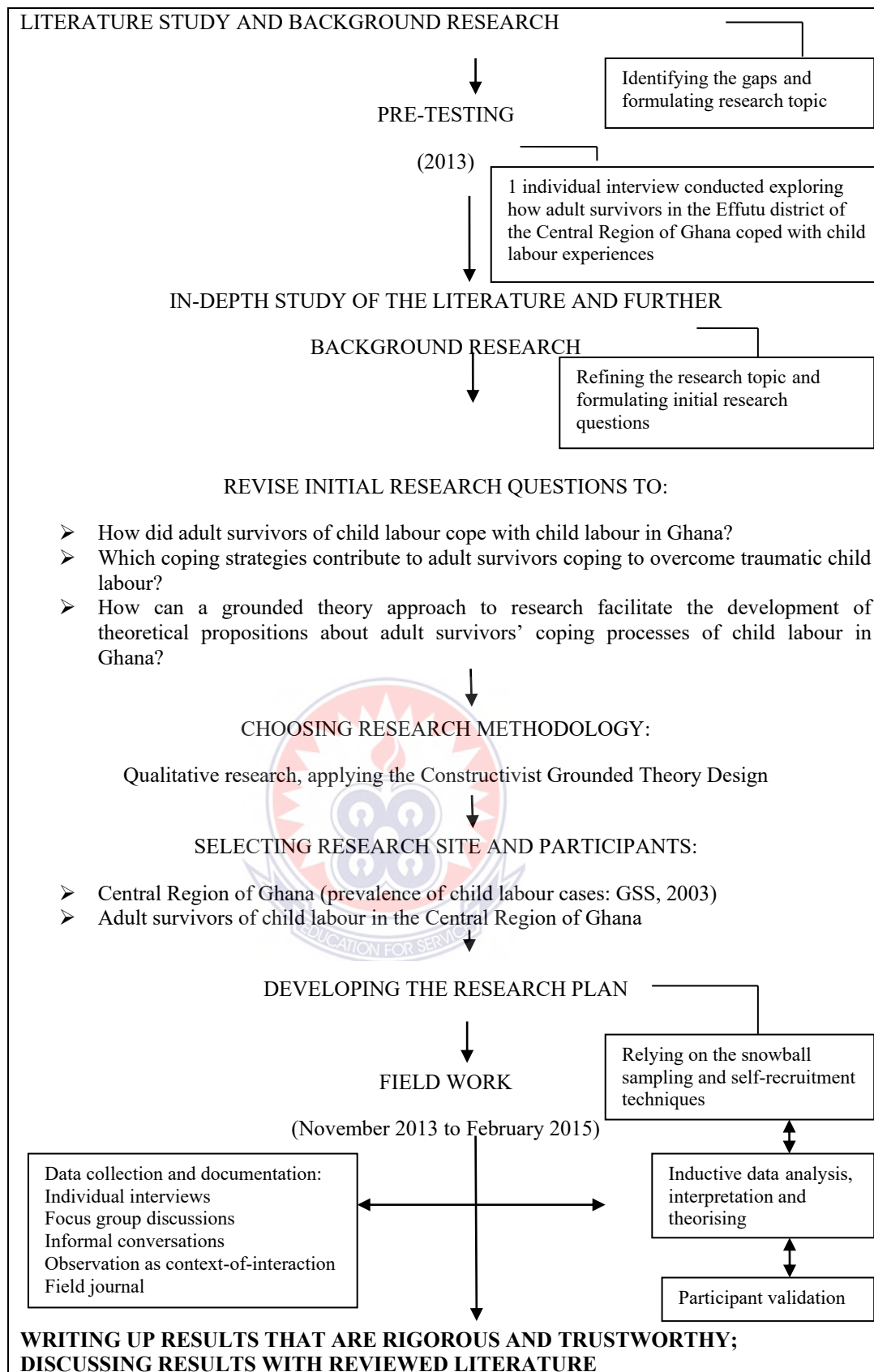


Figure 2 Schematic Presentation of the Research Process

Source: Researcher Constructed: 2014

Having established the philosophical and methodological paradigms with respect to the research topic, the Central Region of Ghana was selected as the study site and appropriate participants were recruited to secure data through mainly individual interviews and FGDs, informal conversations, and field journal were used to supplement these strategies. As data were gathered, ethical considerations were followed to protect participants and data. The total outcome of this process is the rich findings of the results that are credible and trustworthy, the development of theoretical model of coping, and development of counselling guideline for practitioners.

3.2 Theoretical and Philosophical Paradigms of Quantitative versus Qualitative Research

Empirical research in the social sciences and education can be done through both quantitative and qualitative methods which are based on particular philosophical paradigms known as a belief system or world view (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Though there are dangers in oversimplifying complex issues by juxtaposing quantitative and qualitative methodologies, there are, nevertheless, recognised differences between these two approaches. Every research of serious academic magnitude deserves to lay claim to theoretical frameworks and philosophical perspectives regarding knowledge on the assumption on how we will study what we intend to learn as paradigm embedded in the research methodology (Mertens, 1998).

There are basically five philosophical perspectives: ontology, epistemology, axiology, rhetoric and methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994;

Creswell, 2003). While ontology refers to the nature of a particular research issue and has two main beliefs of external independent social reality versus subjective socially construction of human thought; epistemology has to do with the body of knowledge that can be known, understood, and represented. Epistemology has three divisions: subjectivity, constructiveness, and objectivity. Regarding axiology, Creswell (2003) indicates that this has to do with the 'value' ladenness of the knowledge we seek and the rhetoric refers to the researcher's style of writing the final report of that knowledge. The methodology relates to the techniques or tools used and the process to know that reality, to bring it to the doorsteps of readers. Currently, there are three methodological approaches in the research arena: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods.

There are theoretical assumptions that underlie philosophical perspectives of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. First, the positivist assumption is located within the frameworks of quantitative research and both the interpretive and critical assumptions underlie qualitative research. Second, the quantitative paradigm usually derives from post-positivism which is characterised by the ontological position that there is only one truth independent of human perception (Sale, Lohfeld, & Brazil, 2002). In contrast, the qualitative research is based on paradigms such as interpretive, transformative, critical, and social constructivism which are characterised by the belief that there exists multiple realities rather than a single truth based on the thoughts and perception of each individual (Samdahl, 1999; Sale et al., 2002;). The theoretical perspectives on qualitative research posit that knowledge of the world is socially constructed, understood and interpreted by the individual participants based on their experiences of the world in which they live and work. Qualitative methods,

therefore, are subjective because the researcher is involved intimately with the participants of the study and makes interpretations of their answers to the research questions. This is so because the researcher interprets participants' experiences based on the angle from which he or she perceives the experiences.

3.3 Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies: Current Debate

The mixing of qualitative with quantitative approaches has become more and more common for complementary purposes in research whereby the researcher uses one method for one phase or aspect of the study, and the other for another phase or aspect. Such a combination, however, is the subject of "hot debate" (Samdahl, 1999; Sale et al., 2002; Trochim, 2006) because working with both approaches raises "a range of issues above and beyond those encountered within a particular methodology" (Bazeley, 2002, p.2).

It is beyond the scope of this study to provide an in-depth discussion on the controversy of mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches, however, one of the fundamental disagreements remains philosophical. Concerns persist about the appropriateness of linking quantitative and qualitative data without approaching the ontological (assumptions about the nature of reality), epistemological (knowledge of that reality) and methodological (techniques used to know that reality) foundations (Samdhal, 1999; Bazeley, 2002; Moon & Moon, 2004). The bone of contention here is the ability of a research to approximate sameness and oneness of quantitative and qualitative data on ontological and epistemological grounds without contradicting oneself.

Another disagreement concerns the nature of the data; words in qualitative and numbers in quantitative research, which cannot be combined for

triangulation, meaning that the results found from one of the methodologies cannot necessarily be confirmed by another. Samdhal (1999) stressed that the quantitative-qualitative debate should be considered as a rhetorical question raising critical issues for reflection rather than as a question for which there is no answer. This having been said, Trochim (2006), however, argued that all qualitative data can be quantitatively coded and stressed that recognising the strengths of combined information provides the researcher with new possibilities for interpretation that might otherwise be unutilised. Ontologically and epistemologically, the topic under investigation in this study does not warrant a mixed method approach, at least, not at this stage. The qualitative method is suitable for a study of the unique nature of the reality of the “lived” experiences of participants. A quantitative approach could be applied later to test the emerging hypotheses.

3.4 Qualitative Research Approach

The qualitative approach attempts to understand why things are the way they are in our social world and why people act the way they do (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Hancock, 1998). It is more concerned with obtaining an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and of the motives behind such behaviour. Therefore, it seeks to describe and interpret the meanings people attach to things and events so as to gain valuable insights and generate explanations and theories about the phenomenon under study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Hancock, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this regard, research participants are often asked, through in-depth interviews, to describe their experiences and express their views in ways that are not structured as firmly as in quantitative research. In addition to

individual and group interviews, field observation is used to explore in more detail the reasons behind diverse aspects of behaviour and thought. Furthermore, it usually centres on smaller groups which have experienced the phenomenon under study rather than on large samples. Indeed, the original research question in a qualitative research might have sought an insight into a specific group within the population because of its difference from the general population and thus its uniqueness is the focus of the research (Hancock, 1998).

Qualitative research is judged on its trustworthiness and authenticity in determining the degree to which the interpretations of the data are seen to illustrate accurately the phenomenon under study and best research reports interpret meanings as constructed by the participants that seem not only real to readers, but to that which readers can easily identify with. It describes the ability of the researcher to persuade the audience that the results are worth paying attention to (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The most widely used criteria to meet trustworthiness are those proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) including credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability while Miles and Huberman (1994) also added authenticity. These are explained and justified later in this chapter. Based on this, the theoretical and philosophical frameworks guiding this study are also discussed in this chapter.

3.5 Interpretive Framework of the Study (A Constructivist-Critical Perspective)

This study's purpose and methodology can be framed as promoting counselling psychology. Research itself is political and has great potential (as

does counselling, psychology and education) to spark and contribute to positive social change (Denzin & Giardina, 2009; Howitt & Cramer, 2011). The epistemological underpinnings of constructionist inquiry rest on the acceptance that knowledge is subjective, pluralistic, subject to context and continual change, and is constructed and co-constructed within the interplay between researcher and participant (Charmaz, 2000; Creswell, 2007). Knowledge production is not, nor should it be, value-free. The “lived experiences” and unique perspectives of individuals are seen as valuable building blocks. Research that challenges hegemony, seeks out unexplored perspectives, and explicitly attends to structures and consequences of oppression, power, and domination, is necessary for the promotion of counselling whose mandate is to assist individuals to understand themselves, their world, to discover and rediscover their strengths in order to develop their full potential. Having critically examined the issues regarding theoretical and philosophical paradigms of research and the nature of what is to be studied and the knowledge to gain from the research, I have decided in this study, taking cognisance of the demands of the research topic and the subsequent research questions and purpose, to employ the qualitative grounded theory approach as the tradition of enquiry positioned in the arena of social constructivism and critical theory/transformation.

Social constructivism implies the understanding of the world by individuals as they live and partake in it (active players). This framework holds that the understandings are created by both the researcher and the research participant using a set of naturalistic methodological procedures with findings “usually presented in terms of grounded theory” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 14). Critical theory, on the other, hand holds the ideologies of historical realist

ontology, transactional epistemology and a dialogue, dialectical methodology for its application. The decision to use constructivism and critical theory is that the blend of constructivist-critical perspectives allows the study to seek the interpretations or constructions of participants on effects of the “lived” experiences of child labour, the coping strategies that they employed, and their survival and moving on. This understanding of survival and “moving on” comes with different shades of meaning from different individuals as a result of their subjective experiences in the world be it in the same geographical context or sameness of “lived” experiences.

Using the constructivist-critical perspective in this study seeks to produce transformations among academics and non-academics, governments and non-governmental organisations by bringing to bare the conditions of adults who had experienced child labour and their personal and social resources that helped them to survive. This is to call for action to bring on board this population and those still caught in the phenomenon to learn from and empower one another while counsellors use such knowledge to provide appropriate interventions. This perspective also helped in developing guidelines for counsellors to help survivors. This broad understanding and standpoint in the philosophical and theoretical paradigms regarding qualitative and quantitative research informed the whole process in the study. Consequently, the qualitative approach and the constructivist grounded theory design are used to interrogate the topic under investigation.

The decision to carry out this qualitative research is informed by the nature of the research topic which is “socially constructed, subjectively experienced ... as expressed through language” (Sikes, 2004 cited by Kusi, 2012,

p. 12) and “seeks to produce transformations in the social order” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 101). This decision is due to the fact that the issue to be explored lends itself to the socially constructivist paradigm which asserts that social realities have no external existence detached from their socio-cultural context but rather they are issues that are highly subjective and need to be studied from within participants’ world with an interpretation that helps the “creation of valid knowledge” of the phenomenon in all its complexity. Moreover, the constructivist epistemology (which combines with interpretivist) (Creswell, 2003) foregrounds the choice of qualitative research as it argues that

Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views.... that the participant can construct the meaning of a situation, a meaning typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons (p. 8).

Moreover, Gray (2004) also posited that “Meaning is constructed not discovered, so subjects construct their own meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon” (p. 20). Creswell and Gray’s assertions provide theoretical perspective for this study since it seeks to explore traumatic child labour experiences of adult survivors and how they construct and interpret these “lived” experiences and the meanings that survival and coping hold to them. Participants in this study sometimes, assigned diverse meanings to the same constructs of coping strategies, survival and even their experiences.

By adopting the qualitative approach that allows for semi-structured interviewing, focus group discussion, and observation for data collection, this study allowed participants to “speak for themselves”. Howitt and Cramer (2011) and Kusi (2012) further agree that qualitative research requires the use of

multiple methods of data collection in order to provide ample triangulation for the study as a strong step towards establishing research trustworthiness. To achieve this, I employed multiple data collection techniques of semi-structured interviewing and focus group discussions that are interactive in nature, reflexive notes in memos and participant observation, to strengthen the research process aiming at establishing credibility of study findings that in the end were dependable. This process is further explained under instrumentation.

3.6 Research Design

This study therefore, used the grounded theory paradigm for data collection and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In qualitative research ideas, people, and events cannot be understood if isolated from their contexts (Akplu, 1998; Kusi, 2012). Grounded theory seeks to describe and interpret the meanings of the lived experiences for several individuals in order to generate or discover a theory inductively based on systematic gathering and analysis of data. It is an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation. It is within this context that together with the participant, I constructed and interpreted participant's thoughts, feelings and actions.

Howitt and Cramer (2011) and Kusi (2012) argue that the context cannot be ignored in phenomenological and explorative studies due to the rich contributions that they make to the understanding of the phenomenon under study. This assertion holds same for grounded theory studies as the context provides background information about the core phenomenon under study gleaned from the context in which it exists. It also made it possible for me to get nested in the context of participants, to get used to their way of life, and to

establish rapport with them and this in turn, helped build trust and encourage information giving. The group discussions also helped in establishing group perspectives on concepts such as “survival” and “moving on” and developing group feeling.

3.6.1 Evolution and Choice of Grounded Theory

Glaser and Strauss (1967) were the first to design this approach to qualitative research. Their proposition was based on their “reaction against unbridled empiricism and grand theory uninformed by research evidence” in the social sciences. Since their first collaboration, they have developed the design independently and grounded theory has evolved in different directions creating disagreements between them. Their central differences were both epistemological and methodological and have led to what is known as the “Glaserian” or the “Straussian” versions.

Their points of divergence rely on the extent to which existing literature should guide the researcher in his or her data collection. Whereas Glaser (1978, as cited in Charmaz, 2006) described two types of coding: open and substantive/selective, Strauss and Corbin distinguished among three: open, axial and selective thereby providing detailed analytic steps and procedures so as to enhance the development and building of a theory. I have employed Straussian approach to this study first by immersing myself in the existing literature to identify the gap in knowledge that has helped in formulating this research topic and subsequent research questions and where to position my study. Secondly, by using the three coding phases as my analytical process leading to developing the

central category of “moving on” after child labour, the knowledge of the existing literature also facilitated the discussion of my findings.

3.6.2 Grounded Theory and Philosophical Roots

In qualitative research approaches, grounded theory is an action or interactional theory building in which the individuals or the groups being studied have some kind of action or interaction directed at “managing, handling, carrying out, responding to a phenomenon as it exists in context or under a specific set of perceived conditions” (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p. 104). It is a design that seeks to discover, develop and define an emerging theory using construct-oriented approach. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), an important characteristic of grounded theory design is that there is an in-depth study of the social unit under investigation and that the researcher should “keep close to the data when developing theoretical analyses” (Howitt & Cramer, 2011, p. 343) so as to ground the analysis in the data to avoid speculative theorising. Research design is that process which offers the researcher structures and guidelines regarding the research instrument, data collection, and subsequent data analysis. Thus, grounded theory, whose purpose is to “generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon that relates to a particular situation ... in which individuals interact, take actions, or engage in a process in response to a phenomenon” (Creswell, 1998, p. 56), qualifies as a research design in that it provides a systematic framework for collecting, coding and analysing data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Grounded theory is appropriate for analysis that produces a set of categories derived from the initial coding and fit into the data as closely as plausible to arrive at theoretical propositions or theories that give detailed/dense-explanations to the phenomenon being studied. It also looks at the “how and why” of the social unit and the context in which case it tries to discover and develop the factors that account for the present phenomenon of the social unit (child labour). It further helps in identifying the strategies that participants applied to cope with a particular condition (coping with traumatic “lived” experiences of child labour) and how this condition was affected positively and or negatively during the process of coping (barriers and support systems that intensified or reduced the effects of child labour). This implies that not only is the unit described, but also the behavioural pattern is developed in relation to its context (child labour communities or conditions under which participants experienced child labour).

The goal of grounded theory is to study how people act and react to a phenomenon and to connect those actions and reactions into categories of information that form cohesive theoretical propositions. The propositions arrived at the end of this study are “grounded” in the data from the field, with an emphasis on the actions, interactions, and coping processes of participants. Because of interest in the process of coping with and after child labour, a grounded theory design is appropriate because it allows for theory building about the *process* of coping, “moving on” and not simply *describing* the phenomenon of coping strategies of child labour. Again, grounded theory design seems to be one of qualitative research approaches that could form a strong basis for a quantitative research work. In other words, the theoretical propositions

formulated at the end of a grounded theory work could then be tested on a large scale quantitative research to make room for generalisation of research results.

Grounded theory has become very popular and has been applied successfully in different fields such as sociology, nursing, education, political and social sciences. Several criticisms, however, often linked to complex terminologies (Coyne & Cowley, 2006). Bryman (2001) highlighted that fragmented coding of data may result in the loss of what people say, and that some procedures are time consuming and it is difficult to establish when data are saturated so as to end the data collection and analysis and form the theory. In spite of these disadvantages of the design, good use of its strengths was made to harness the research process and arrive at a model development and theoretical propositions. Additionally, the issue of time factor and fragmented coding procedures are not unique challenges of grounded theory; they are common with all qualitative research approaches.

Conversely, it is a prerequisite of grounded theory to do a step-by-step analysis as data collection progresses. This practice rather helped to identify concepts that needed in-depth interrogation and those that have been exhausted or have reached the point of saturation thus paving way for the final analysis and theorising. Following the Straussian version of grounded theory which is also in line with the guideline for thesis presentation in this university, some amount of related literature review was done to prepare the background for the study. This position is based on the fact that it is a fallacy to pretend that the existing literature has no influence on the researcher and the research topic. Indeed, the literature guided and provided direction to the knowledge gap and the need for a research on this topic. Though the use of existing literature with the grounded

theory approach was quite a difficult task, the forward-backward movement between literature and field data eventually helped in the overall research process and the emergent theoretical proposition.

3.7 Setting of the Study

The Central Region of Ghana

The setting of the study is the Central Region of Ghana. The Central Region occupies an area of approximately 9,826 square kilometres with originally 13 districts plus 4 new districts giving a total of 17 districts now. It shares boundaries with the Western Region to the west, Ashanti and Eastern Regions to the north, the Greater Accra Region to the east and the Atlantic Ocean to the south (Ghana Statistical Services [GSS], 2013).

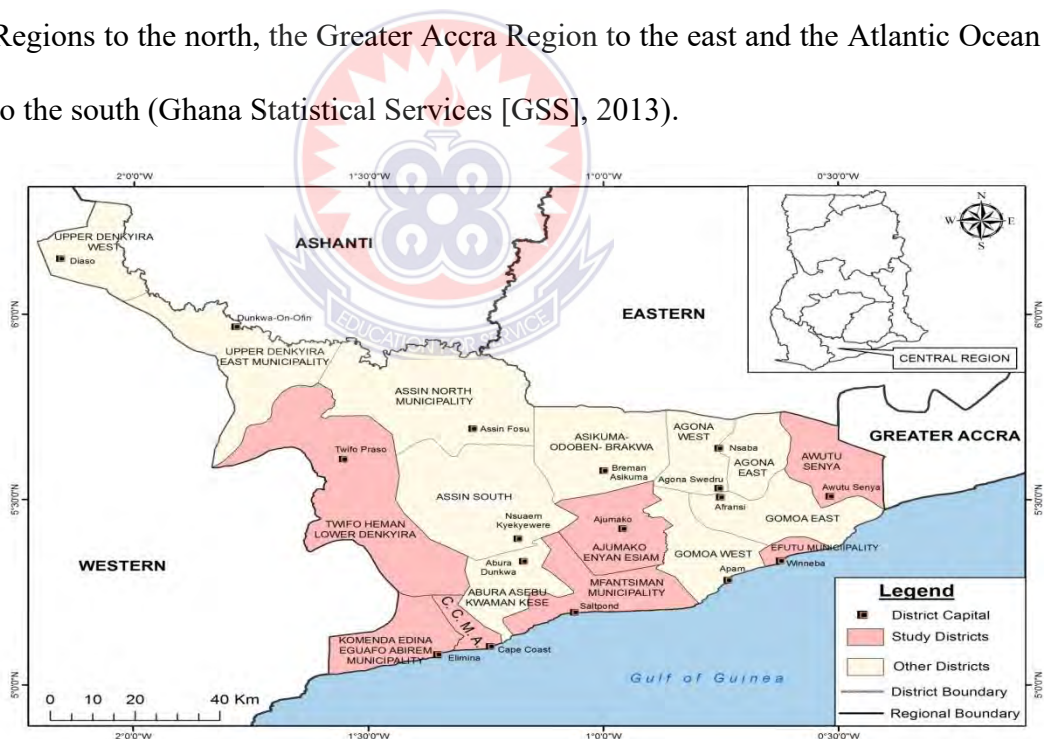


Figure 3 Map of the Central Region of Ghana

Source: Geography and Information Systems Unit, UCC, Cape Coast, 2015

Figure 3 shows the seven study districts in the region which have been highlighted and constituted the study sites. According to the GSS (2013) report on the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC), the Central Region has a population of 2,201,863 representing 8.9 percent of the country's total population of 24,658,823. The 2010 census statistics indicate that Central Region is consistently the second most densely populated region with a density of 224.1 persons per sq. km which is slightly more than that of Ashanti Region with the largest density region being Greater Accra Region. With a densely populated area, the region has a large rural base of 52 percent with more female population (GSS, 2013). Roughly between 20 and 37 per cent of the population in the districts are migrants. Inter-regional migrants are more than intra-regional migrants in some districts. In almost all the districts, most of the immigrants come from the Western, Greater Accra, Ashanti, Volta and Eastern Regions (<http://www.ghanadistricts.com>).

According to GSS (2013), the three main ethnic groups in the region are Akans with 81.7 percent population, followed by Ewes with 6.2 percent and the Guans with 5.3 percent. The region is predominantly Akan which constitutes more than 90 percent of the population in six districts and accounts for at least 60 percent in the remaining five districts (this is based on the 13 original districts in the region). They are followed by the Guans mostly found in the two districts of Awutu Senya and Effutu who formed nearly half (46.9%) of the total population in these two districts. Fante, an Akan dialect, is the main language of the indigenes in the region.

The study area is typically a child labour one where children between 5-17 years are actively involved in economic activities (GSS, 2003). According to

GSS (2003) about two in every five children aged 5-17 years which is about 40% of children in the country worked for about six months and more than half of children in the Central, Greater Accra and Eastern Regions worked for more than six months in a year and that “children in Central Region (80%) were more likely to complain about low earnings from their work” (p. 80). The alarming nature of the report is an indication that child labour is prevalent in the region and that there would be adults in the region who might have survived the condition. Data was collected from eleven adult survivors and five significant others who lived in seven districts comprising: Effutu, Cape Coast, Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem, Ajumako/Anyan/Essiam, Awutu Senya, Mfantseman, and Twifo/Heman/Lower Denkyira.

In addition to presenting the Central Region of Ghana as the setting for the study, it has become important to look at the Yeji community in terms of sub-setting as a little over half of the sampled participants in the study had their “lived” child labour experience there. Six out of the eleven adult survivors who participated in this study revealed that their traumatic child labour experiences were on the White Volta River in Yeji and its environs where they endured many forms of abuse.

Yeji Community



Figure 4 View of Yeji Township and children mending fishing net on the White Volta River

Yeji is an island fishing port, lying on the southern bank of the White Volta River in the Brong Ahafo Region. The town serves as a terminal point on the main Kumasi-Tamale road through Mampong/Ejura and a major gateway to the North. Yeji is 225 km from Kumasi (Habitat for Humanity Ghana, 2011).

The population of Yeji is approximately 29,000 inhabitants with a male/female ratio of 7:8. Yeji is a cosmopolitan town with high ethnic representations. These include Yejis, Nchumurus, Dagombas, Ashantis, Konkombas, and Frafra. The rest are Ewe, Ada, Senya, Fante, Dagarti, Kusasi, Kasina, Nankana, Kanjaga, Moshi and other minor tribes. The majority of the inhabitants of Yeji are peasant farmers. Other major occupations in the community include fishing, fish mongering, and general trading (Habitat for Humanity Ghana, 2011).

Figure 4 shows a view of Yeji township and children mending fishing net. One significant point noted during data collection was that participants who worked in Yeji referred to it being located in the Volta region of Ghana. This misconception was based on one, the fact that the river for fishing activities is

called Volta, and two, there were a lot of Ewe fisher folks there and these participants at the time were children therefore could not make the distinction between the Volta Region and the Volta River. This perception was, however, corrected during interactions that Yeji is situated in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana.

3.8 Population and Participants

According to Koul (2003) and Creswell (2004), population is the complete set of individuals (subjects and or events) which have similar observable characteristics which are of interest to the researcher. Thomas (1993) suggested that in order to obtain the fullest and most honest accounts possible, “it is crucial to identify the types of informants who are most likely to possess an insider’s knowledge of the research domain” (p.37). This study concerns adult survivors of child labour and it is they who possess “the insider’s knowledge” of their “lived experiences”, the coping strategies they employed and their coping process through to survival. The total population of this study consisted of all adult survivors in Ghana from which Central Region was targeted. It was also deemed appropriate that family and friends are included in this study, since it was anticipated that the family members and friends of adult survivors could have and provided a significant insider’s information about the stories of this sample/participants for triangulation purposes.

3.9 Rationale for Vignettes

As part of keeping track of the research participants and presenting a vivid description of their stories/ experiences, I developed vignettes on all

participants (see Chapter 4). These vignettes give location of child labour activities and describe the major forms of child labour activities that participants engaged in, the challenges they faced, the coping strategies employed, and description of their present living conditions among others. There is a portion on their life history and genre of gleaned similarities and dissimilarities of experiences. These are captured both in verbatim and summary forms. This served as background presentation that puts participants in perspective and gives them human face and value.

3.10 Inclusion Criteria and Recruitment Procedures

The primary inclusion criteria for participants into this study were that they had worked as child labourers during their childhood and for any length of time in Ghana and currently living in the Central Region. There was no limit on the number of years lived in the region and where one had worked as a child labourer because the study was about the process of coping and survival rather than actual years of child labour. The criteria also specified that the person be gainfully working so as to explain the process of survival in terms of achieving and contributing to society. The four “defining characteristics” of child labour (Agordzo, 2011) was mainly used to assess participant’s fit for inclusion. Participants who agreed to any one or a combination of the six-item screening questions of child labour qualified to participate voluntarily in the study (See Appendix C).

A combination of purposeful (snowball, self-recruitment) and theoretical sampling techniques was used. Fourteen adult survivors were initially recruited through friends and NGOs working on child labour, and advertisements.

Recruiting flyers were distributed to NGOs such as Cheerful Hearts Foundation, Challenging Heights, at conferences, and lecture halls (See Appendix B). The first participant was located on the internet after a publication about his child labour experiences. Table 1 below presents the inclusion criteria and recruitment procedure of participants.

Table 1 indicates that seven out of 11 participants were self-recruited, one was selected through the internet and the other three were selected through the snowball method. It is worth stating that the participant identified through the internet linked me to those recruited through snowball. Table 1 further shows that eight participants responded positively to four screening questions, two responded to five items while only one person responded to two items (See Appendix C).



Table 1

Selection of Participants and Sampling Technique

Participants	Inclusion Criteria	Sampling Techniques
Austa/01	Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented her from playing with friends.	Self-recruit
Sacus/02	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; income-earner for family; work prevented him from playing with friends.	Self-recruit
JKA/03	Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented him from attending school; work prevented him from playing with friends; work prevented him from attending school regularly.	Internet
Jola/04	Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented him from attending school; work prevented him from playing with friends; work prevented him from attending school regularly.	Snowball
Stado/05	Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented him from attending school; work prevented him from playing with friends; work prevented him from attending school regularly.	Snowball
Bobo/06	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented him from attending school; work prevented him from playing with friends; work prevented him from attending school regularly.	Self-recruit
Jared/07	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented him from attending school; work prevented him from playing with friends; work prevented him from attending school regularly.	Self-recruit
Owner/08	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; work prevented him from attending school; work prevented him from playing with friends; work prevented him from attending school regularly.	Snowball
Advent/09	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; income-earner for family; work prevented him from playing with friends.	Self-recruit
Sparko/10	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; income-earner for family; work prevented him from playing with friends.	Self-recruit
Pepsi/11	Worked to care for basic needs; Too tired because of work and could not study at home, or concentrate in the classroom; income-earner for family; work prevented him from playing with friends; was a dropped out from school at a point.	Self-recruit

Source: Field Work, 2014

When potential participants were identified, they were either contacted face-to-face or by telephone and the first meeting was arranged to explain the aims of the study as well as the details of their required participation. At the first interview with each participant, the Participant's Information Sheet (Appendix D) was read and participant's questions for clarification were answered. Two participant's Consent Forms (Appendix E) were then signed and a copy retained by the participant. Seventeen socio-economic and demographic questions regarding participants' background were asked and completed by the researcher during this first meeting paving way for detailed interview data collection later. Participation was voluntary. Personal and family details remain strictly confidential and every participant, therefore, was initially identified only with a study number until they adopted pseudonyms. Two men and one woman dropped out on the basis of job transfer and ill-health before the start of the interview leaving 10 men and a woman for the study. Following the recruitment procedure of participants, Table 2 below presents summary description of sampled participants in terms of their district of residence, gender and method of data collection.

Table 2

Summary Description of Participants by Method of Data Collection, District and Gender

Method	District/location	No. of Participants/ Gender	Total	Grand Total
Individual Interviews	Effutu	03 Males 01 Female	04	} 11 Participants
	Cape Coast	02 Males	02	
	Komenda/Edina/ Eguafo/Abirem	01 Male	01	
	Ajumako/Enyan/ Essiam	01 Male	01	
	Awutu-Senya	01 Male	01	
	Twifo/Heman/Lower Denkyira	01 Male	01	
	Mfantseman	01 Male	01	
	Focus Group Discussions	Group 1	01 Female 04 Males	
Group 2		06 Males	06 (fishing)	
Group 3		03 Females 02 Females	03 02	} 05 Significant Others

Source: Field Work, 2014

From Table 2, the eleven survivors were made up of one female and ten males. All the 11 adult survivors were individually interviewed after which they were then divided into two groups for focus discussions based on similarity of their child labour experiences: five survivors formed the first group who had engaged in farming and domestic work while the other six formed the second group whose members had all worked on the Volta Lake at Yeji and its environs. Five significant persons: two mothers, a sister, and two wives, were also interviewed for triangulation purposes. Participants lived in various parts of the region as indicated in Figure 3. The final 11 participants came from seven districts in the region. These are: two from Cape Coast, and one each from

Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem, Ajumako/Enyan/Essiam, Awutu-Senya, Mfantseman, Twifo/Heman/Lower Denkyira and four from Effutu. Regarding the significant others, one wife and a mother came from Cape Coast; a wife, a mother and a sister were recruited from Efutu.

3.11 Data Collection Procedures

The actual data collection commenced after the approval from the Board of School of Graduate Studies, UEW, following my proposal presentation before the Faculty Graduate Board of the university. A Letter of Introduction to consult and engage identified individuals or groups in the research was approved by my dissertation supervisor of UEW (See Appendix A). This set the stage for data collection. Before this time, I had placed the searchlight on locating adults who had been child labourers in the region. An outline of the research delineating its purpose, objectives, significance and methodology entitled “Information Sheet” (IS) (See Appendix D) together with “Consent Form” (CF) (See Appendix E) were prepared and given to prospective participants. Based on these, interview and focus group guides were developed for data collection.

3.11.1 Entering and Leaving the Field

According to Morse (1994, p. 228), the most difficult part of qualitative research is “entering the field for the first time”. Negotiation and gaining access to the study locations was a continuous process requiring both formal and informal skills (Agordzo, 2011). Entering and leaving the field brought mixed feelings. Though I was sure I had a good and researchable topic, I was equally

apprehensive of where to find my research participants because my target population was not institution-based. My fears grew as my initial flyers were not yielding any result of getting participants into the study. After waiting impatiently for over three months without a participant, I almost changed the topic. My first prospective participant was identified through a Peer Debriefing and Support Group (PDSG) I had joined in a university where I was directed to an internet site on a survivor story. This PDSG provided a platform where I shared my topic and purpose.

Soon, I had calls from volunteers who had read or heard the adverts and expressed their willingness to participate after I clarified few issues concerning the study to them. Leaving the research field had been more difficult than I had anticipated. As we developed rapport and became a big family sharing in other issues outside the research project, I found it hard to say good-bye to my new found family and friends. In principle, when the data had reached the point of saturation, when we had done our participant validation and all clarification and this report written, we all agreed after a meeting that this project had come to a successful end but our friendship remains.

3.11.2 Sample and Sampling Techniques

Whereas sample in quantitative research is usually determined prior to data collection and analysis, sample in grounded theory cannot be determined in advance because it is directed by the emerging theory known as theoretical sampling (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Glaser & Holton, 2004). Qualitative researchers largely recommend few cases that would be densely studied. While

Cobb and Forbes (2002) suggested approximately six cases, other researchers recommended sample size with a range of five to twenty-five, or five to thirty participants (Polkinghorne, 1989; McCulloch, 1997). In general, a strict sample size is not predetermined. Rather, the criterion for “how many” and when to quit, is when redundancy occurs (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Laverly 2003).

My original intention was to interview approximately 20 adult survivors of child labour and 10 family members for a total of approximately 30 participants. However, this intention was dropped as the emerging themes were driving the data collection rather than the number of participants. After interview with the tenth participant, no new concepts seemed to be emerging. However, further attempt was made to seek and interview another participant. This decision was to drive the data to reach its point of saturation. These eleven adult survivors of child labour, therefore, are the main research participants in addition to five significant others.

Sampling strategies employed were purposive, criterion-based, and theoretical to ensure that each individual is uniquely qualified to answer the interview questions that would contribute to evolving theoretical propositions (Creswell, 1998).

3.11.2.1 Snowball sampling

This is a sampling procedure which is purposive in nature that typically proceeds after a study begins. Rubin and Babbie (1993) posited that snowball sampling “is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to locate” (p. 257). It is a method for finding research participants where one

participant gives the researcher the name of another participant who, in turn, provides the name of the third, and so on (Agordzo, 2011).

The nature of this research topic made it difficult to identify participants since the participants were not institution-based neither do they have any ongoing association that could be easily located. It seems no list of adult survivors exists from which to select a sample. They seemed non-existent and the project almost impossible. The initial sampling technique was the snowball. It was only after I contacted the first participant whom I located through the internet on a publication about his child labour activities that he linked me to other persons he indicated had the same characteristics that I sought, and could take part in the study. It was only then that I could proceed to present my proposal to the Board of School of Graduate Studies for approval. This first participant willingly gave me the names of two adults but requested that he be allowed to contact them first for their consent. Through this approach, I recruited three of my participants and engaged two of them as co-researchers for recruitment. Eight other participants joined the study through the advertisements as self-recruits.

Participants were invited to participate if they met the criteria outlined under inclusion. The criterion-based technique has been explained under inclusion criterion and recruitment procedures². Data collection began after screening to pave way for theoretical sampling.

² See page 111 on discussions of inclusion criteria and recruitment procedures.

3.11.2.2 Theoretical Sampling

In grounded theory research, sampling procedures are aimed at identifying, developing and relating concepts. Again, sampling is done “on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 177). The objective of theoretical sampling is to sample events, incidents, and any other relevant issue that indicates categories, their properties and dimensions which could be developed and conceptually related (Strauss & Corbin 1990). As the analysis progresses, variations and similarities in data emerged thereby directing the researcher towards the topic or the individual who should be studied next so as to confirm and disconfirm or refine the developing categories.

In grounded theory, theoretical sampling is bound with the three major sampling procedures: open, relational and variational, and discriminate samplings, all bound with theoretical sensitivity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Open sampling deals with selection of interviewees or observational sites in an indiscriminate manner. It is open to all possibilities rather than specificity in which case the researcher tries to absorb and uncover all potentially relevant data. In view of this, the sampling in this study was generally open to all adult survivors of child labour in Ghana and specifically those in the Central Region. Flyers were distributed at conferences, lecture halls, and through NGOs. Individuals who responded were recruited after screening to begin the data collection process. The openness of the research questions gave participants to talk about a number of issues in depth during the first in-depth interview as I listened attentively and observed widely with probing questions for clarifications and additions. This sampling strategy was facilitated by my counselling skills of

active listening, questioning and observing, while encouraging participants to talk. Before the relational and variational sampling, I transcribed and coded the initial data to identify the emerging concepts that paved way for next stage of data collection. The coding processes would however be discussed later under the analytic process.

The second sampling procedure is the relational and variational sampling. This is the sampling method that proceeds just after open sampling and focuses more on the relationships between categories and subcategories aimed at finding evidence of variation or otherwise with reference to data. Regarding this stance, additional data were collected to provide in-depth knowledge and understanding of some categories' relevance. For instance seeking information on what conditions led to participants' use of institutional support systems and whether the system was adequate or otherwise. For this, I interviewed the previous participants again to know whether they had any form of institutional support and this question featured in subsequent interview questions with participants. In addition to systematically interviewing participants, I also purposefully interviewed some significant others: two mothers, a sister, and two wives to ascertain evidence of variations and similarities in data.

The third is the discriminate sampling which is concerned with the researcher identifying categories that have been defined through analysing their properties and dimensions so as to validate the propositional relationships and to form the emerging theory. Discriminate sampling is also concerned with choosing sites, individuals, or documents that will help fill in poorly developed categories (Strauss & Corbin 1990). For the purposes of discriminate sampling, previous participants were contacted after the eleventh participant was

interviewed in the relational and variational sampling stage comparing data within and across data to identify possible variation that would test the emerging theory. It is in this same respect that the existing literature was revisited specifically on evolving categories and theory to get greater in-depth understanding of the themes and write the story line.

3.11.3 Digital Recording

During the administration of the Information Sheet (See Appendix D) prior to the interview itself, all participants were asked for permission to audio-record the interview portion of this study. All participants agreed to record their narratives. This procedure facilitated active listening during the interview sessions. The focus group discussions were videotaped. This was to enable me view the discussion oftentimes to identify participants speaking at each period. This approach made it possible to recognise and identify each speaker and not to assume who was speaking and inadvertently assign statements to wrong participants. It also provided the opportunity to observe the group discussion and identify all the non-verbal cues that enhanced the analysis. Data was sourced from both primary and secondary ways. Primarily, 11 participants who were the key participants provided their “lived experiences” that formed the bedrock of this dissertation then five significant others and literature as secondary data helped in triangulating and positioning the primary data in research.

3.11.4 Pre-testing of Instrument

Yin (1994) stated that the pre-testing helps the investigator to refine data collection plans and the procedures. Yin explained that the researcher usually develops relevant lines of questions through clarification by making formative use of pre-test. The first participant identified in September 2013, on the internet was located within the Effutu district and used for the pre-test. This interview was conducted to help me gain experience with the whole interviewing process, the specific questions being asked, and the likely topics of discussion. This interview helped me to refine the interview guide so that the concepts discussed and questions asked made sense to the participants. Several questions (#8: What is your birth order position? and #16: Are you satisfied with your life now?) were added to the interview guide as a result of the pretest interview (). I determined at a later point in the analysis process that the data gathered in this interview was valid, therefore, added the result to subsequent data collected for analysis. The concepts coded in this interview were similar to the other interviews, and the interview process was consistent with later interviews.

3.12 Data Collection Instruments

One very important thing a researcher must take into consideration before selecting the data collection instrument is the research problem(s). Having carefully examined the research topic and research questions raised, the semi-structured interview and focus group discussion guides were selected as the main data collection instruments with observation as a supplementary guide. Each instrument and its applications in the study are discussed below.

3.12.1 Interview Guide and In-Depth Interview Procedures

The interview guide is one data collection instrument that enables the researcher to have a face-to-face encounter with participants in order to find answers to a research problem. One of the conditions for the use of interviews is that the participants must be prepared to talk. It is important to note however, that in interview, some questions arise from the field discussion, especially when the interviews are semi-structured (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991; Twumasi, 2001). Again, Yin (1994) posited that one of the best sources of information in research is through the interview due to its flexibility. He further stated that in studies about human affairs interviews must constitute an essential source of data collection. It is, therefore, important to consider interviews in research because it is through interviews that human affairs can be “reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees” (Akplu, 1998, p. 44) who are well-informed and, therefore, can provide important insights into a phenomenon. Though the strengths of the interview as a data collection method are harnessed, it is also acknowledged that it is very costly especially where interviews were rescheduled several times involving travelling on long journeys, it was still considered one of the most appropriate instruments for data collection in this study. Before the commencement of data collection, I developed a semi-structured interview guide.

This guide was divided into two sections. Section one sought to collect biodata on the participants on issues of interest such as participants’ age at start and end of child labour, marital status, ethnicity, child labour activities, and living condition. It was intended to facilitate learning more about, and/or filling important gaps about each interviewee’s personal background. Results from the

demographic data were summarized and used in triangulating the interview and focus group discussion results.

Section two consisted of two or three main questions on each research question out of which sub-questions arising during the interview were used to probe and find meanings and answers to the research questions (See Appendix F). The interview guide was dubbed “Adult Survivors Coping Guide (ASCoG)” and addressed key topics in a sequence that was meaningful to participants (Kvale, 1996; Padgett, 1998). These key topics were: (1) nature of “lived” child labour experience, (2) effects of child labour, (3) coping strategies, and (4) moving on and survival.

The purpose, issues of confidentiality and the emotional nature of the study were explained to all participants during the initial stage of rapport establishment. All participants were informed that they could withdraw from the interview or take a break at any time. They were also informed that they could refuse to answer any questions. These allowed participants to remain in control and maintain personal boundaries during the interview (see Appendix D). All interviews were personally conducted by me. The initial interviews lasted approximately 1 hour 30 minutes. After the initial interviews, one follow-up interview conversations were conducted for each participant and this lasted approximately 45 minutes.

3.12.2 Focus Group Guide and Discussion

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

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

Following the suggestions of Krueger and Casey (2000) and Litosseliti (2003), a focus group guide was developed after the initial individual interview interactions. The items on the guide were to initially, understand the collective constructions to the emerging central phenomena of “survival” and “moving on” (see Appendix G). However, participants also discussed their lived experiences, difficulties, and coping strategies. During discussions, participants were encouraged to feel free to express themselves and develop their own thinking in the presence of their peers. All participants were put into two groups based on their child labour experiences: farming and fishing. All FGDs were video-taped to overcome the “simple difficulty of writing down not only exactly what people say, but also who says it” (Bryman, 2008, p. 476). Though it was difficult to bring all participants in each group together especially those with farming experiences due to their locations in the region, participants agreed to travel to a meeting point for the group discussion. This, however, delayed the conduct of the discussion. Six adults who had fishing experiences formed one group while the other five who engaged in farming activities formed the second group. Each group discussion lasted approximately 2 hours 30 minutes. One FGD was held with all significant others and this lasted for about 1 hour 30 minutes. All FGDs were transcribed immediately.

3.12.3 Other Means of Gathering Data

There were several telephone interviews that lasted for approximately 10 minutes each and about 4 times per participant for clarifications, comments, and confirmations on data. This was to save cost and time since reaching participants personally were becoming increasingly difficult. Some social media applications were also potential sources of data collection and should be considered potential fodder in research especially with literate population. They are less expensive and quick to use in accessing difficult-to-reach participants though network problems could pose challenges. Apart from the telephone conversations as a follow-up to individual interviews, some social media applications such as the “WhatsApp” application and “text messaging” were used to cut down cost and have participants’ wordings. All these formed part of the total transcription of data.

Each participant was presented a summary of the information gathered during his or her interview (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to facilitate participant validation. Participants were asked if the information was accurate and what, if any, changes should be made to the transcriptions and to which they signed a confirmation/agreement form (see Appendix H). This was done to determine the credibility of the transcriptions of the interview (Janesick, 2000) and secure data.

In accordance with grounded theory methodology, theoretical sampling was used to extend the interviews. As themes emerged, gaps and holes in the theoretical propositions also surfaced, so I sampled specific issues that helped fill gaps and made the categories more definitive and useful (Charmaz, 2000). These issues were topics identified in the literature (as described previously) as important in the process of coping and survival but which some participants did not discuss in the first interview, as well as topics that previous participants

discussed. Participants were also given the opportunity to add comments to any concept from the previous interview or to bring up additional theme.

3.13 The Analytical Coding Process

Grounded theory involves particular analytical coding described by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as “the operation by which data are broken down, conceptualised and put back together in new ways” so as to build theories (p.57). Coding commenced at the beginning of data collection and is guided by further data collection through theoretical sampling. In a qualitative research where grounded theory design is used, the emphasis is then on developing theory inductively from data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Numerous publications and articles (Pandit, 1996; Dey, 2004; Charmaz, 2006) have been produced on coding procedures in grounded theory and all agreed that the coding scheme permits the transformation of raw data into theoretical concepts thereby enabling the identification of themes, categories and properties so as to establish the final theory.

This study employed the open, axial, and selective coding procedures inherent in Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) paradigm model to fracture and synthesise data. Figure 5 presents the coding procedure followed in this study. Pseudonyms and acronyms were used to code the texts for identification and anonymity. Additionally, participant’s job description and age are also given to humanise them.

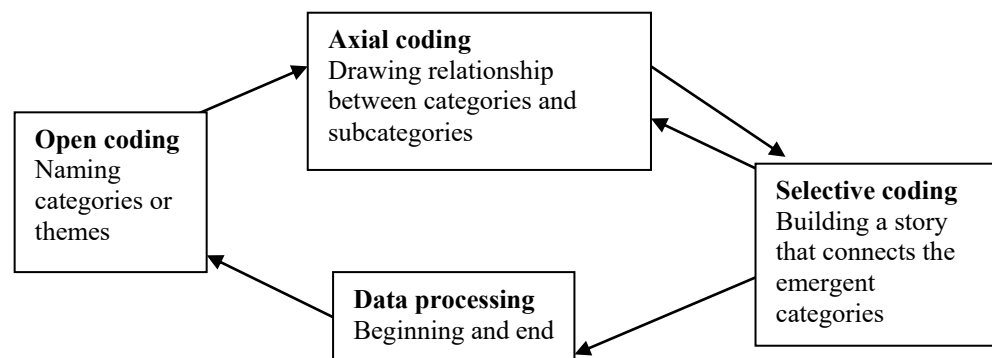


Figure 5 Path Representation of the Coding Procedure adopted from Agordzo (2011, p. 66)

Figure 5 shows the coding process as a forward-backward movement where the beginning and the end of data processes have a melting point. As data was opened and fractured, it was put back for relational purposes that allow for building the evolving story that takes one back to raw data.

3.13.1 Open Coding

According to Figure 5, the initial phase of analysis for Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990), called for open coding (or substantive coding) where data are broken down, examined, compared, conceptualized and categorized. Here one seeks to identify and label the key concepts reflected in the data (interview and FGD transcripts) that are relevant to explain the phenomenon under investigation. At the initial stage of data analysis, this was achieved through a meticulous reading of the transcripts where individuals' narratives were examined and questioned (e.g. *What is going on here in this experience? When did this happen and how did the participant react to this? How do caring persons affect the process of coping leading to participants' survival?*). This form of

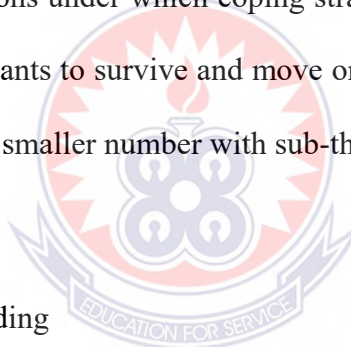
interrogation led to the identification of the triggering factors described by each participant then and were coded as “causes” or “factors” with reflective and analytical notes written on them.

This initial coding also highlighted some major concepts reflecting participants’ meanings and coping strategies. Similar statements were grouped together under a common code, usually named by using the participants’ own wording such as “effects” and “strategies”. As concepts were developed and categorised, they were described more specifically through identification of their characteristics: properties and dimensions (or sub-categories). Dey (1999) described dimension as the extension of a property in terms of space (e.g. height, width, depth) and/or time (days, months, years). It can be measured by using a numerical scale (e.g. number of persons in a group counselling session) or a more general description (e.g. big /small, long/short, many/few). After all narratives were fractured and named and no new categories were emerging for their properties and dimensions to be theoretically explained, I moved on to the next analytical stage of axial coding to describe and understand how categories become integrated with others.

3.13.2 Axial Coding

The next phase of data analysis in grounded theory according to Figure 5 is axial coding. While open coding is breaking down the data to search for themes, categories, and dimensional locations according to Strauss and Corbin (1990), “axial coding puts those data back together in new ways by making connections between a category and its subcategories” (p. 97). Through this

process, I was able to refine emerging themes, focus in on patterns and respond to emergent concepts made evident through examination of each coded theme. Major themes such as *personal resources* and *social support* which were the pivot of the phenomenon of interest were explored with all possible interconnections made. The interconnections of categories helped in identifying predisposing conditions that influenced the central phenomenon, the strategies that participants employed to manage the phenomenon contextually, the intervening conditions that facilitated or constrained the use of the strategies, and the consequences that resulted from using such coping strategies. At this stage, data were examined systematically and purposefully looking specifically at contexts and conditions under which coping strategies were used and the process achieved for participants to survive and move on. During this stage major themes were condensed to a smaller number with sub-themes developed under them.



3.13.3 Selective Coding

Selective coding enables identification and selection of the core or main category which emerged as a common pattern amongst participants with high frequency to explain participants' behaviour related to the studied phenomenon. Pahud (2008) and Corbin and Strauss (2008) described a core category as that which must:

- “be abstract, that is all other major categories can be related to it and placed under it,
- appear frequently in the data. This means that within all or almost all cases there are indicators pointing to that concept,

- be logical and consistent. There should be no forcing of the data,
- be sufficiently abstract so that it can be used to do research in other substantive areas leading to the development of a more general theory and,
- grow in depth and explanatory power as each of the other categories is related to it through statements of relationships” (p.81).

By identifying and selecting the central themes of “survival” and “moving on”, I was able to develop the storyline that covers the coping process of adult survivors of child labour onto which are related their “lived” child labour experiences, the effects of traumatic child labour activities, the challenges they faced as they tried to overcome these difficult child labour experiences and the support systems that were helpful in the coping process. The central phenomenon of “survival and moving on” which Strauss and Corbin (1990) referred to as the basic social or psychosocial process is, thus, the outcome of the process itself.

3.13.4 Constant Comparison

The analysis of the first interviews allowed for the identification of broad incidents and events which are relevant to understanding and explaining the phenomenon under study. Participants’ patterns (such as phenomenon/experiences, effects, strategies and processes of coping) were compared constantly and those which are similar were grouped together under common categories such as *fishing activities*, *farming activities*, *personal resources* and *caring persons*. Grounded theory uses constant comparative method to generate theory directly from the data. In this respect, constant

comparison deals with comparing (i) peoples' opinions, actions, experiences (ii) incident with incident, (iii) data with developing categories, and (iv) category with category. The four stages and related procedures of constant comparison described in the literature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Dey, 1999) consist of:

1. generating categories and their properties through coding procedures,
2. integrating categories and their properties through memo writing,
3. delimiting/developing the theory by reducing categories and thereby obtaining a “smaller set of higher level concepts” and,
4. writing the theory when the findings are put together so as to form a coherent, understandable and informative theory.

The above stages were achieved simultaneously where data collection and analysis moved together. While the initial interview was coded to set the stage for data analysis, it also paved way for the next data collection focusing the research questions and the manner of interviewing. The general atmosphere of data collection and coding also started alongside these by reflecting on the properties and dimensions of emerging categories and subsuming smaller categories or concepts under more embracing ones thereby reducing the large number of categories and moving gradually and progressively from writing on the concrete findings to the abstract theoretical propositions of the central phenomenon of “survival and moving on after child labour” in this study.

3.14 Data Analysis

The major research question was: *How did adult survivors of child labour cope with child labour in the Central Region of Ghana?* Five sub-questions evolved during data collection regarding this central question and these are presented below:

1. What was the nature of the “lived” experiences of adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana?
2. In what way(s) does the experience of child labour influence the lives of the participants?
3. Which strategies contributed to adult survivors’ coping processes to overcome their child labour experiences and to survive?
4. What are the consequences of the coping strategies employed by these adult survivors?
5. What counselling services, if any, did this population in the Central Region receive and how did the services contribute to their survival?

The process of data synthesis through axial coding was aided by a coding paradigm for theory-building offered by Strauss and Corbin (1990). The paradigm model, depicted in Figure 6, represents critical theoretical elements of a process and can be applied to any substantive area of inquiry.

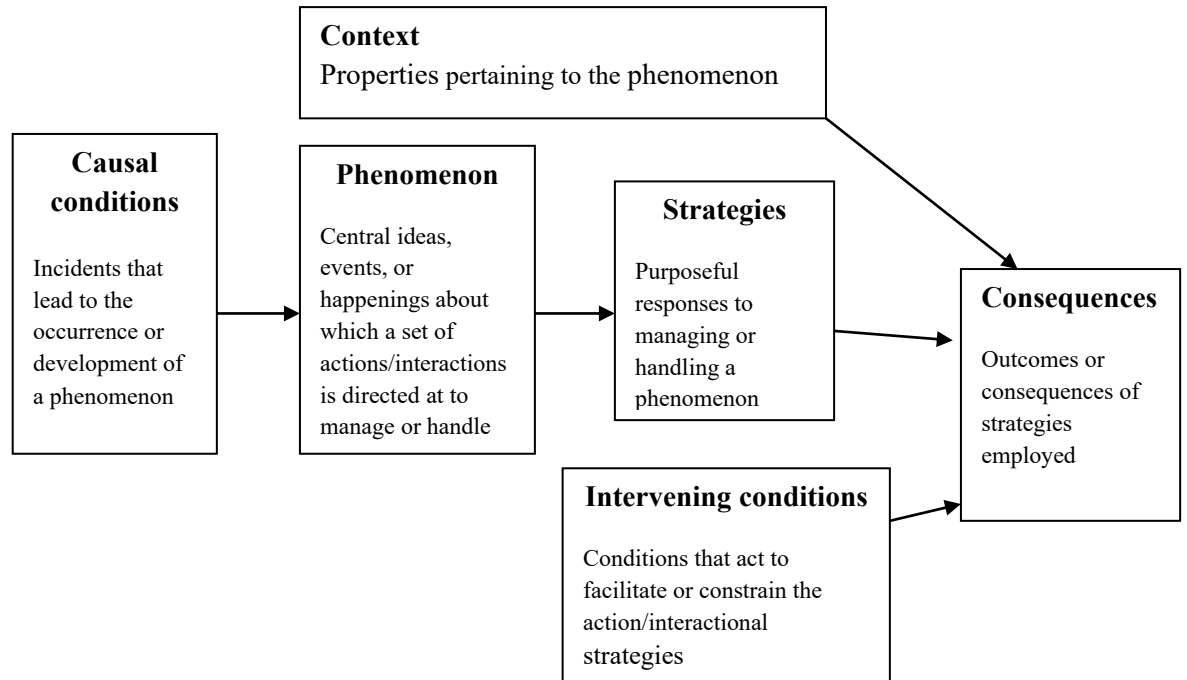
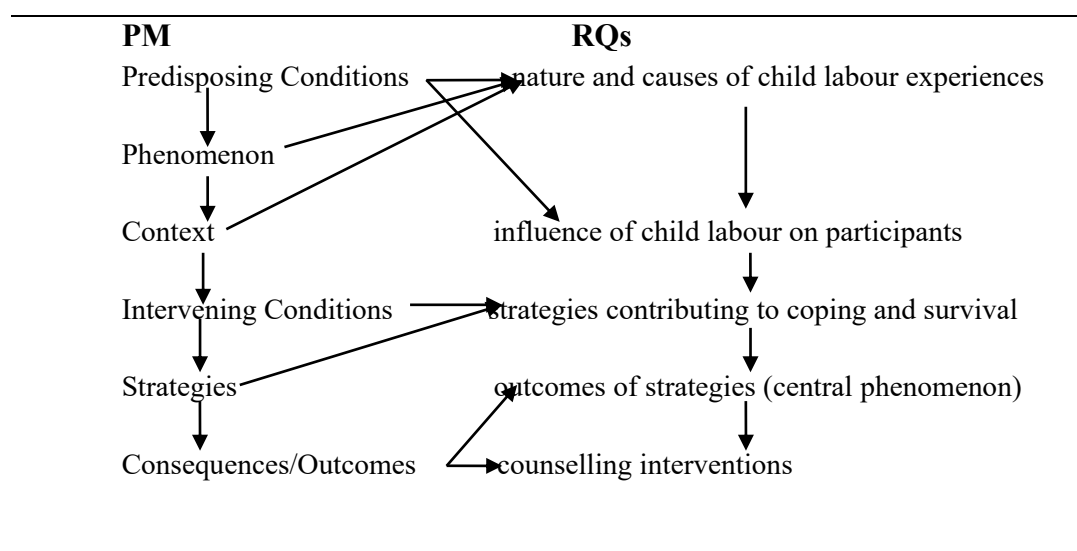


Figure 6 Theoretical Paradigm Model Developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990)
Adapted and refined from Creswell, (1998, p. 305)

The standard of evidence for causation in grounded theory research requires that the researcher demonstrates that the model fits with reality, gives understanding, is useful, and is supported by existing literature (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). With this, the data analysed in Chapter Four are discussed vis-à-vis, related literature in Chapter Five. Strauss and Corbin (1990) stress that grounded theory focuses on the actions/interactions of people in handling, managing, and responding to a phenomenon. Finally, by analysing the consequences of the action/interaction strategies, the successfulness or otherwise of these strategies may be determined, examined and categorized accordingly. These research questions were used with the tenets of the paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) framework for grounded theory and are presented below in Table 3.

Table 3

Paradigm Model (PM) and the Research Questions (RQs)

Source: Researcher Constructed, 2014

Table 3 indicates that research question one addressed issues relating to the Phenomenon: central idea, event, or happening about which a set of actions/interactions is directed at managing or handling; and the Context: specific properties relating to the phenomenon. Research questions one and two were linked with the Predisposing Conditions: Incidents that led to the occurrence of “lived” child labour experiences and its effects. Research question three linked with the Strategies: Purposeful responses or activities to managing or handling the “lived” experiences under study. Additionally, this research question also linked to the phenomenon’s Intervening Conditions: Conditions that act to facilitate or constrain the action/interactional strategies while research questions four and five linked up with Outcomes: positive and negative outcomes of child labour, the coping strategies used and the interventions that they received along the way resulting in the development of guideline on coping in Chapter Five.

Following the paradigm model, data were reduced to bits and pieces using the open, axial, and selective coding procedures (as explained in Figure 5) in relation to the research questions where main categories such as nature of child labour experiences and the development of coping strategies (causal conditions), types of coping strategies as a result of causal conditions (phenomena), the specific set of properties that relate to and influence the events of child labour (context), conditions that either facilitate or constrain the coping strategies developed by child labourers: the difficulties (intervening conditions), the actual strategies (action/interactional strategies), and effects (outcomes) were identified in Figure 6 below.

3.14.1 Memoing

The overall analytical process is supported by memos which are “field notes” produced so as to develop the theory. Memos can be anything written (ranging from few lines to many pages) or drawn since they support recording the researcher’s thinking process to logical conclusion as the study evolves. Memos help to crystallise ideas, establish impressions of what is going on within the data, note linkages between the categories and document the recurrent or new themes. Indeed, their purpose is to help the researcher to raise data to a conceptual level, to develop the properties of each category and to generate hypotheses about interrelationships between the categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Early in the process, memos tend to be very “open”. As the analysis progresses they tend to focus on a core category and its possible links with the other categories. Whereas coding makes visible some categories and properties, memoing underpins the relationships which link the categories to each other.

Memos can be theoretical when they focus on the ongoing thinking process to identify specific categories and their properties and how they are interrelated. They can be methodological when there is a need to improve the methodology process such as theoretical sampling and coding procedures. Additionally, the construction of diagrams can help to comprehend the final theory by showing how categories relate to each other and the core category by visualizing their relationships through a graphic version.

Throughout the data collection process, two different types of memos were kept. One set took the form of a personal journal that included such information as my personal reactions to interviews, specific notes on events that might have influenced my mood or affect during some sessions and feelings about the process in general. The other set of memos was the analytical memo in which I documented more objective comments and summaries that were written soon after each interview. The personal journal helped to record the research process and reflect on my own reactions and outside factors that might have influenced the interview interactions in any way.

3.14.2 Theoretical Sensitivity

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

& Corbin, 1990). I kept a significant balance between and amongst my knowledge, personal experience, and professionalism as I immersed in data collection and analysis. In the context of this research, a significant part of my theoretical sensitivity to the topic came from the literature and continued through the process of data collection, analysis, interpretation, member checking, and further analysis.

My professional background was of primary importance here. The theoretical underpinnings of counselling make room for subjectivity, emotion, and values. Where one stands is critical in order to take whatever steps possible to be reflexive and aware of how one's standpoint does and could impact research. Such honesty may be the best path to ensure that research is indeed *not* impacted by unexamined beliefs and bias. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) everyone represents some ideology. The real issue is whether or not one takes account of it. Also, while understanding one's place in relation to a topic under investigation enhances one's theoretical sensitivity, it also creates accountability where the researcher produces a tractable research process in its entirety for scrutiny in the results (Harding, 1987).

Referring to the significant role of theoretical sensitivity in grounded theory, Strauss and Corbin noted that as a "personal quality of the researcher, it indicates an awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 41) and helps to enable recognition of emerging theory. This sensitivity, or insight into the nature and meaning of data, allows the researcher to develop sound and conceptually rich theory. The amalgamation of my sensitivity to the topic of study and an honest recognition of my value orientation and standpoint as a counselling psychologist and a Ghanaian raised in contexts where child

labour practices existed, strengthen my ability to co-construct and emerge with useful theory, and in terms of process, create a foundation for trust and rapport among participants who recognised and associated with me their common history, and values.

3.14.3 Conditional Matrix and Diagramming

A visual portrayal of concepts was developed in the form of a conditional matrix. Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommended developing a conditional matrix: a diagram that allows for the illumination of the contextual conditions and consequences relating to the process of coping and “moving on” after child labour (see Figure 9). This theoretical development enabled me to build a dialectic discussion with participants using the diagrams as the conceptual work that brought participants into the activity of shared focused and theoretical coding (Charmaz, 2006), and mapped how their realities shifted, or changed, in response to which processes were being explored. Indeed, Glaser (1992) himself argued that grounded theory and identifying a storyline is based on ‘persistence, patience and emergence’ (p. 78). Diagrams rely on the act of identifying storylines and performance over time. Diagramming has an established role in grounded theory work (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2006) with the key attribute being that ‘diagrams should flow, with the logic apparent without a lot of explanation’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 152). This study consistently designed figures and tables that explicate the storyline that gradually led to the development of the theoretical propositions of “moving on” as the central phenomenon of adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana.

This approach, however, contradicts the views of Strauss and Corbin (1998) that diagramming should enable the researcher to gain distance forcing him or her to work with concepts rather than with details in the data. Instead, the process of diagrams involved participants and myself gaining ‘closeness’ to the data and engaging together in conceptual work from an early point in the research process, and it addressed the aim of gaining a shared and co-constructed understanding of coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour. Furthermore, unlike Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) vision of diagrams as valuable tools for integration, this study acknowledges that the diagrams were central to ‘uncovering’ and later ‘integration’ of the emergent theoretical proposition of the study. The diagrams provided a visual starting point for understanding the themes that emerged, their relationships and how they worked in people’s lives. As a technique, the diagrams in this study present an opportunity to ‘open up’ grounded theory that represent well-used categories.

3.14.4 Delimiting and Writing the Theory

Delimiting or sorting the theory is the connecting step between memo and theory writing. This is an opportunity for the researcher to compare field notes and underline the uniformities and linkages in a set of categories leading gradually to a smaller set of higher level concepts to formulate the final theory. Delimiting the theory provides the “skeleton” of the emerging theory, hence the preparation of the next stage of “writing the theory”. At this stage, Pahud (2008, p.82) suggests that “the researcher should have enough explanations and justifications with which to address the original research questions so as to summarize and restructure the findings leading to the final results of the

phenomenon under investigation”. This stage was achieved when data were analyzed in two phases in Chapter Four where after the thematic analysis, the emerging themes/categories were further sorted out finding the relationships embedded in them that led to the development of the central theoretical proposition of survival and moving on after child labour.

3.14.5 Comparing Theory with Research

The final analytic step was comparison of emergent theoretical proposition of “moving on” and survival after child labour to existing literature which interrogates the emergent theoretical proposition and examines how it is similar to and different from others (see Chapter Five). The ability to connect the emerging theory with existing literature enhances or tests its trustworthiness and positions it among other theories.

3.15 Trustworthiness of Research Process and Data Analysis

The quality of qualitative research is not judged on the common framework of validity and reliability of the findings which are the standard criteria of quantitative research in the social sciences. Instead, the key issue in evaluating the rigour of qualitative research is judged by its level of trustworthiness and authenticity which relate to the researcher’s capacity to persuade her/his audience that the findings are worth paying attention to, or worth talking about (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

To this end, the most widely used criteria to meet trustworthiness are those proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985): credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability which are an alternative to more traditional

quantitatively-oriented criteria of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. In addition, Miles and Huberman (1994) added authenticity to the rigour of qualitative research evaluation.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) recommended that grounded theorists strive to present their study and its findings in a manner that would make readers have faith in their procedures and findings. They suggested that in addition to the usual trustworthiness of qualitative work, the grounded theorist should also provide adequacy of the study's research process and the grounding of its findings. This recommendation in terms of the research process and empirical grounding of the study are fused into credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of data collection and analysis discussed below.

3.15.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the believability of the research findings from the perspective of participants in the study and it is parallel with internal validity in positivism. It is the confidence level in the study instruments, interpretations and conclusions supported by raw data. According to Creswell, (1998), Mayan, (2001), Patton, (2002), and Lincoln and Guba, (2003), credibility tasks the researcher's professional integrity, intellectual rigour and methodological capability. Table 4 below summarises the steps I took to enhance credibility of the study.

Table 4

Strategies to Enhance Credibility

Strategies/Procedures	My Study
Prolonged , extensive engagement and continual observation of the field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Twenty four field visits over a period of 15 months. ➤ High priority on firm relationship of mutual trust ➤ Involvement in participants' other life activities
Peer Debriefing Support Group (PDSG)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Colleagues in our PDSG commented and reviewed ideas about the topic throughout the study ➤ Supervisors and senior researchers served as critical thinkers and guidance throughout the study ➤ I presented fragments of the study at workshops for criticisms and inputs
Participant Validation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Participants were co-researchers from the beginning ➤ They were given written transcripts to verify, correct and elaborate
Triangulation /Bricolage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Variety of data sources ➤ Multiple strategies for data collection ➤ Different approaches to data analysis
Using audit trail	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Evidence of the research process recorded in the field journals
Keeping Memos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Evidence of Personal Memo, and
Developing Diagrams and Tables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Analytic Memo recorded in the field journal ➤ Several figures designed to aid conceptualisation and development of emerging central phenomenon of surviving and “moving on”

Source: Researcher Constructed, 2014

The period of data collection and analysis spanned from November 2013 to February 2015 giving a total of 15 months' contact and relationship between participants and researcher. During this period, firm friendship was established where participants gave their personal narratives, clarifications and some sought for and were provided counselling services from a professional counsellor. Further, I got nestled with my participants not only with their child labour experiences but also with their daily living in terms of their family life and work.

Very early in the research process I joined a PDSG in a sister university where I first shared my hunch on this project. Members critiqued my initial ideas and provided guidance on accessibility of participants. And throughout this project my dissertation supervisors had shared their knowledge and expertise on the topic and research process while I took up opportunities to share my work at postgraduate seminars and international workshops.

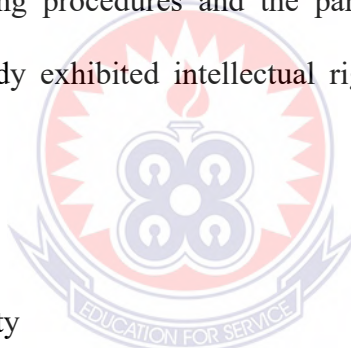
As data collection commenced and coding started, I employed participant validation as one attempt to allow participants – experts on the topic of inquiry and their own perceptions – to review the data and interpret it for appropriateness and accuracy (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Padgett, 1998). Each participant was provided a transcript of his or her own narrative and an oral summary of the interpretations made from their stories. During this stage, participants were asked to sign a confirmation form agreeing that the narratives are their stories and that my interpretations are valid (see Appendix H). Their feedbacks during follow-ups were used to clarify issues or provide more details to the data. This particular stage saw participants very interested in being associated with the study and majority was grateful. For instance, during one such visit one participant said,

My sister, I must say that you have impressed me a lot. I have done my master's thesis and I have granted interviews on child labour to a number of researchers but none, not even one, came back after the initial interview to tell me anything. And with your transcription, I give you 99.9%. You have done very well.

(31/7/14: Researcher's Diary)

This kind of comment provides trust in the data and the research process and strengthens the relationship that enhanced co-construction of concepts and the final theory.

Lincoln and Guba (1985), Padgett (1998) and Creswell (2007) noted that triangulation is very crucial to establishing credibility of data through corroboration of evidence from diverse sources, methods and theories. In this study, triangulation involved data collection from the participants, five significant others: two wives, two mothers and a sister. Again, the various data collection instruments and approaches such as the interview and FGD guides, and text messages provided triangulation just as the different approaches to data analysis of the various coding procedures and the paradigm model in the study. The diagrams in the study exhibited intellectual rigor and astuteness in qualitative research.



3.15.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree by which the study's findings can be transferred and applied to other investigated contexts and/or groups so as to develop knowledge about a given phenomenon. There are no confidence intervals in qualitative research to help "prove" that a study can be thought of as valid and applicable in a generalised fashion. The suggestion by Geertz (1973) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) re-echoed by Creswell (2007) advised as solutions the use of "thick description" in communicating the results of a study, offering the idea that rich and detailed information in itself imply a level of trustworthiness.

It is argued that it is really not the qualitative researcher's aim to present information that can be transferred beyond the context of the study (Campbell, Scott-Lincourt, & Brennan, 2008). Furthermore, generalising the findings of a qualitative research is not the explicit aim of constructivists and critical theorists and this is also in accordance with grounded theory approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 2004) in that different participants and the studied phenomenon are unique and are characterised by their own unique contexts, causal conditions, specific strategies and intervening conditions. As my study focused on specific adult survivors of child labour in a selected region of Ghana whose voices do not necessarily represent those of the whole region, it is not in place to assume that the results and findings of this study can be generalised and applied to other settings.

Though the findings, especially, the theoretical propositions on coping process and "moving on" may be applicable to other similar survival contexts, generalisation is not the onus of this study. However, it is possible that given the rich description I have provided of the research context, and methodological processes, other researchers could apply the findings of this study to similar settings of their choice thereby regarding the findings in this study as answers in their chosen contexts (Kelly, 2002). In this vein, this study could be viewed as holding representativeness. Additionally, my use of memos can be thought of as important to all aspects of trustworthiness in a research study by serving as documentation of my thoughts and feelings while I immersed in data.

3.15.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the consistency of the findings: how these findings are stable over time if the phenomenon studied were replicated by others (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 2003). It enjoins the researcher to show carefully and comprehensively the overall research process by describing and justifying what has been done at each step in the memos in arriving at the conclusions. This process is often described as an audit trail and necessitates that sampling, data collection and coding, interpretations, analysis, findings and recommendations should be detailed and made explicit so that another researcher could arrive at similar conclusions (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Gage, 2005) with same or similar participants.

In this vein, the systematic data collection procedure that reached the point of saturation, and interpretations rooted in data, the extensive documentation of my data (transcriptions of interview narratives, FGDs, text messages), methods and decisions in the memo are steps in proving the consistency of this study. Further, I engaged the services of one senior lecturer from the University of Cape Coast to also independently code the texts (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 1998). To provide a sense of interrater reliability to the study, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed that an external consultant be engaged to examine the process of data collection and analysis and to assess their accuracy. My dissertation supervisors in addition to two senior lecturers in a university assessed the work to find out whether or not the findings, interpretations and conclusions were supported by the data.

3.15.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to the “neutrality” of the data such as the extent to which research findings are not influenced by researcher subjectivity and can be confirmed or corroborated by others. This is also achieved by documenting and tracing data and research process from commencement until closure of the research (audit trail), by sharing ideas with others (such as at workshops, with PDSG members, and thesis supervisors) so as to have external perspectives on the results thereby avoiding bias or distortion (Pahud, 2008). Confirmability reinforces the criterion of dependability as both aimed to make full transparency of the data so as to permit the evaluation and acceptability of the findings by others.

Other means of establishing trustworthiness of the study were video and audio recordings of individual and group discussions, paying attention to non-verbal communications of the participants such as sighs, pauses, tears and facial expressions, throwing of arms in the air to indicate desperation, and crying. Since transcriptions and reflections were done almost immediately after each interview and discussion, the general mood of the participants was captured in the transcriptions of the narratives and used in interpretations of data.

3.15.5 Establishing Authenticity of Data

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) adopted the term “authenticity” proposed by Thomas Schwandt as criteria for working out external validity of qualitative research. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) when “an account contains a high degree of internal coherence, plausibility, and correspondence to what

readers recognise from their own experiences and from other realistic and factual texts, they accord the work and its author a sense of authenticity” (p. 381). Schwandt was of the view that constructivist inquiry is “rich, deep, and complex” (cited by Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 100). Due to this richness, depth, and complexity in studying the life of individuals, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) encouraged the use of “prolonged immersion in the life of a group, community or organisation in order to discern people’s habits and thoughts as well as to decipher the social structure that binds them together” (p. 84).

Denzin and Lincoln suggested criteria for authenticity. These are: (1) fairness: how the research represents the views of the members in the society; (2) ontological authenticity: how the research enhances the personal construction of the phenomenon by participants; (3) educative authenticity: leads to improved understanding of constructions of others; (4) catalytic authenticity: this stimulates action to change the status quo or the conditions of the participants; 5) tactical authenticity: this empowers action. Generally, authenticity was achieved through prolonged engagement with participants and their environment. Additionally, the verbatim quotations used to analyse data together with the *in vivo* themes enhanced the ontological authenticity to the research process and the data. The thematic analysis of data based on the ontological authenticity broadens our understanding of the concepts of coping, survival and “moving on”. The writing style of the final report of this study, as much as possible, drew on the voice of the participants and the final research report to develop guidelines for counselling which are expected to improve policy and counselling services to traumatised individuals and child labourers in general.

3.16 Ethical Considerations

A study of this nature needs to consider the special needs of vulnerable populations such as minors and marginalised who were victims of a social phenomenon (Creswell, 2004). The research established counselling ethics as its pillars before, during and after data collection. Agordzo (2011) suggests that qualitative researchers of vulnerable populations should employ personal characteristics of acceptance, positive regard and the worth of the participants. Additionally, qualitative researchers should have empathic understanding and active attending skills of listening and probing without being judgmental. Bearing in mind the import of ethical consideration in dealing with marginalised in society, I sought and had informed consent of the participants through explanation of the rationale behind the study and the possibility for one to withdraw at any given time. The participants were assured of maximum confidentiality; their true identities were kept right from the beginning to the end; that their information would be used only for the purpose of this research and academic publications. Participants also had the right to seek clarification to questions.

Bearing in mind the sensitivity of the topic and the vulnerability of the participants, an arrangement was made with a senior professional counsellor from the Counselling Centre of the University of Education, Winneba, to offer counselling services in case of counselling needs that might be beyond me before, during or after the study (see Appendices I & J). Lunch coupon worth GHC 10.00 was given to each participant at the end of each individual interview. Participants who travelled for the FGDs were given a fuel voucher worth GHC 20.00 to GHC 30.00 (depending on the distance/mileage) and snacks for all participants during

the FGDs. In addition, I continued to visit the participants (where necessary), to offer counselling services to them well after data collection. A GHC 20.00 worth of gift was given to each participant at the end of the project in appreciation of their time and input. This is consistent with Miles and Huberman (1994) who suggested that research participants should be compensated for their time and stories.

The interviews were conducted at a conducive place specifically the choice of the participants due to the sensitive nature of the narratives. Numbers were initially used for each interviewee before participants chose pseudonyms that appeared in the transcripts and the dissertation.

3.17 Summary

With the above issues in mind, and consistent with the aims of this study, preference has been given to qualitative research as the main methodology of investigation. A constructivist-critical grounded theory approach, seeking to understand and interpret the meaning which adult survivors of child labour assigned to their coping processes and survival, was seen as the most appropriate approach to answer the research questions. A blend of purposive and theoretical sampling procedures were followed to recruit participants and to collect data. Both the individual and FGD guides were used as instruments to collect data that span over 15 months from 11 adult survivors of child labor and five significant others in the Central Region of Ghana. Participants' basic socio-demographic data and narratives from the significant others were used to triangulate participants' narratives. In following due process of conducting grounded theory

research, prominence was given to in-depth data collection and detailed systematic analytical procedures. Similarly, the trustworthiness and authenticity as well as ethical rules in research with individuals with past traumatic experiences were observed.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS OF THE DATA

4.1 Introduction

As typical of grounded theory methodology, the essence is not to determine inferential causality between constructs but rather laying bare the types of incidents, contexts within which these incidents occurred, the intervening conditions that either facilitated or inhibited the strategies that were developed to cope, and their outcomes which are relevant in explaining how social experience is created and constructed. Eleven adult survivors of child labour and five significant others participated in this study. In this chapter, I present the results of the study as derived from the major themes and sub-themes that emerged from the data relating to each research question. As the study progressed in terms of data collection and transcription, I included brief discussions and reflections on narratives and the general atmosphere in which data was taken and analysed to provide a total nature of the results. These deep reflections were aimed at supporting the development of a theoretical explanation on how adult survivors of child labour constructed their coping process to overcome child labour trauma, to survive, and to “move on” in life.

Additionally, coding was enhanced by both *in vivo* (most of the code names were the words of the participants themselves) and some *a priori* codes (code names that I developed based on the narratives of participants). Also, themes that emerged during open coding assisted in establishing relationships

during the axial coding stage on the effects of child labour on participants and the coping strategies they adopted to handle their conditions during and after their experiences. Selective coding was used to fill in gaps especially in the case of “institutional support systems” and “counseling interventions”. For the purposes of confidentiality and anonymity, each participant had taken a pseudonym in this study. A brief profile/vignette is presented below on each participant. These vignettes aimed at bringing participants live to readers as humans rather than research subjects.

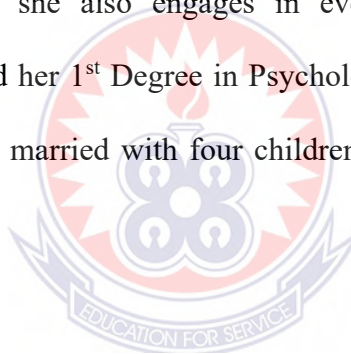
4.2 Survivors’ Vignettes

Austa/01

Those 7 years I could refer to as the dark days of my early life. Those were the years I was stuck and nothing seemed to move in my life as a result of my work with my grand auntie that prevented me from learning and doing my academic work. Due to this, I failed my GCE ‘O’ Level exams with only two passes... I was so down, timid, I was depressed and I became an introvert. I wasn't confident anymore. I was timid and my father was also sad. You know my mood was bad, I wouldn't talk to people, I kept to myself because I couldn't understand what was happening to me. It was serious then but thank God all that has changed.

Austa, a 45 year old female Assist. Head Teacher started work as a child at the age of 14 years when she went to live with her paternal grand auntie in order to be closer and attend secondary school because her father could not afford her boarding fees. She lived with her grand auntie who was married and living with her husband during her child labour days. As a result of heavy and numerous loads placed on her, she could not study and failed her secondary

school examinations. Her mother was an illiterate and father never went to school but he did an informal education and he was a soldier. Her mother died before she completed senior secondary school. As the 1st of 6 children made of 4 females and 2 males, she had to abandon her dreams of pursuing her schooling to assist her father in caring for her younger siblings especially the last born who was just three months old when their mother died. Due to the challenges of both failing her exams and staying home to care for younger siblings, Austa became depressed and withdrawn. She, however, had hope that she would end well. With the help of friends and a teacher, she regained her self-confidence, took part time lessons and rewrote her exams. Today, apart from teaching full time as a graduate teacher, she also engages in events planning, beads and hats designing. Austa had her 1st Degree in Psychology and is currently an assistant head teacher. She is married with four children who are 14, 12, 8 and 6 years old.



Sacus/02

One of the things I remember vividly was the shyness that was attached to this sort of work. I was a young man in secondary school and I used to see my friends and their well-to-do families and they had dressed nicely. The cement could eat into your body making my body look pale and pallid and I couldn't dress properly. And you know, ... whenever I saw them [my classmates] I had to hide myself for them to pass... when I went to secondary school I went with (Charlie wote). No SHOE!!! I was hiding at the back during every gathering.

Sacus, a 40 year old male police officer started work as a child at the age of 14 years. He is the 7th of 11 children made up 10 males and one female. At the beginning of his child labour life, he lived with both parents when the father had retired as a chief surveyor at a mining company and the mother was a petty trader (baker). Sacus as a child did many works to support his parents and himself. He hauled coffee, weeded people's farms, carried concrete/mortar at construction sites, did other menial jobs to survive. He was stigmatized and called many names. He was of the view that though child labour is bad and delays one's development and progress, it makes people resilient, "tough" and achievers. He had his 1st Degree in Psychology and is currently a police officer at the rank of general sergeant. He is married with two children.

The logo is circular with a red and white sunburst pattern in the background. In the center, there is a blue emblem featuring a traditional Ghanaian symbol. The text 'JKIA/03' is written in a bold, black, sans-serif font across the middle of the emblem.

JKIA/03

You know this nylon thread (triple twine), they made a loop with it and put it around my neck and ... pulled me on the ground around the village like a goat... You know some of these things happened a lot. Mine was mild compared to other boys who attempted to run away. A boy who attempted to run away was hit with the paddle in the spine. It was very terrible. The boy fell very sick, crying, wailing, screaming, and he died after two days. ... The most painful and difficult aspect is the physical torture. Physical torture is when they hit you with the paddles, when you're being kicked in the groin, blows, throwing fishes at you, err, pushing you into the lake ... just do anything to you. They can do just anything to you. Just picture a war situation. And see what a soldier with a gun would do to another soldier without a gun whom he has overpowered. Cast your mind to that. You see, err, they could do anything to you...What had happened to me was bad, painful, and

torturous, it was not good and like I said, some of them I will never talk about... A girl of 9 years had been brought from here ... to that place [Yeji] to serve as sex material for about 4 boys working there... You see, the issue was like (pause) you see, at the age of six I had no idea of these things [sex] and my strength was small so I could easily be suppressed and overpowered ... I remember this particular girl who was brought there to service some boys (old). And you know we were all sleeping in one room. In fact, this girl (hmm) she had to sleep with all the boys moving from one boy to the other in the same room. Sometimes when others slept outside, then she will sleep with some inside and move outside. On some occasions, she shared the nights amongst them: When she sleeps with two tonight then the next night she will serve others. And you know we were seeing what was happening and you know the worst part was that when there was no girl available to service these aggressive older boys, then, they now turn their attention on the young boys. Look, some girls were defiled as early as 5 years.

JKA, is a 40 year old male. His typical day was from 3am to 8 pm. He carried the paddles, the net, the outboard motors, pulled net, scooped water from the canoe, cut firewood, fetched fish, preserved fish, mended net, dived to disentangle net, maintained the canoe itself and any other work related to fishing. He worked with about 15 different masters in about 20 different communities like Yeji to Buipe, Awoeke, Accra Town, BBC, Ada, Agege and Edueke. He was tortured and he witnessed physical and sexual abuse. Presently, he is a Businessman and had his 1st Degree in Political Science and Master's Degree in Communication Studies. He owns many companies and is an international child labour advocate.

Jola/04

I was about 10 years when one of my aunties who lived at Yeji at the time came home. When she was leaving, she gave me a load and asked me to accompany her to the lorry park. So I obeyed and went with her. So when we got to the station, she entered the lorry and asked me to join her... So the vehicle moved and we travelled for about 3 to 4 days. Then we got to a village near Yeji. ... When we got there I saw a lot of people from ... here and they were all surprised at seeing me and were asking what I came there to do? ... my aunty came and told them that she brought me to work for her and her husband... I was very swift so I was of great help to the group for example when it comes to disentangling the net I did that very swiftly. So because of these they liked me and I was very intelligent too.

Jola, a 34 year old male Sports Coach had his Bachelor Degree in Physical Education and is currently a coach. He was trafficked to Yeji as a fishing hand by his own auntie. He worked at Yeji for about seven years before escaping to his hometown where he again engaged in child labour to see himself through school. At Yeji, he was involved in fishing and other fishing activities for his auntie and her husband. He was starved and faced death many times on the lake. He was also tortured and abused. In the midst of these, he had hope and was determined to survive.

Stado/05

There was this older boy among the workers who used to have sex with me through my anus He used to do that and I couldn't tell anybody. This I've not told anybody till today, not even my wife and anytime I remember, it pains me and I feel sad. You know, when that was happening, he knew I could tell somebody so what he did was to be at my defence. This boy was very old... like about

25 to 30 years and I think I should be around 6 or 7 years then when it [sexual abuse] started and it happened for about 6 years...Like if we have group and we come together to talk about the challenges, problems and difficulties that we faced and continue to face, I would have talked about my sexual abuse. You know sometimes it is easier to talk to people who have the same experience like you. But there is no one so I kept everything to myself till now. If I share with people, I will get encouragement, energy, support that I'm not alone, then I will be happy. Even though I'm very quiet, I can be very aggressive and very violent. In fact, it [child labour] has made me very aggressive so I don't want to go to any place where there is violence or aggression because I'll join in right away. It has made me quick tempered. It's like something that had happened to you and you wished to respond and you couldn't so you think that you should do that now. So sometimes I tell my colleagues here that I joke with them because of my past. So I joke a lot in order to overcome my problem so they should not think that I'm fooling. So I hate to see people being maltreated or cheated. In fact, I try hard to be happy always and to make people around me happy. I hate to feel tension or to see maltreatment.

Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant had his 1st Degree in Accounting, and works with an NGO as an accountant and a coordinator for child rescuing. His parents were farmers and fishermen. He was forced into fishing on the Volta Lake at Yeji by his father when he was around 6 to 7 years. When he was around 13 years his father brought him back to their village to go to school. His work supported the family and prevented him from playing with friends. While back at home and attending school, he was once again involved in his father's sugarcane plantation farm and local distillery. At Yeji, Stado was sexually abused and experienced other forms of abuse that impacted his adult life.

Jared/06

I remember when we were finishing BECE and we were to take pictures, I could not [take the picture] because I had no good church dress myself and when people brought Kente cloth to snap pix [picture] I didn't have so I didn't appear in any pix. Meanwhile I was one of the best students in our school then. And when I was in P5 going to P6, everyone knew and believed that I was going to be the school's prefect but no. I wasn't made the prefect. Why? Because the school authorities said I didn't have school uniform and I was walking bare footed to school. This pained me so much that I wept bitterly. In fact for a week after that I didn't go to school: one because I felt ashamed, and two, my spirit was low. I couldn't learn. But I told myself that one day I will wear nice clothes. I gathered courage and went back to school. So in class 6 though I was not the outgoing type, I became more reserved. In fact this experience was a big blow to me. I remember that was the first time I actually appreciated my poverty status as a barrier. Then I saw myself in relation to other children who had their parents around and were looking good or better. I was really saddened by this particular event.

Jared, a 32 year old male Teacher had his 1st Degree in Guidance and Counselling and is currently a teacher. He worked as a farm hand and performed other menial jobs to survive and support his siblings after his mother brought them back from Cote d'Ivoire and abandoned them.

Bobo/07

And why I had to work was that the missionaries paid only my fees but I needed other things too so I had to work. What they were giving was not enough. Now the missionaries left just after the second year... So my work continued because I paid the larger part of my fees and even provided my other needs.

Bobo, a 31 year old male Teacher had his 1st Degree in Psychology and is currently a teacher. Though he lived with his father, his step mother subjected him into domestic work and farming activities. He was the first to rise and the last to go to bed. In addition to these he was starved and beaten.

Owner/08

My story and life as a child labourer started when I was in Class 4 and my father was at the time working at Yeji on the Volta Lake. What happened was that my father one day visited us at ... and said that he needed me to come along with him to work for him on his fishing boat as a kind of supervise his work for him...I have a degree and so many certificates. Today I'm ok. With this I think I have come far. I teach graduates and MDs apart from teaching students. I have also established and launched my own church about 4 months ago and my church is not doing badly at all. I'm also into writing. I have written 2 books so far. My books reflect my experiences especially how I managed to be where I am today. Above all I'm happy with life.

Owner, a 30 year old male IT Manager had his Diploma in IT and is currently an IT teacher and consultant. He was taken to Yeji by his father to work for him on his fishing boat. He encountered many forms of abuse in the hands of his father's workers. He performed very difficult tasks in fishing and fell ill very

often. His father later brought him back home after seven years of working on the lake to assist him on his sugarcane farming and akpeteshie distillery. Owner was sexually abused, witnessed sexual abuse and was beaten.

Pepsi/09

I always prayed and have faith that one day my child labour days will be over. I didn't know how, but I believed. I trusted that God will intervene. ... I tell you, the best times I had when I was a child labourer and even now, is when I pray to God. It brings me peace and courage. Then after I have escaped child labour, I still find peace and strength in prayer. I don't feel like getting back at the people who put me through all that I went through and I don't feel that I have been denied anything anymore... I tried to do something like to sing or go out with friends to play football so as to forget those painful moments.

Pepsi, a 46 year old Banker had his 1st Degree in Accounting and is currently a senior accountant with a bank. He was trafficked to Yeji and worked for about six years before escaping. He was beaten, starved, and abused.

Advent/10

It was when I was in Class 3 that my mom died leaving me with my father and younger siblings. My father was not working so I had to work on people's farms so that we could get some food and money to keep body and soul together. So when I got to p 4, I had to stop school completely. It was not until my maternal aunty came for two of my siblings that I could go back to school and that was after two years in the house.

Advent, a 53 year old Asst. Headteacher had his 1st Degree in Counselling and currently an assistant head teacher and a counselling coordinator. He was neglected by his father and had to fend for himself. He did farming and domestic work to survive.

Sparko/11

In those difficult times whenever I felt down in my spirit because of my condition, I lift up myself by sometimes saying, "... [Sparko], get up and do something, this is not the end of you, you are a winner". With these assurances to myself, I felt I was on top of my situation. Then I would sometimes practically jump up if I were sitting down, and begin to do my work...It's great to have people who know what you went through and can guide you. I'm talking about people who had learned about our condition and, therefore, will understand us better. They will know my feelings and can direct you to others. When you share with people you have different ideas and learn more. Initially I was depressed and if I knew of any group I would have shared and be happy earlier.

Sparko, a 46 year old Teacher had his 1st Degree in Language and is a teacher. He was taken to Yeji at the age of six and worked for several fishermen till he was rescued and brought home by a family member at the age of 14 years. Like the other participants who worked at Yeji, Sparko had his share of abuse and fear. He however believed in God and was hopeful that one day he would escape.

Chapter Four is, thus, divided into three broad sections with each section further divided into several subsections. This was done to illuminate the most significant themes of the raw data made up of the transcriptions of participants' narratives and reflective notes in the field journal and memos. The first section addresses all the research questions first by providing a brief discussion on participants' biodata in relation to the study; explaining the nature and causes of child labour as experienced by participants, a discussion of the childhood abuse; effects on personal, social, physical and educational life of the participants, and then the explanation on the coping strategies that participants adopted to survive and the consequent outcomes on their lives. The second section analyses the relationship between and betwixt emergent themes discussed in section one by drawing on the concepts relating to the paradigm model of Strauss and Corbin (1990). With this, the study moves the emergent themes to a level of abstraction leading on to a theoretical proposition on the positive outcome of coping in the next section. In the last section, a process model is presented that describes the major themes and patterns in the process of surviving and "moving on" as a central concept after child labour. This central concept is the outcome of the coping strategies used to manage child labour. Discussions are augmented/enriched by verbatim responses and personal reflections on the total data atmosphere where appropriate.

4.3 Demographic Data

The main source of data was 11 adult survivors of child labour from seven districts in the Central Region of Ghana, who had experienced child labour in various parts of the country. Table 5 below presents the demographic data of the participants.

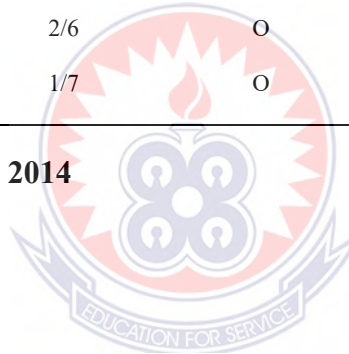


Table 5

Summary of Participants' Demographic Data

	Gender	Age Before Child Labour	Years in Child Labour	Age Now	No. of Siblings & Birth-Order	Residential Status	Type of Child Labour Activity	Level of Education	Current Occupation	
01	F	13	03	45	1/6	MGA	FM/DW	T/BED	Teacher/Asst. head	*
02	M	14	04	41	7/11	BP	FM/DW	T/BED	Police officer	*
03	M	6/13*	12	40	12/12	O	FS	T/M*	Businessman	*
04	M	10	07	34	4/4	O	FS	T/BED	Sports coach	*
05	M	6/13*	12	30	7/12	BP	FS/FM	T/BSc Acct.	Accountant	*
06	M	8	10	31	1/7	F*/O	FM/DW	T/BED	Teacher	V
07	M	3*	15	32	2/6	*O	FM	T/BED	Teacher	S
08	M	10/13*	08	30	2/12	F*/O	FS/FM	T/HND	IT Manager	S
09	M	7	11	53	1/4	F	FM/DW	T/BED	Teacher/Asst. head	*
10	M	9	11	46	2/6	O	FS	T/BSc Acct.	Banker	*
11	M	7	11	47	1/7	O	FS	T/BSc Acct.	Teacher	*

Source: Field Data, 2014



Keys:

M:	Male	F:	Female	S:	Single
W:	Widowed	**M:	Married	FS:	Fishing
FM:	Farming	DW:	Domestic Work		
T:	Tertiary Education	BP:	Lived with Both parents		
O:	Lived with others	BED:	Bachelor of Education Degree		
M*:	Masters Degree	HND:	Higher National Diploma		
F*:	Lived with biological father	MGA:	lived with maternal grandmother		
*O:	Lived on his own or with others	BSc. Acct.:	Bachelor in Accounting		
*:	Experienced child labour at two different phases				

According to Table 5 at the age of between three to nine years seven participants had engaged in child labour while the other five entered child labour at the age of 10 to 14 years. All those who entered child labour before age 10 spent 10 to 15 years working as children while the older group of child labourers were involved in work for 3 to 8 years (the younger one is before entering child labour, the more years one spends working as a child). The age of participants during data collection span from 30 to 53 years with the mean age of 39 years. All participants are males except one female.

On the background information on participants' number of siblings and birth order according to Table 5, the following characteristics were observed. Five out of 11 participants were first borns, three were second borns, one was fourth born, while two were seventh borns. Two had three siblings of which one was the first born and the other was the last born. The other nine participants had

between five and 11 siblings of which four were the first, three were the second, and two were seventh borns.

With regard to participants' level of education, it was revealed that all participants had a tertiary education. Table 5 shows that nine participants had bachelor's degree, one had master's degree, and one other had a higher national diploma. Table 5 further reveals that five participants are teachers with their ranks ranging from Principal Superintendent to Assistant Director II with the Ghana Education Service. Of these teachers, two are assistant head teachers. Table 5 also indicates that one participant is a police officer with the rank of general superintendent, one is a business man who is a CEO, one is a sports coach with a professional licensure, two are senior accountants and one is an ICT manager.

On the residential status of participants, Table 5 shows that two participants lived with their own father and mother while engaged in child labour, six with other people and out of these six, two had also lived with their fathers before. Table 5 continues to show that one participant lived with maternal grand auntie, one lived on his own and another one lived with his father.

Information relating to participants marital status and number of children reveal that eight adult survivors made up seven men and one woman were married, two others were not married and the other one was widowed at the time of data collection. With those married, three had three children, two had two children, one had one child, and two others had four children. Participants who were widowed or not married did not have any children.

One of the characteristics for eligibility in the study was that survivors must have lived in the Central Region for at least three years at the time of data collection. Table 6 below presents the ethnicity of participants.

Table 6

Distribution of Participants' Ethnicity

	Effutu	Ewe	Nzema	Ashanti	Total
Men	04	03	02	01	10
Women	--	--	--	01	01
TOTAL	04	03	02	02	11

Source: Researcher Constructed, 2014

Table 6 shows that four of the participants are Effutus, three are Ewes, two are Nzemas and two others are Ashantis. Table 7 indicates that though all survivors lived in the Central Region for some time now, no survivor had had his or her child labour experience in the region.

Table 7

Distribution of Participants' Region of Child Labour Activities

	Brong Ahafo	Volta	Western	Ashanti	Total
Men	06	02	02	--	10
Women	--	--	--	01	01
TOTAL	06	02	02	01	11

Source: Researcher Constructed, 2014

Concerning location of participants' child labour experiences, Table 7 shows that six survivors had had their child labour experiences in the Brong Ahafo Region, two had theirs in the Volta Region, two others had it in the Western Region while the only one female participant survivor had her experience in the Ashanti Region. A striking finding is that while GSS (2003) revealed that child labour abounds in the Central Region, none of the adult survivors who had participated in this study, had had their child labour experiences in the region. Those who come from the regions and those from other regions all had their experiences from other regions. This, however, can also mean that child labourers find it easier to survive if they relocate from their abusive environment in order to establish safety and create a new identity.

4.4 Thematic Analysis

In the subsequent section, I present the results of the study as derived from the themes that emerged during data analysis. The presentation of the results has seven main themes which also consist of several sub-themes. As an introduction to the presentation, the results of the data are summarised in Figure 7 below.

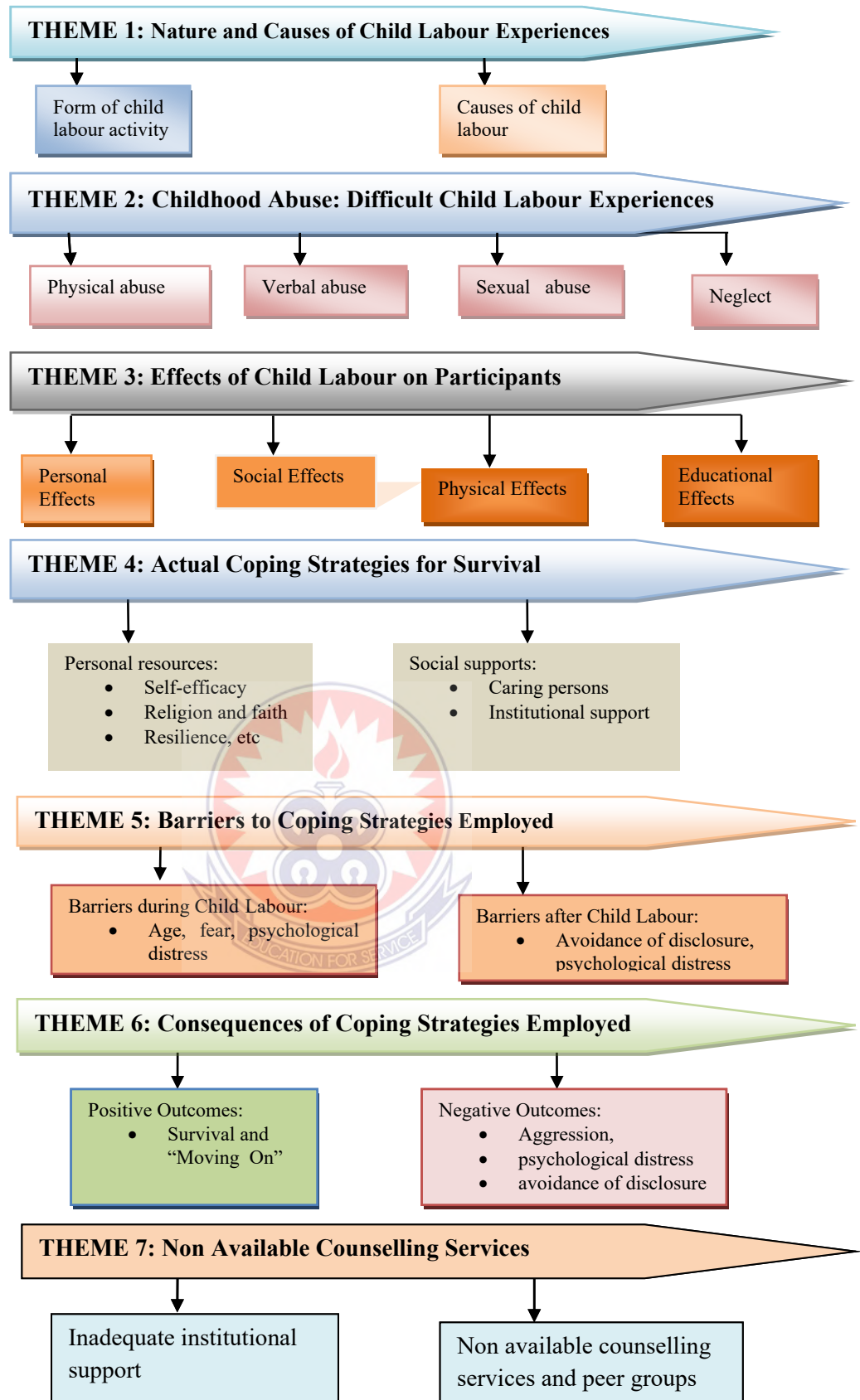


Figure 7 Overview of the Thematic Results of the Study.

4.4.1 THEME 1: Nature and Causes of Child Labour Experiences of Adult

Survivors

Results relating to the major theme are presented according to the following sub-themes: forms of child labour activity engaged in by survivors, and causes of child labour. All these have other sub-categories embedded in them that are analysed accordingly. Table 8 below presents a case profile of each participant's nature of work, and the reasons for working.

Table 8

Summary Case Profile of Participants' Forms of Work and Reasons for Working

Name	Child Labour Activities	Reasons For Working
Austa	Farming; domestic work	Parental unemployment; loss of mother; caring for siblings
Sacus	Farming; construction work; domestic work	Parental retirement
JKA	Fishing; menial jobs	Submission to parental authority
Jola	Fishing; menial jobs	Submission to parental authority
Stado	Fishing; farming	Submission to parental authority; assisting in family business
Bobo	Farming; menial jobs	Parental neglect
Jared	Farming; menial jobs	Parental neglect
Owner	Fishing; farming	Submission to parental authority; assisting in family business
Advent	Farming; construction work; domestic work; menial jobs	Parental unemployment
Pepsi	Fishing; menial jobs	Submission to parental authority
Sparko	Fishing; menial jobs	Submission to parental authority

Source: Researcher Constructed, 2014

4.4.1.1 Forms of Child Labour Activity Engaged in by Survivors

The nature of child labour experiences refers to the various forms of child labour activities that participants engaged in when they were growing up. The nature and intensity of the work participants did was the yardstick with which they were justified as child labourers. In some cases the activities themselves do not seem detrimental but the frequency and intensity with which the participants were made to carry them out as children qualified the activities as child labour. Three main forms of child labour activities emerged from the narratives of participants. These are categorized as *farming*, *fishing* and *domestic work*. In presenting these categories, their various properties and dimensions were brought to bear on the presentation.

4.4.1.1.1 Farming Activities

With farming activities, themes that emerged are weeding, coffee hauling, head loading cocoa/banana and sugarcane farming. Weeding emerged as one major activity that participants carried out to make money or to help their family survive.

We normally walked about 6 miles sometimes to the farm and because the distance is too far, we slept on the farm till we finish the work before we would come home. ...I worked on cocoa plantations day and night in order to make money. (Jared, a 32 year old Teacher)

Austa corroborated this:

During the cocoa season they would call us ... around 4 am to go to the farm and carry baskets full of cocoa beans to the house before you bath and go to school. Sometimes in the afternoon the

moment you come back from school they would ask you to go to the farm to bring foodstuffs. On weekends, they took us to the farm to go and work: weeding, doing virtually everything. (Austa, a 45 year old Assistant Head Teacher)

Jared and Austa's account of their child labour activities reveal the distance, the fatigue and the workload that they endured.

Seven participants recounted their weeding expeditions in various ways and circumstances similar to Jared and Austa's experience above. While some worked on their own relatives or parents' farms to help produce food for the family, others took weeding jobs to make a livelihood. Participants weeded farms and backyard gardens for other people. They did this in some cases, everyday, before and after school on large plots of land. Some of the participants had to sleep on the farms due to the walking distance from the village to these farms. The injuries sustained during farming activities made it an enduring and a painful experience. All seven participants revealed several types and degrees of physical scars to show for their farming experiences.

Other forms of farming activities that participants engaged in were either hauling coffee, carrying cocoa beans or banana from distant place in the forest to the village. In the case of those who hauled coffee, they were involved in packaging these heavy loads as well. Sugarcane farming was one other daunting experience that has left major physical scar on participants. Aside these physical scars, participants also experienced certain immoral lifestyle as a result. Those who were involved in distilling local hard liquor (*akpeteshie*) reported being influenced to take this alcoholic beverage then.

4.4.1.1.2 Fishing Activities

Six participants worked in fishing boats either for their employers, their own fathers or for their traffickers. Their fishing works were varied and difficult. Participants reported that their fishing experiences were like “a slave working under a slave master”. JKA in response to the nature of his child labour activities said,

My work involved carrying the paddles, the net, the outboard motors, pulling net, scooping water from the canoe, cutting firewood, fetching fish, preserving fish, mending net, errm, removing fish from the net, errm, diving to remove net, maintaining the canoe itself, fishing and any other work related to fishing. You see, you have to wash and keep it [fishing boat] clean. So these are the main inputs I made into the fishing work I did right from the beginning.

(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)

It was revealed that participants involved in fishing suffered a great deal as children. During a FGD participants who had engaged in fishing disclosed that though they were children, the work load and the nature of the work assigned them were beyond their age and strength. The hours they worked and the abuses they suffered were very traumatic for them. Participants in the fishing category reported several types of abuse such as physical, psychological and sexual among others.

4.4.1.1.3 Domestic Work

Domestic work seems one of the simplest if not unacceptable or unimaginable form of child labour. Yet, it emerged as one very daunting task for the adult survivors of child labour. Participants who performed both household chores and farming or fishing activities reported that the nature of domestic work was very difficult just like farming and fishing activities. This was revealed in FGDs when participants responded to the probing question: “*So for types of child labour, can we call domestic work child labour? Is it not simply assisting parents or caregivers in keeping and providing for the home?*”

A survivor in **FGD 1** responded sharply,

No madam, it is very difficult! Sometimes I feel it is more difficult than the weeding work I did because my stepmom was on me, assigning me one task when I had not even finished what I was doing. And this was in the midst of insults and starvation. (A Survivor in FGD 1 (Farming))

It emerged that domestic work is very tasking on the health and time of the participants and its intensity is incomparable. Four participants were involved in cooking large family meals such as pounding large mounds of fufu for about 20 to 30 people to eat most evenings. They also drew water and hewed firewood from long distances for family consumption. Apart from these, other jobs such as tidying up the compound and caring for younger siblings or children of care givers left these adults, who were children then, often very tired and sick. They did domestic chores every time, every day, several times in a day, before and after school.

4.4.1.2 Causes of Child Labour

In attempt to understand the major theme of the nature of the child labour experiences of participants, it became clear that the factors that led participants into child labour should be examined as each participant preamble his or her narrative with the causes of their experiences. The major theme of the causes of child labour has been coded *Cultural and Socio-economic conditions as determinants of child labour*. This, however, has several sub-themes.

4.4.1.2.1 Cultural and Socio-economic Conditions as Determinants of Child Labour.

This theme has sub-themes of cultural norms, and poverty as the bedrock on which child labour thrived among the participants. These would be discussed in relation to the properties and dimensions associated with them.

4.4.1.2.1.1 Cultural Norms

Cultural norms of submission of children to parental authority, and birth order and roles of participants in their family gave rise to their being either pushed or pulled into child labour.

Submission of Children to Parental Authority

Submission of children to parental authority emerged as a reason for participants' engagement in child labour. Six participants revealed that as children, they had to obey their parents and do what they were told. They reported that it was difficult for them during their childhood, due to their

physique and culture, to stand up against parental authority even when it was clear that the decision taken on or for them was not in their best interest. Participants indicated that to stand against a parent's decision amounted to disobedience which is frowned upon in the community. It is not in the place of a child to disregard parents and for that matter, adult family members' decision concerning their lives and this has led some of them into child labour. JKA revealed that his engagement in work at a tender age was his father's decision. He said, *"At 6 years I was forced to go into work by my father for a fisherman at Yeji...* In similar vein, Jola reported that he was deceived and trafficked to Yeji by his auntie because he was obeying adult authority.

Two other participants reported that they were put into child labour by their own parents who asked them to work on their fishing boats. Stado was put to work before he reached school going age. This was because he had no choice than to relocate with his parents when they were moving to Yeji. Stado said, *"At a point ... my parents decided to relocate to around the Volta Lake where people were getting things better in fishing. So my parents took me along to the lake to work"*. The other one, Owner, was removed from school when he was in Primary 4 and put to work. Owner narrated,

My story and life as a child labourer started when I was in Class 4 and my father was at the time working at Yeji on the Volta Lake. What happened was that my father one day visited us at ... and said that he needed me to come along with him to work for him on his fishing boat as a kind of supervise his work for him.

(Owner, a 30 year old IT Manager)

Apart from children's inability to resist or raise objection to parental authority, parents also sometimes cajole children into child labour. Owner

revealed, “my mother didn’t like the idea but my father was able to trick me into liking the idea. What he told me was that there was a lot of fish for me to eat since he knew I liked fish”. Owner was of the view that even though he couldn’t have disobeyed his father in following him to work on the lake, his mother could have saved him by challenging his father’s decision. This, however, could not work because Owner was lured by his father making his mother’s objection very futile. Children are bound by culture to defer to adults especially parents, and do as they are told to show respect for authority. Stado succinctly summed up this idea when he was being maltreated in his father’s boat,

You know in our culture, children had no say ... So whatever you’re told you’ve to do it. I did not tell my parents because they told me not to [tell]. And because I respect them...

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

The culture of children submitting to parental authority and assuming adult responsibility results in the power relations that exist between children and adults. Since children are not expected to know and take decision or be involved in decisions that concern them, they thus lack control over their lives. They are not regarded as agents of their own lives but as people who had to be decided for. It is this submission culminating in powerlessness that caused a lot of children to be put through child labour.

Birth Order and Roles

The cultural dynamics of participants reveal that their birth order in the family also enhanced their plight of engaging in work at an early stage. The issue of being the oldest child, the first born, and the oldest male child all played a part

in participants' involvement in child labour (see Table 5). This normally is the case with loss of job, death, and retirement of parent(s). Most participants reported that they had to enter child labour because either their mothers died when they were very young or their mothers were absent. Jared revealed that after their mother brought them back from Ivory Coast and life was difficult, she abandoned them. Participants indicated that because they were the first born, they had no choice than to take up adult roles such as caring for younger siblings due to the death or absence of the mother. Austa reported that, one of the reasons for her involvement in work was that before she completed secondary school, she lost her mother and she had to abandon all her plans in order to care for her family. She could not continue school because her youngest sibling was only three months old at the time of their mother's death. Owner, Sacus and Jared all took up adult roles of working and supporting their families because they were either the first born, oldest male, or oldest child in the home at the time of engaging in child labour and their parent(s) had either abandoned them, died or their father had lost their jobs or had retired. The following narratives exemplify the above:

My father said since I was his eldest son I should come and supervise his workers **(Owner a 30 year old IT Manager)**

I was the oldest son in the house at the time so I had to work and feed the family **(Sacus a 41 year old Police Officer)**

So being the second born and the first boy, I had to work to care for myself and my siblings **(Jared a 32 year old a Teacher)**

All the above narratives reveal that it is a common practice in the culture of the participants for children to take up adult roles in the event of the death of a parent or when a parent loses his job or retires.

Children take up adult roles and migrate into adulthood forfeiting the pleasure and joy that is associated with childhood and at the same time, missing on the developmental phases of adolescence. The issue here is that though these individuals by their chronological age were seen as children and adolescents at some point in their life, they were actually living and acting beyond their age due to child labour. Participants indicated that due to these two issues of cultural norms they found themselves helpless and they had no control over their lives.

4.4.1.2.1.2 Poverty

Poor socio-economic status of parents is another core category of socio-economic and cultural conditions as causes of child labour. The poor conditions of parents compelled them to push their children into child labour as means of providing some amount of livelihood for the family. Austa indicated that she had to move to a nearby village to live with her grand auntie in order to attend school because her father could not afford her boarding fees.

I got a school outside the town in which I lived with my father. This school was not close to my village and at that time my father did not have money to take me to the boarding house so because my village was not close to the school, I was asked to go and live with my grand auntie and that was how it [child labour] all started.

(Austa, a 45 year old Asst. Head Teacher)

Sacus also reported that, *“I started working when the challenges struck the family especially when my father retired and he could no longer provide for his own family”*.

Due to retirement and unemployment of parents, participants had no choice than to take up work to help provide for the home. Parents' inability to provide basic needs such as education and shelter because of unemployment, pushed children to live and work in hazardous conditions in order to access education and provide food.

4.4.2 THEME 2: Childhood Abuse: Difficult Child Labour Experience

Childhood abuse emerged as a theme relating to the nature of the experiences of participants. Childhood abuses suffered are physical abuse, verbal abuse, sexual abuse and neglect.

4.4.2.1 Physical Abuse

All participants reported that physical abuse was one main abuse that made their child labour experiences difficult to endure. Participants identified torture and murder, beatings and hitting as some of the difficult physical abuse that they had experienced. Regarding torture and murder as physical abuse, responses like the following emanated from participants' narratives:

You know this nylon thread (triple twine), they made a loop with it and put it around my neck and ... pulled me on the ground around the village like a goat... You know some of these things happened a lot. Mine was mild compared to other boys who attempted to run away. A boy who attempted to run away was hit with the paddle in the spine. It was very terrible. The boy fell very sick, crying, wailing, screaming, and he died after two days. ... The most painful and difficult aspect is the physical torture. Physical torture is when they hit you with the paddles, when you're being kicked in

the groin, blows, throwing fishes at you, err, pushing you into the lake ... just do anything to you. They can do just anything to you. Just picture a war situation. And see what a soldier with a gun would do to another soldier without a gun whom he has overpowered. Cast your mind to that. You see, err, they could do anything to you. **(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)**

Stado confirmed this point

If you sleep on the boat, they'd throw you into the lake. ...when you sleep they'd fetch water and pour on you, they'd kick you, and they'd hit you with the paddle ...they put me inside a small part of the boat and covered me with the net... I have seen them throw some children into the lake to drown, to die, or beat some children to the point of death. **(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)**

The above scenarios and the participants' own words bring to bear the existence of torture and murder that child labourers endured and witnessed respectively. Apart from torture and murder another closely linked physical abuse is beating and hitting. Participants disclosed that their employers and leaders hit and beat them mostly for no apparent reason. Jola disclosed that he received "*beatings for nothing*". Owner intimated that usually his father's workers "*got angry and beat me up*". A significant other (SO) in corroborated this and revealed that the numerous scars on her husband's body are very pathetic. She said,

His legs have so many scars that you think he had been to war.

(Significant Other, in a FGD 3)

This experience has left all participants with varying degrees of scars to show.

4.4.2.2 Verbal Abuse

Closely linked with the physical abuse is the verbal abuse of participants. Majority of participants reported several abuses that impacted on their emotions right from childhood to adulthood. The verbal abuse took the form of insults or

name callings. It emerged that though the physical abuse suffered by participants left physical scars on them as a proof sometimes of their sufferings and trauma, the verbal abuse is the more difficult to deal with. Stado reported, *“They’d insult you and beat you”* and Sacus revealed *“sometimes I begged mates to borrow their own [personal effects] for me to use. Some people did give me sometimes but others refused even with insults. This made me very sad”*.

4.4.2.3 Sexual Abuse

Some participants were also exposed to sexual abuse in the hands of their direct employers or middlemen/intermediaries during child labour. Two main forms of sexual abuse were identified in this study. While some participants were themselves subjected to sexual abuse as early as 6 years, others were forced to witness sexual activities and molestations of other children. Some participants revealed that they were sexually harassed and molested during the period of child labour. These experiences made their survival difficult because for them, the sexual abuse was the most difficult of all abuse. According to Stado, he was forced to engage in anal sex at a very tender age while working on his father’s boat on the Volta Lake at Yeji. This act was perpetrated by one of the workers who subjected him to it. Stado poignantly narrated thus:

There was this older boy among the workers who used to have sex with me through my anus He used to do that and I couldn’t tell anybody. This I’ve not told anybody till today, not even my wife and anytime I remember, it pains me and I feel sad. You know, when that was happening, he knew I could tell somebody so what he did was to be at my defence. This boy was very old... like about 25 to 30 years and I think I should be around 6 or 7 years then

when it [sexual abuse] started and it happened for about 6 years.

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

JKA reiterated this,

What had happened to me was bad, painful, and torturous, it was not good and like I said, some of them I will never talk about... A girl of 9 years had been brought from here ... to that place [Yeji] to serve as sex material for about 4 boys working there... You see, the issue was like (pause) you see, at the age of six I had no idea of these things [sex] and my strength was small so I could easily be suppressed and overpowered ... I remember this particular girl who was brought there to service some boys (old). And you know we were all sleeping in one room. In fact, this girl (hmm) she had to sleep with all the boys moving from one boy to the other in the same room. Sometimes when others slept outside, then she will sleep with some inside and move outside. On some occasions, she shared the nights amongst them: When she sleeps with two tonight then the next night she will serve others. And you know we were seeing what was happening and you know the worst part was that when there was no girl available to service these aggressive older boys, then, they now turn their attention on the young boys. Look, some girls were defiled as early as 5 years.

(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)

Survivors who had been sexually abused in secret or in the presence of other children, and those who were forced to witness sexual abuse, reported difficulty in overcoming these experiences. The general feeling of the participants was that they had suffered too much abuse. They indicated the frequency and intensity of their abuses in the hands of their employers or supervisors.

4.4.2.4 Neglect

Neglect has been identified by most participants as one form of abuse they had suffered. The properties of neglect are unsafe working environment, lack of good clothing, lack of medical attention and hunger or inadequate food. Participants reported that working in *unsafe environments* such as thick forests where they sometimes passed the nights on grasses or in trees; fishing on the big river, and diving to disentangle nets, had been nightmarish to them and they lacked clothing. The experience of Jared in school summed up this:

I remember when we were finishing BECE and we were to take pictures, I could not [take the picture] because I had no good church dress myself and when people brought Kente cloth to snap pix [picture] I didn't have so I didn't appear in any pix. Meanwhile I was one of the best students in our school then. And when I was in P5 going to P6, everyone knew and believed that I was going to be the school's prefect but no. I wasn't made the prefect. Why? Because the school authorities said I didn't have school uniform and I was walking bare footed to school. This pained me so much that I wept bitterly. In fact for a week after that I didn't go to school: one because I felt ashamed, and two, my spirit was low. I couldn't learn. But I told myself that one day I will wear nice clothes. I gathered courage and went back to school. So in class 6 though I was not the outgoing type, I became more reserved. In fact this experience was a big blow to me. I remember that was the first time I actually appreciated my poverty status as a barrier. Then I saw myself in relation to other children who had their parents around and were looking good or better. I was really saddened by this particular event.

(Jared, a 32 year old Teacher)

Regarding lack of medical attention, Jola intimated, “*Whether you are sick or not you have to work*”. And concerning hunger, Owner disclosed, “*In fact, what happened was that we were going to fishing without food. You had to go and come back before you eat something...*” and Jola concluded, “*If you don’t work you’ll not eat*”.

It is clear that participants were starved and did not receive medical care when they fell ill neither were they properly clothed against the harsh weather in which they worked. All these posed health problems to them and denigrate them. Additionally, some participants were completely abandoned by their parents as in the case of Jared whose mother brought them back from Ivory Coast and left them to fend for themselves.

4.4.3 Theme 3: Negative Effects of Child Labour Experience on Participants

Data revealed four sub-themes of negative effects on participants. These are personal or psychological, social, physical, and educational effects of child labour on participants. Participants identified these areas of their life which have been negatively affected as a result of their participation in child labour though all participants confirmed that child labour also had some positive effects on their lives.

4.4.3.1 Negative Effects on Personal/Psychological Development

All participants reported a number of negative effects that their experiences of child labour had brought to bear on their lives. These negative

effects on psychological development are low self-esteem, frustration, vulnerability, and psychological distress.

4.4.3.1.1 Low self-esteem

All participants reported how their experiences as child labourers had affected their personal development during their formative years. They narrated that due to their status as child labourers they had poor self concept about themselves and their future. They did not believe in themselves and were constantly seeking others approval in things that they did. They reported that they had to fight this especially during their adult life when they had realised that they have some potential and had largely “moved on”. Bobo reported that, “*back then too I have low self-esteem and that accounted for my inability to socialise*” and Owner disclosed, “*I sustained a lot of injuries on my legs ... Today, I feel shy to wear shorts even though I admire my friends wearing shorts*” and Sacus confirmed this:

One of the things I remember vividly was the shyness that was attached to this sort of work. I was a young man in secondary school and I used to see my friends and their well-to-do families and they had dressed nicely. The cement could eat into your body making my body look pale and pallid and I couldn't dress properly. And you know, ... whenever I saw them [my classmates] I had to hide myself for them to pass... when I went to secondary school I went with (Charlie wote). No SHOE!!! I was hiding at the back during every gathering.

(Sacus, a 41 year old Police Officer)

Sacus was of the view that child labour breeds inferiority complex in its victims making them feel less important among their peers. Participants believed that child labour affected their self identity and worth.

4.4.3.1.2 Failure and Stagnation

Data also revealed that child labour caused participants' failure in the areas of education which also led to stagnation during their development. Austa recounted her period of frustration and stagnation:

Those 7 years I could refer to as the dark days of my early life. Those were the years I was stuck and nothing seemed to move in my life as a result of my work with my grand auntie that prevented me from learning and doing my academic work. Due to this, I failed my GCE 'O' Level exams with only two passes... I was so down, timid, I was depressed and I became an introvert. I wasn't confident anymore. I was timid and my father was also sad. You know my mood was bad, I wouldn't talk to people, I kept to myself because I couldn't understand what was happening to me. It was serious then but thank God all that has changed.

(Austa, a 45 year old Assist. Head Teacher)

These two: failure and stagnation, also brought in frustration as participants could not bear their situations. Austa's statement reflects the summary of negative personal effects of frustration on participants. As a result of her experiences, Austa failed her examinations, lost confidence in herself, became anti-social, timid and depressed. She lost hope of ever making it in life.

4.4.3.1.3 Vulnerability

All participants narrated how their conditions made them feel weak and lack control. They indicated that because they were children and working, they were susceptible to adult maltreatment that saw them powerless. They related that the vulnerability they suffered were *personal, physical, social and cultural*.

The *personal vulnerability* was related to the traumatic nature of their unique child labour experiences such as fear of being drowned when ordered to dive into the river to set or disentangle nets; fear of being drowned by adults if their abuse is reported to other adults, and the fact that some of the participants reported being scared of not knowing what would happen to them next: fear of the unknown. Stado recounted:

They carried me and threw me into the water ... they warned me that if I tell my father, then I should count myself dead. I didn't tell my father this experience because I believed that if I tell him then my life would be in danger ... so I didn't tell my father because I was afraid for myself and my father's business.

(Stado, a 30 year old IT Manager)

As a child working on his own father's boat and being maltreated, Stado could not report his abuse to his father for fear of being killed or given worse maltreatment by his perpetrators. This refusal to report was also to protect his father's business. Participants said, these abuses kept them in constant fear and apprehension. Their conditions of work and their situation in relation to adult workers put an overwhelming fear and anxiety in them as working children.

Physical Vulnerability: According to participants, child labourers are often vulnerable due to the conditions under which they carried out their work. To recapture JKA's earlier assertion that:

I think the most painful and difficult aspect is the physical torture. Physical torture is when they hit you with the paddles, when you're being kicked in the groin, blows, throwing fishes at you, err, pushing you into the lake ..., just do anything to you. They can do just anything to you. Just picture a war situation. And see what a soldier with a gun would do to another soldier without a gun whom he has over powered. Cast your mind to that. You see err; they could do anything to you. (JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)

JKA's narrative gives a vivid description of physical vulnerability of child labourers. Working conditions such as weeding in thick forest, fishing and diving in the big lake, seem significant physical challenges faced by participants. The physical environment and context provide grounds for participants fear and it is full of danger to their physical being.

Social Vulnerability is another form of vulnerability suffered by participants with regards to stigmatisation and disclosure. According to most participants, their communities seemed to stigmatise child labourers and people who had been child labourers to a large extent. Pepsi declared;

... they would just say forget about that it [child labour] was in the past. It is not easy to talk about this because society is not ready to see it as a talking matter once you have made it in life, you have no problem about child labour again. I think this explains why some people just focus on developing themselves once they gained their liberty. They work to establish themselves and that is all. But is this good? We still have scars. (FGD 2)

As recounted by Pepsi, most participants disclosed that community members also desisted from acknowledging that adult individuals who had undergone child labour during their developmental years would have some long lasting effects on

them due to their traumatic experiences, and that these need to be talked about and treated.

Cultural Vulnerability: Stado and Owner reported in a FGD that it was difficult for them to complain about their condition then. They were of the view that if they had complained for instance, about their maltreatment on the lake, they would have been regarded as disrespectful or liars and branded as lazy children. This, therefore, accounted for their refusal to inform their own parents about the abuses they were going through. This view was generally shared by all participants.

4.4.3.1.4 Psychological Distress

One major consequence of the experiences of child labour in adult life on their psychological development is flashback of past painful trauma. Most participants reported transporting themselves back into those painful moments from time to time. Several participants expressed difficulty with memory and concentration that prevented them from reaching their goals such as passing their examination and overcoming their low self esteem. Austa reported that she failed her GCE 'O' Level Examination with only two passes because she was preoccupied with her traumatic condition. Most participants mentioned that their symptoms of depression delayed them from surviving. The depression has hurt their relationships with some significant others in their lives such as spouses, friends and family members and this has hindered them from working and relating with others effectively. In describing his depression affecting his education and relationship with others, Sparko indicated that he finds it difficult

to understand why his wife and children are not smart while he could do many things at the same time. This he said, has been a source of conflict in his family.

Many participants described how thinking of the events and unwanted recurring memories of their child labour experiences still bothers them, makes them afraid and keeps them occasionally unhappy. Some participants are of the view that even though they have moved on largely, it is difficult for them to forget the memories which often distract them from performing their duties. Stado intimated that thinking of all that happened to him especially the sexual abuse and witnessing other children being drowned makes him very sad and aggressive sometimes.

4.4.3.1.2 Effects of Child Labour on Social Development

Socially, participants reported that child labour had impacted on their lives making them lack communication skills, and develop antisocial lifestyles such as social withdrawal and isolation. Austa's experience sums up this:

... so I became closed to myself and I wasn't socialising. I became an introvert. In fact, it affected my relationship with people. I wasn't communicating with others, I wouldn't talk to people, I kept to myself because I couldn't understand what was happening to me. **(Austa, a 45 year old Assist. Head Teacher)**

As exemplified in Austa's narrative, most participants' earlier reaction to child labour experiences was to detach themselves from others, not communicating with them, and not socialising. All participants reported that their social life was badly damaged when they were growing up but they somehow managed to work to improve it during adult life in order to move on.

4.4.3.1.2.1 Socio-Cultural Challenges

Participants disclosed that due to child labour they were socio-culturally disadvantaged. Participants were often disadvantaged due to the very nature of being children. They suffered socio-economic inequality and were negatively stereotyped. They were often socially isolated and were made to take on adult roles.

In the course of participants' work as child labourers, they encountered many discriminations and unequal treatment from their employers and communities. Sacus narrated that:

Sometimes when we go to the bush to buy the coffee, we don't arrive in town early and when we went and bought, hauled, carried and prepared the coffee and brought it to town, the money they paid us compared to what was paid to some people [adults] who were organised on our arrival from the bush to load into the truck, was unsatisfying. So we the boys who went to the bush decided that if that was the case, in order to compensate for our hard work and benefit from the work, we decided then, we would load the truck when we arrived in the town in order to collect that amount of money to enhance our wages.

(Sacus, a 41 year old Police Officer)

For the same amount of work done by both children and adults, children were paid less than adults. At other times, child labourers were denied direct access to jobs on grounds of inability. These jobs had to be given to adults who would then sublet them to children to do. Though participants did not report of being cheated as a result of this, one cannot categorically deny any under dealing in such circumstances.

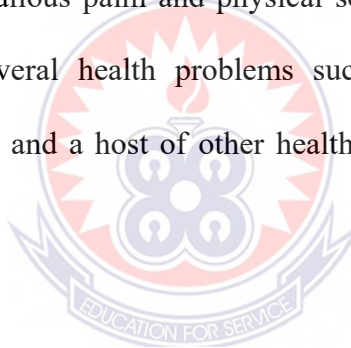
Children who had to work to support themselves and their families are often negatively tagged and perceived as never-do-wells by the society. Sacus' narrative reveals his bitter experience where he was labelled by some community members as a boy who would not amount to anything because he was a child labourer. JKA also gave an account of similar experience. Indeed, most of the participants reported that at the time of their child labour experiences, most of the community members looked down upon them and openly stated that they would not amount to anything in life.

Additionally, most participants assumed reversal of roles. Instead of adults working and providing for children, child labourers had taken on adult roles by becoming the household heads, bread winners, and decision makers as in the case of Sacus, Bobo, and Austa. Furthermore, the social isolation and deprivation faced by children who work is inexplicable. Due to their status as child labourers, some families forbade their children from playing with them. Their own peers also isolated them and made pejorative remarks about them. In all, they were looked down upon, ostracised, stigmatised through humiliation and intimidations.

4.4.3.1.3 Effects of Child Labour on Physical development and Health of Participants

Child labour also affected the physical development and health of participants. It was observed during individual interactions that some participants had nasal problems. JKA in particular was speaking with some observed difficulty. During individual and focus discussions he was constantly showing

difficulty in breathing (sinuses) and coughing intermittently. Pepsi, during individual interaction related that he had no health difficulty as a result of his child labour experiences, yet he disclosed during FGD when the question was posed to the group to identify some of the health problems that they think child labour in the three emergent forms of work could pose. It was only during this time that Pepsi admitted that he suffers bronchitis and that he was medically informed that it was due to too much water in his lungs. Some participants also have dry skin which they attributed to the kind of work they did. Sacus reported that the cement that he used during the construction work affected his skin and made it pale and dry. All seven participants who had done farming activities revealed hard and callous palm and physical scars. Three participants indicated that they suffer several health problems such as spinal bifida, pneumonia, migraine, chest pain and a host of other health conditions because of their past experiences.



4.4.3.1.4 Effects of Child Labour on Education

One common challenge that all participants faced during their child labour era was academic difficulties. Child labour experiences affected school attendance and academic performance of participants. Though Austa was in school, she could not learn and this affected her performance. Although she was a brilliant student when she entered Form One, her performance fell below average till she completed secondary school with only two passes. It emerged that academic challenge is one major negative effect of child labour on children who worked. Child labour made participants who were in school and working, unable

to learn and to understand what was taught, and they had inadequate time for studies at home.

While the experience prevented some participants from going to school early, others were made to attend school under difficult conditions (while some had to battle with) combining work and school. It equally made some others to drop out of school. Advent narrated,

It was when I was in Class 3 that my mom died leaving me with my father and younger siblings. My father was not working so I had to work on people's farms so that we could get some food and money to keep body and soul together. So when I got to p 4, I had to stop school completely. It was not until my maternal aunty came for two of my siblings that I could go back to school and that was after two years in the house. **(Advent, a 53 year old Asst. Headteacher)**

Advent had to drop schooling because his mother died and his father was not working. Coupled with this is the fact that he had younger siblings who as it were, were his responsibility so he stopped school in order to work and care for them. All these affected his education. A significant other revealed that

When he was in class three his father came and took him away. By the time he returned from Yeji, his class mates were in JHS one and he had to start from class three again.

(Significant Other in a FGD 3)

Because Owner's father forcefully took away to help him on the lake, he delayed in schooling.

4.4.4 THEME 4: Coping Strategies Employed by Survivors to Cope, Survive and “Move On”

In analysing data, two major themes of coping processes of participants emerged. These two themes hinge on coping strategies that participants employed to manage their conditions during and after child labour. The stages of coping process reveal strategies that are both personal and social and are therefore coded *personal resources* and *social support*. Table 9 below presents these coping strategies and their properties.

Table 9

Matrix of Themes of Coping with Child Labour and “Moving On”

Main theme	Sub Themes	Properties
Personal Resources	• Religion and faith	➤ Faith in higher power; spiritual activities; understanding the role of perpetrators; forgiveness
	• Hope	➤ Freedom; education
	• Resilience	➤ Determination; hard work; taking practical steps
	• Perceived self-efficacy	➤ Inner-motivation; belief in oneself
	• Tolerance	
	• Avoidance of disclosure	
	• Change in attitude	
	• Taking risks	
	• Aggression	
	• Getting even with perpetrators	
Social Support	• Being smart	➤ Practical help; encouragement; inspiration; advice; recognition and appreciation of participants' personal resources
	• Caring persons	➤ Financial support from govt. and missionaries
	• Institutional supports	
“Moving On”	• Getting freedom	
	• Being present and future focused	
	• Establishing and achieving goals	
	• Having education and being economically independent	
	• Experiencing traumatic growth	

Source: Researcher Constructed, 2015

4.4.4.1. Personal Resources for Coping

Personal resources are the inherent or innate abilities that participants possessed and utilised to manage their conditions. These resources may be inherent or learned but they are what the individual himself or herself has and uses in meeting the demands that traumatic child labour experience has brought to bear on their life. Several personal resources such as religion/faith, hope, aggressiveness, tolerance, being smart, change in attitude, resilience, perceived self-efficacy, risk taking, avoidance of disclosure, and getting even with perpetrators were employed to manage their conditions especially the nature and effects of their traumatic child labour experiences in order to cope and survive.

4.4.4.1.1 Religion/Faith

All participants used religion/faith as a *personal resource* to accept, understand and overcome challenges regarding their child labour conditions. They believe that their ability to survive has supernatural force behind it. This strategy of faith and religious acts was identified by all participants as playing a major role in their survival and moving on. Participants revealed several aspects of their belief systems and values that helped them survive and move on. These include: faith in a higher force, spiritual activities, understanding the role of the perpetrators and forgiveness.

Faith in a Higher Power

All the participants reported that their faith in their maker was the most important part of the process of coping during child labour. In a response to how her faith has been helpful to her coping, Austa narrated,

I felt sick and I went to one of my maternal aunties who was a Christian ... to pray for me so that I would be healed. Truly too, when I went and they prayed for me I was healed so I decided to be a Christian. ... My conversion to Christianity marked the turning point in my life. With my understanding of the Bible I believed I could do all things through Christ who strengthens me. So I told my aunty that I would go back to school and I went...

(Austa, a 45 year old Assist. Head Teacher)

This narrative explains how belief in higher power serves as a turning point in Austa's life, giving her hope and strength. Sacus also expressed how his faith and belief in a higher power above that has been imparted to him by his father has been his guidance and saviour:

As I said earlier, my father was very religious and he imparted that in us so even when things were not going on well and we could be wayward, we were unified in Christ. We were encouraged to go to church and listen to the word of God.

(Sacus, a 41 year old Police Officer)

The word of God was a source of encouragement and also unites Sacus' family in times of adversity. JKA said, "*I also believe in God ... I don't know how but it [the belief] was there*".

Several participants narrated how their faith helped them to carry on and to survive their difficult experiences. They were of the view that their faith served

as a source of strength to them to carry on, to survive, and to learn to understand their conditions and experiences in order to move on in life.

All participants reported strongly that it was the will of the higher power for them to survive their experiences. Jola reported that:

In fact it was only God who saved me. I remember another time it was a big snake in a net I had dived to disentangle. It was struggling to come out from the net so I dived away from where the snake was and came up. It was all God.

(Jola, a 34 year old Sports Coach)

In the same vein, most participants expressed a belief that a higher power sent caring individuals along their path to assist them in their journey to survival. Participants indicated especially during FGDs that they believe that the higher power has plan for their lives which they have accepted and this has helped them to cope. To them, this force was always with them, protecting and directing their feet.

Apart from the strength received through belief and value systems, some participants were also of the view that their faith has made them find meaning in their experiences that were otherwise meaningless. They reported that their faith has taught them to understand their child labour predicaments as trials that were preparing them for a better future in life. It is to this that they attributed their spirit of resilience, hard work, among others as benefits of their child labour experiences. They also believed that their experiences have made them humble and spiritually strong.

Spiritual and Religious Activities

Most participants also engaged in spiritual and religious activities as a means of exhibiting their belief and value systems as important coping strategies for surviving and moving on. When Pepsi was asked what helped him most in coping and moving on, he described the importance of prayer:

I always prayed and have faith that one day my child labour days will be over. I didn't know how, but I believed. I trusted that God will intervene. ... I tell you, the best times I had when I was a child labourer and even now, is when I pray to God. It brings me peace and courage. Then after I have escaped child labour, I still find peace and strength in prayer. I don't feel like getting back at the people who put me through all that I went through and I don't feel that I have been denied anything anymore.

(Pepsi, a 46 year old Banker)

Even though Pepsi could not predict how he will end his childhood, he prayed severally and faithfully trusting God to do the best for him. Participants' engagement in religious activities also gave them hope that all will be well. Furthermore, many participants stated that engaging in religious activities was helpful in their healing process. Sacus remarked, *"I go to church and I was the leader of the youth group. Till date I take active part in my church activities and this helps me a lot"*. Being active in a religious group is seen as helpful for their survival and moving on. Aside these activities some participants such as Austa, Pepsi, Sacus and Advent, engaged in evangelism to reach out to others, to promote their faith and to heal their own pain. Participants used prayer, fasting and meditation and they claimed that these helped them to find meaning during and after their child labour experiences and these made them to survive. These

activities gave them solace and strength and lessened their pain and anger especially against their past conditions and their perpetrators.

Understanding the Roles of the Perpetrators

Another coping strategy relating to faith and religious acts is participants' understanding of the roles of perpetrators during their difficult child labour experiences. This strategy helped survivors to make meaning of their experiences, to forgive, and to move on. Several participants indicated that the perpetrators were their own families ranging from biological fathers to aunts and grandparents. It was reported that none of the participants entered child labour without the knowledge and consent of a parent or family member but these family members themselves did not torture or maltreat the participants. Austa retorted when she was asked about her grand auntie's reaction towards her departure from her home as a domestic help that

No. My auntie wasn't angry when I was taken to boarding. If I cast my mind back, I think she was happy when I was taken away so I will say that the hardship that she put me through wasn't intentional it was just that there were too many activities in the home at the time for everyone to do and she couldn't have singled me out. So my father went and thanked her.... Then again I realized that my situation was not too different. There were people in the same conditions as I was. So I would say that I was strengthened by this knowledge too.

(Austa, a 45 year old Assistant Head Teacher)

All participants reported that the perpetrators who were relatives as indicated by Austa above, had their interest at heart but were forced by circumstances beyond their control to allow them to enter child labour. This understanding did not only

help participants to forgive the perpetrators, but to also reintegrate to their families after child labour and this enhanced their survival and moving on.

Forgiveness

Another important closely linked coping strategy as a form of faith and religious acts that participants employed to cope and to survive after child labour was to forgive. Most of the participants described how necessary it was for them to forgive those who pushed them into child labour and those who maltreated them and made life unbearable for them. They indicated that their true healing would only occur when they forgive those who hurt them. Forgiveness, they explained, taught them to be patient and not to seek revenge and this further helped them in lessening the threatening feelings that seem to overwhelm them. The spirit of forgiveness gave them calmness and motivated them to look up to a higher power. When the question “who do you forgive” was asked during a FGD, Sparko said, *“I forgave all my masters so I could move on in life”*. His understanding of forgiveness demonstrated a clear connection between his decision to forgive and to move on. Moving on is therefore strongly linked to participants’ ability to forgive and not to dwell on the past and keep the emotional pain from consuming them.

In their attempt to truly forgive others: both their parents and others who put them through traumatic child labour experiences, participants found it necessary to absolve themselves and others of any blame for their traumatic experiences. Some of the participants commented on how forgiveness was helpful in their coping and survival process to understand those who put them into work and that other people had also found themselves in child labour, not

just them. To this Pepsi remarked, “*I don’t blame my parents for what they put me through*” and Owner said, “*I thank my father if not for anything, for the education he has given us*”. Forgiveness of perpetrators and self was a vital coping strategy that promoted moving on because participants were able to be released from emotional pain and anger, be happy, and to refrain from seeking revenge.

4.4.4.1.1.2 Hope

Another important strategy that participants reported as very significant in their coping during child labour was their hope. Hope came in many forms for participants. While the hope for freedom or liberation one day sustained some participants to accept their situation and to work believing that they would find freedom someday, the hope for education was what motivated some others to work as children. JKA narrated:

I always dreamt of going to school. That was my vision. And I always had hope that it was possible for me to go to school and I knew that one day I will go to school and I imagined how it will be like when I go to school so that had been my motivation... Because my mother admired people who spoke English at the time and anytime she saw people speaking English she was very happy and hoped that at least one of her children would go to school especially me because I was the last born. So it was like this thing played back to me all the time when I was working. It had always been here (touched his chest) in my heart. The masters [employers] were also promising to send me to school one day and I was also encouraging myself that I would go to school. I know that my masters were only promising to keep me hoping but I didn’t give up on that hope. I believed in what they said and what

I said that I will one day go to school. I knew that I will go to school and that was what kept me going even in the midst of my tribulations. **(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)**

JKA believed strongly that he would one day go to school to become somebody and that this was a motivating factor that saw him coping with child labour. Though his employers were paying lip service to sending him to school, he still believed that he would go to school one day. Another form of hope that participants reported was their dream of becoming successful people in life. Jared also reiterated:

What I did was to work during holidays ... It was making me tired and unhappy but I believed that there would be a way out one day so I continued. **(Jared, a 32 year old Teacher)**

Jared's report indicates that he hoped to become a successful person and this hope made it possible to cope with the fatigue and sorrow accompanied with child labour. Most participants were of the view that because their society did not see anything good ever coming from them as child labourers they had resolved to endure their conditions in order to make it in life.

4.4.4.1.1.3 Aggressiveness/Aggression

Many participants revealed that one way of combating the challenges of child labour is to become aggressive. Jola, JKA, Sacus, Stado, Owner, and Pepsi all revealed how important it was for them to use aggression to cope during child labour. Because the conditions during child labour especially for those involved in fishing were "survival of the fittest", most participants either physically fought the powers that perpetrated this menace against them, or they fought their own

colleague child labourers. According JKA, one has to be aggressive and strong in order to survive. He recounted how he had employed aggression:

Well, survival of the fittest. You need to become aggressive. You need to adopt some coping mechanisms to survive. ... sometimes fighting, physical fighting was promoted among the children [child labourers]. So you needed always to build yourself in defense, to be strong, to be able to fight. So err, I had to do that. I had no option than to do that.

(JKA, a 40

year old Businessman)

Stado also indicated that “*when my brother came, he was outspoken, aggressive, he fought them*”. These examples indicate that though participants by nature might not be aggressive persons, their conditions pushed them to be aggressive in order to ‘fit’ in and survive child labour experiences. The descriptions of survival depict child labour as a jungle field where indeed, the fittest survive.

4.4.4.1.1.4 Tolerance and Patience

Patience in the face of child labour difficulties also helped participants to cope. Most participants were of the view that because of their age and physique, it was not prudent on their part to rebel against the perpetrators but to bide their time patiently. They reported that they worked and endured all difficulties and this helped them to survive. Stado indicated that

I have seen them throw some children into the lake to drown, to die, or beat some children to the point of death so I know they mean all that they told me and I kept quiet and suffered and endured till my brother came.

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

Stado could not fight his leaders (older boys) in his father's fishing boat so he adopted "silence" as a strategy to cope: "*no voice, no suffering*". So he adopted docility as a strategy.

4.4.4.1.1.5 Being Smart

One other personal resource as strategy that participants employed in handling their child labour conditions was smartness. The following extracts exemplify how some participants used smartness to survive:

You also have to learn the skills of the job. If you don't master the skills you'll die especially, diving. If you don't know how to dive, you'll die. I told you 6 of us went there but 3 died. A lot of children died very often on the lake. Those who died, died on the lake. They died because they could not dive well. They did not know how to dive. So you need to learn the work very very well because it will help you to cope and you must be smart and alert. You must be very smart.

(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)

Being smart emerged as a useful coping strategy during child labour for participants. Some participant revealed that it was very necessary for one to quickly master the art of the job in order to survive. Failure to master the skills involved especially in fishing, had resulted in the death of a lot of children in child labour. Being smart did not only mean learning and mastering the skills, it also led participants to find favour with their masters or leaders. This in turn might help reduce the abuse meted out to some participants. Being smart also meant outwitting the masters.

I was very swift so I was of great help to the group for example when it comes to disentangling the net I did that very swiftly. So

because of these they liked me and I was very intelligent too.

(Jola, a 34 year old Sports Coach)

Jola and JKA recognised early during their child labour experiences that it was prudent to learn the skills of fishing. These included but not limited to diving, being alert, swift, intelligent, and smart. Not only does being skillful helped these participants to survive the odds on the lake, but it also endeared them to their employers. This could also mean that this endearment sometimes reduced their challenges during child labour.

4.4.4.1.1.6 Change in Attitude

Many participants revealed they were and still are very analytical. They indicated that a personal trait they possess is being analytical and accepting to change. When they assessed their conditions and realised that their own attitude was contributing to their condition which was not helpful to them in their quest to cope, they changed their negative attitudes in order to survive and move on. Some of the changes they brought onto themselves were employing communication, social and analytical skills; and expressing pent up feelings. Participants reported that they realised the need to change and they changed. Austa reported:

Before I went to college ... then I realised that I needed to open up to talk ... Then I realised there was the need for me to change my attitude toward people, that antisocial life. Because I realised that with my own personality, I could not approach anyone. So what I did was I started writing to the only one friend I kept and who was by then in the university, expressing my situations and feelings to him and he would also write back encouraging me and linking me up to people I could talk with in our community. With time, I

realised I was gaining confidence in myself and I started going out for evangelism with SU [Scripture Union] members and taking part in Bible discussions. With this, I could talk to people though not stand in front of a crowd. Then again I realised that my situation was not too different. There were people in the same conditions as I was. So I would say that I was strengthened by this knowledge too. (Austa, a 45 year old Assist. Head Teacher)

Austa's change in attitude helped lessen her plight when she was able to communicate with others. She was also strengthened by the knowledge that there were other children in her condition.

Another way majority of participants had changed their attitude in order to cope was learning new skills. Sacus disclosed that when he was in SHS, he had to learn barbering in order to make ends meet. Sparko learned shoe polishing and mended his colleagues' shoes. This he did to get some pocket money so as to be less dependent on friends for help.

4.4.4.1.1.7 Taking Risk and Practical Steps

Most participants reported taking risks and practical steps to survive. Some of the risks taken were several attempts to run away and free themselves from the clutches of child labour. Some participants escaped from slavery/child labour, and or worked to free themselves from poverty in order to make it in life. JKA reported on his attempts to become a free man:

I took steps. So many times I attempted to run away. Many times I tried. It was just to run away. One time I attempted to go knowing very well that that day my master was not going anywhere. But what happened was that the boat I took, one of my master's friends was on the boat and what he did ... he stopped wherever

he was going and took me back to my master... but I succeeded in running away anyway. **(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)**

JKA did not give up when he was first caught and punished for attempting to run away. In fact, he continued his attempts severally until he became a freed man.

Though participants knew the consequences of their attempts to run away, that did not deter most of them from attempting to run away. Others also worked themselves very hard because they believed they needed freedom which they can only achieve by themselves.

4.4.4.1.1.8 Getting Even with Perpetrators

Two participants: Stado and Owner reported that during child labour period, they attempted getting even with their abusers. Stado disclosed

But one thing that I did with my brother there was when we were asked to take food to them [perpetrators] we either vomit or spit into the food and mixed it and take it to them.

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

They believed that their actions were punitive enough to their abusers even though their abusers were not privy to this. They felt they have also punished them. However, these participants expressed remorse during the interview discussions about their past actions.

4.4.4.1.1.9 Resilience

Resilience was another coping strategy that participants used to survive and move on. Data revealed that participants employed resilience as one coping strategy to manage their situation and to move on and survive child labour.

Resilience was in the form of determination and hard work. All participants

reported their hard working ability, perseverance in the face of challenges, determination to achieve goals, taking responsibility, having big dreams, hope, “can-do-spirit”, working diligently, the attitude of “have-known-worst-situations” all worked to bring them out of child labour not only as freed persons, but as survivors of traumatic experiences and achievers. Sacus indicated:

You know we had seen suffering before so training [police training school] challenges could not break us. You know at training you have to wake up early y 4.30 am. and I had that in me already. You have to do your chores, and they were not new to me. I took things in good faith and applied myself diligently to assignments. **(Sacus, a 41 year old Police Officer)**

Determination to Achieve Set Goals

Another aspect of participants’ resilience is their determination to achieve their goals—goals of becoming somebody, making it, surviving their conditions, moving on --- in life. Participants were determined to become somebody, make it someday, and survive their conditions of child labour so they faced all challenges that confronted them. These strategies of determination and self-motivation are well captured by Austa when she saw her peers speaking good English:

When I saw how they were speaking good English and I couldn’t, I was just looking at them and up to them, picking few things from them. I was determined to be like them. So I must also go to the university... And I remember I met this guy who was about 10 years older than me and who liked me so much and wanted to marry me but was not interested in me furthering my education because he said he was advanced in age. So we had to stop the relationship. He tried to convince me to go into business but I said no. I told him

I wanted to be a lady. And I'm happy that even though it's late, I have made it in life.

(Austa, a 45 year old Assist. Head Teacher)

Austa adopted the spirit of determination to be like other girls. Her determination to have education made her to forgo a promising marriage relationship. She believed she could only be the lady she had dreamed to be if she had education and this she did. Bobo concluded this by saying “*I think what helped me was ... my own perseverance*”. Participants were determined not to perish but to survive. This moved them on to work hard to transcend their conditions and become survivors.

Hard work

All participants reported that one significant trait that has helped them a lot in coping with their child labour conditions and beyond is their hardworking nature. All participants were of the view that if they were lazy, they would have accepted their conditions and might not have survived. Jared narrated that when things were getting tough for him especially combining school with child labour, he could have given up and dropped out of school but he worked extra hard at school and the jobs he had. He was of the view that he was often tired and wished he could give up but because he wanted to achieve his goal, he worked. Hard work, according to participants was their distinctive mark as summed up by Advent:

... to pay my school fees was not easy. Sometimes I worked for teachers and other people in order to make money to pay fees and sustain myself... Then with the weeding thing, you know, most of

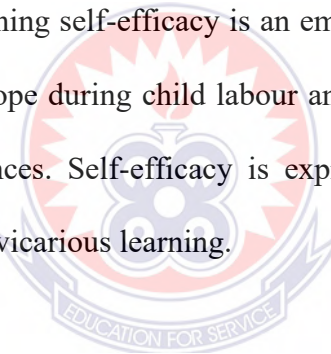
the time I was weeding people's houses. ... So sometimes before I go to school, I woke up very early like 4am and went to weed for people before I will come back and go to school.

(Advent, a 53 year old Asst. Head teacher)

Advent combined several jobs such as weeding, and attending school. All these he did concurrently to make money to pay his school fees and to stay in school.

4.4.4.1.1.10 Perceived Self-Efficacy

Majority of participants also indicated that they believed they possess some inner motivation and common sense to cope with their situation, to move on and to survive. Most participants indicated that they learned from others and “moved on”. Establishing self-efficacy is an emergent major coping strategy that helped survivors to cope during child labour and in “moving on” after traumatic child labour experiences. Self-efficacy is expressed through inner motivation, belief in oneself, and vicarious learning.



Employing Inner Motivation to Cope

One aspect of participants' perceived self-efficacy was their ability to find strength from within themselves to cope. Participants revealed that they were able to motivate themselves to rise above their situation and not to perish. During FGD, Sparko disclosed that

In those difficult times whenever I felt down in my spirit because of my condition, I lift up myself by sometimes saying, "... [Sparko], get up and do something, this is not the end of you, you are a winner". With these assurances to myself, I felt I was on top

of my situation. Then I would sometimes practically jump up if I were sitting down, and begin to do my work.

(Sparko, a 46 year old Teacher in an FGD)

Austa, Sacus, JKA, among others, found inner motivation as a strategy that was instrumental in their survival process and moving on.

Believing in Self

Most participants commented that they have been able to cope and move on through difficult conditions because they believed in themselves. They intimated that they believed they could also become somebody in life just like other people and this knowledge kept them moving on. Austa declared: “*I knew I was promising*” and Jola stated that because he believed in his capabilities he:

took much interest in all those sporting events and I was doing them better. I went to see the coach of Hearts of Oak which was playing under 20 Junior Club [JC] and they were training at Art Center then and I introduced myself and what I can do and I was asked to join the team. After one week the coach was happy with me so he asked me to remain in the JC...

(Jola, a 34 year old Sports Coach)

The belief in self is a strong coping strategy because according to participants, it gave them strength and hope that one day it would be well with them too if only they keep on coping. It is this belief that sent and kept them in school to achieve their dreams. It was this belief that made them work long hours and to stay in school in spite of their difficult child labour activities. Though some members in their communities did not believe that they would ever amount to anything in life, participants believed in themselves and resolved to prove these people wrong.

Vicarious Learning

Most participants such as Austa, Sparko, Owner and Stado indicated that one other significant strategy they adopted to cope during child labour was learning from others or taking inspiration from what others were doing and how they were making it.

Austa reported that

The friend who helped me to write my “O” Level introduced me to his sisters who were in the University. I saw that the girls were not older than me so I told myself that if these young girls have made it to the university, then I could also go to the university ... So I was always telling myself if these girls can do it then “I can do it”. So then, I got inspiration that I could also go to school. So basically I think I have an inner motivation coupled with the people I saw around me who motivated me to push up in spite of my background and condition.

(Austa, a 45 year old Assist. Head Teacher)

The above statement depicts how some participants were inspired by the abilities and performance of others they perceived as their equal. They thus vicariously learned from them and changed their mentality that helped in their coping and survival.

4.4.4.1.1.11 Avoidance of Disclosure

Majority of participants indicated that they preferred to keep their stories to themselves. Avoidance of disclosure according to these participants is due to what they think: that their stories are too *nasty* to be told. They believed it is better for them to keep them to their own chests in order not to invite anyone into their private sad/bad past. Only one participant disclosed some aspects of his

experience but still keeps what he thinks was too stigmatising to his person. For example JKA indicated that,

What had happened to me was bad, painful, torturous, it was not good and like I said some of them I will never talk about...Yes, it did. A lot. That was why when I returned initially I closed my mind on it. I didn't want to talk about it. I did not want to talk to anyone. I closed my mind on it. I needed to concentrate on my schooling here then ... I needed to work so I had to put it [the issue of child labour] aside and concentrate and combining work and school, I needed to forget about what happened in the past and concentrate on the present because the present was more important.

(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)

Even though JKA disclosed his traumatic experience this disclosure came long after the experience and was partial. By keeping their experiences to themselves, participants were of the view that this strategy helped them to forget about the past and concentrate on the present and future. They were of the opinion that the past is gone and they should not allow it to hold them captives. This attitude, they believed, helped them at the time when they were still struggling to survive and move on.

4.4.4.2.2 Social Support as Coping Strategies

Social support for coping emerged as an important enabling condition that promoted coping and subsequent survival and moving on. During both individual and group interview discussions, all participants reported how some significant individuals in their life had been of help to them as far as coping is concerned and their survival. Because the term *caring person* was an emerging category used by the participants themselves to describe these sources of help, I coded it as an *in*

vivo category and the support provided by organisations or institutions were coded *institutional support*.

4.4.4.2.2.1 Caring Persons

Participants received various assistance from significant others such as friends, relatives, teachers and spouses that facilitated the coping process. These individuals were coded *caring persons*. These *caring persons* provided encouragement, inspiration, practical help, recognition and appreciation of participants' personal resources, and advice.

4.4.4.2.2.1.1 Encouragement

Participants received encouragement from caring persons and this strengthened them and enabled them to move on. Most participants mentioned how helpful it was to have family and friends encouraging them to go to school or to stay in school to make it in life. Advent and Sparko recounted how the encouragement they received from their friends and spouses has propelled them to move on in life. Advent identified that the encouragement given him by his uncle made it possible for him to have hope and to move on. In the same way, Jola and Sacus and Bobo talked about the encouragement they have received from their uncle and friends made it possible for them not to have given up on life and to move on.

4.4.4.2.2.1.2 Being inspired by others

A number of significant others or caring persons inspired participants to cope and to survive leading to their moving on in life. Austa was inspired by her only friend she kept who introduced her to some young girls in the university and this motivated her and she believed that she too could make it to the university level. Sacus' father gave him inspiration to hold onto God even when things were not good. Jola was equally inspired by a teacher to take his dream desire of becoming a sports' coach seriously and this helped him achieve his dream. JKA was mentioned by Jola, Stado and Owner as a great source of inspiration to them and their parents. Seeing that he was once a child labourer and he has made it, they together with their parents believed that they too could also make it and they made it.

4.4.4.2.2.1.3 Receiving practical help to escape and to cope

Most participants reported the importance of receiving help from friends, family and strangers to escape their traumatic experience. In narrating his escape from child labour, Jola said he received help from his friend to escape. He recounted:

I had one friend in the community.. Every time he would ask me to go back to wherever I came from...He gave me money and some other items like bodua, carved items, and these items that priests and mallams have been using [talisman]. A whole lot of fearful carved things and tied them around me: my arms and my neck, talisman and so many fearful things. He told me that wherever I go to, those items will protect me and that no harm would come my way. He said that wherever people would see me they would be

afraid of me and that nobody can harm me. With these words he took me on a canoe to another village and when we got there he bid me bye and told me, master, go to wherever you came from. Don't let me set my eyes on you again. With this, I set off not knowing anybody or where I was going to... this was how I returned home. This was how I escaped child labour.

(Jola, a 34 year old Sports Coach)

Jola's narrative reveals the practical help that his friend provided which culminated in his successful escape from child labour. His friend took the practical steps to provide all that Jola needed for his escape. In addition to Jola, others such as Austa, Advent, Pepsi, and Sparko, also received some assistance from friends and relatives to end their child labour conditions. This was the case for Advent also who talked about the financial support he received from his late uncle that enabled him to go to school to end his child labour and to become a useful person in life. Austa confirmed that her friends' supports were determining factors in her ability to mobilize her personal strength and skills to overcome her psychological distress and to move on. She also reported that her husband's constant attitude of correcting her grammar and writings and pushing her and daring her to do things made her to take up challenges and to move on. Most participants talked about how their caring persons challenged them to move on in life.

4.4.4.2.2.1.4 Recognition and Appreciation of Participants' Personal Resources

Few participants also acknowledged receiving recognition from caring persons and being given the chance to do things as something that sped them on to cope and to survive. Austa's teacher's ability to recognise that she was a

brilliant student whose performance was deteriorating and he took steps to invite her with her father, changed her child labour condition.

Just like Austa, Stado also was recognised for his intelligence by his teacher. Stado revealed that

I didn't have any confidence when I was growing until Form 2 second term when a teacher came advising us about how people can make it in spite of their weak grade. This particular teacher kept motivating us anytime he came to the class so from here I learned to forget about my weak grade and my background and concentrate on my studies and in fact, this helped me a lot because I began to improve seriously in my academic work.

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

Initially Stado was timid and felt shy. Because of his child labour experience, it was difficult for him and he felt he did not measure up to his colleagues in class and, therefore, could not ask questions in class. He was not sure of his answers and was shy and afraid to contribute in class until his teacher realised that he was good and encouraged him to sit in front in order to avoid intimidation from his friends. This helped him to participate in class discussion and to improve his academic work.

After the tenth interview, the following memo was written in the research diary:

Most of the participants have indicated that the social and emotional support they received during and after their child labour days was and in some cases, still is, the determining factor in motivating adult survivors to mobilise their capacities. These social and emotional supports were in the form of encouragement, caring, practical help, recognition and acknowledgement of their personal resources. This marks the establishment of the category

of 'caring person' and its properties and dimensions.

(12/02/14: Researcher's Diary)

4.4.4.2.2.1.5 Receiving helpful advice

Apart from receiving recognition of their abilities to transcend their situations and the encouragement to cope and survive, caring persons also provided helpful advice that guided participants in their quest to survive. This category of receiving advice from caring persons was identified by most participants such as Sparko, Austa, Jola and Sacus as being useful for coping and survival. Majority of participants reported that the pieces of advice they had received was helpful. Most participants were advised to stay in school by their friends. Some family members and friends at some point offered some financial assistance towards participants' education though this assistance was not enough. Some participants like Owner and Pepsi were directed to places by caring persons where they could get support in terms of jobs and accommodation in order to combine school with work. Owner's mother was of the view that if not for the advice and encouragement of JKA who happened to be a child laborer survivor, owner might not have the courage to go back to school after all his mates left him behind when he went to work on the lake for the father.

4.4.4.2.2.2 Institutional Support

Data revealed that four participants received institutional support to attend school during their child labour days. Institutional supports were both adequate and inadequate. During the second interview, the category of *institutional support*

emerged necessitating the need to establish whether this was shared by other participants. This recognition necessitated the following methodological memo in the research diary:

Sacus reported that he had received some adequate institutional support during his period of training in the Ghana Police Service. I need to contact the first participant to find out whether she had had anything of this nature. I need to ask more specific questions about institutional support in my subsequent interviews looking out for confirming and disconfirming data.

(25/02/14: Researcher's Diary)

As a result of this, I consciously used the theoretical sampling to find out from each survivor whether they had received any form of institutional support. Austa is a female adult survivor who had attended teacher training college. When she was contacted on this issue, she reported that in fact, the allowance she had received in the teacher training college had reduced her financial burden and made it possible for her to have education that led to her employment. Her statement indicated the property of *adequate institutional support*. Her narrative confirmed Sacus' report which was subsequently corroborated by Jared, Bobo and Advent. Jared narrated that

I was posted to Accra Teacher Training College to begin my training Now, another headache: how am I going to finance myself from Western Region near Ivory Coast, to Accra every term not to talk about other necessities? I became worried right from the beginning. How do I pay my admission fees? There was no one ... Then I was introduced to a teacher to assist me to get some money to pay so that when the allowance comes I would use that to settle the loan. In fact, the agreement was that he would pay ...

and when my allowance comes then I would pay him... I would say that the allowance helped me a lot.

(Jared, a 32 year old Teacher)

This narration in addition to that of Austa, Sacus and Bobo created the awareness of the existence of institutional support systems though it was not exclusively for child labourers or their survivors. These supports existed in different institutions such as the police training and teacher training colleges and were very instrumental in some of the participants' end of child labour. However, further exploration was needed to enhance description and confirmation or otherwise of data. The following analytical comment was noted in the research diary:

Jared and Bobo's narratives on the adequateness of institutional support confirmed what Sacus had indicated. I need to find out if others were all satisfied with the kind of institutional support they had received.

(23/12/13: Researcher's Diary)

During the rest of the interview, similar positive statements were recorded. However some other survivors and same ones contested the view of adequate institutional support they had received during FGDs. The following reflective notes were then written in the field diary:

What accounts for the discrepancy in the provision of the scholarship system?

(20/07/14: Researcher's Diary)

This probe enhanced the discussion on how the institutional supports from some institutions were adequate and prompt, while others were not.

4.4.5 THEME 5: Barriers that Inhibited Coping Strategies Employed by Survivors

A number of factors arose as sub-themes during data analysis as constraining participants' efforts in coping during child labour. Some of these constrains were from the participants' personal resources, caring persons, and economic difficulty.

4.4.5.1 Personal Resources as Barriers to Coping

Though participants used personal resources to manage their traumatic experiences of child labour to move on, some personal resources also inhibited their ability to cope and survive. Among these were avoidance of disclosure, vulnerability and fear, and psychological distress.

4.4.5.1.1 Avoidance of disclosure

Although participants employed avoidance to disclose their traumatic experiences as a coping strategy to forget about the past abuse and to move on, this same strategy was viewed by participants as a blockade to their coping. As JKA disclosed,

I did not want to talk to anyone. I closed my mind on it [child labour] though I regretted. But then I didn't want anyone to know my story. I wish I didn't have to suppress it though it wasn't my fault. But if I had, I would have been able to tell my story better and fresher. **(JKA, a 41 year old businessman)**

JKA is thus of the view that if he had disclosed his abuse earlier, he might have received some form of assistance. All participants reported they were aware that

their inability to disclose their traumatic experiences stemmed from fear of continued stigmatisation and intimidation from community members.

4.4.5.1.2 Vulnerability and Fear

The vulnerability suffered by participants as children during their traumatic child labour experiences made their coping process difficult. Participants were of the view that their age, physique and cultural norms made it difficult for them to endure the abuse they went through. They reported that because they were children, they could not resist the authority of their parents' decision to put them into child labour. Additionally, their physical stature as children also made it extremely difficult for them to cope with the hardship regarding the kind of work they were forced to do such as carrying outboard mottos, diving into the big river, and sleeping in thick forests, and performing all manner of household chores from dawn to dusk. Jola summarised this vulnerability and fear:

Everyone was afraid of the men. ...I got so scared... he was afraid for my safe journey back home because those days they were killing children... **(Jola, a 34 year old Sports Coach)**

4.4.5.1.3 Psychological Distress

Other constraints that participants encountered during and after child labour were fear, depression, flashback, and stigmatization. All these obstructed participants coping process. Pepsi narrated that *“There are flashes of err special cases of the things that happened to me...”* and Owner corroborated:

The issue here is that, sometimes being under the lake was very fearful and because there were stories of large big animals eating up children so I was usually scared whenever I was sent to go into the lake. **(Owner, a 30 year old IT Manager)**

This constraint manifested itself in many ways in the life of participants. During child labour, participants were afraid of their perpetrators and the general context in which they worked. They were afraid of their lives because they had witnessed abuse and torture and murder and these had kept them constantly depressed. After child labour, participants' psychological distress continued in the form of flashbacks that kept transporting them into the past traumatic experiences and negating their efforts at 'moving on' and surviving.

Psychological distress in the form of depression and flashback of painful traumatic experiences kept participants initially from concentrating on their goal and achieving their aims. Sparko disclosed that "*There are flashes of err special cases of the things that happened to me*" and this mental constrain/incursion placed a limitation on his coping skills. He was of the view that even though he has "largely moved on", he sometimes still thinks of the painful and traumatic things that had happened to him. This description, however, is common to all participants.

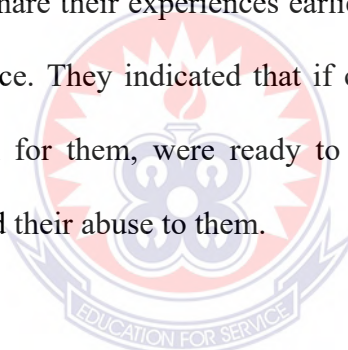
4.4.5.2 Caring Persons as Barriers to Coping Process

Caring persons were also involved in constraining participants' efforts at coping and moving on although they were very significant in their coping process. Caring persons stigmatise and abuse participants.

4.4.5.2.1 Stigmatisation and Abuse

Participants suffered stigmatisation from some friends and community members. While some friends made pejorative remarks about participants' condition and treated them scornfully, some community members also openly abused them referring to them as “never-to-do-well” children. Some even forbade their children from associating with them. Participants reported that these statements and attitudes not only reduced their self-worth, but also made them to lose hope in themselves and their future.

Participants were of the opinion that society's attitude to survivors of child labour as having no challenges that needed to be addressed also culminated in their inability to share their experiences earlier in order to receive any form of professional assistance. They indicated that if community members had created the needed platform for them, were ready to listen to their experiences, they would have disclosed their abuse to them.



4.4.5.3. Economic Difficulties

Some participants recounted that their initial difficulty in finding financial support to go to school or continue school after their first phase of child labour and this placed some stress on them to cope. They indicated that the poverty of their parents put them back into a second phase of child labour where they had to work to see themselves through school. Lack of financial assistance made most of the participant especially all adult survivors who were pushed into fishing, to pull themselves into child labour again after the initial survival.

4.4.6 THEME 6: Consequences of Coping Strategies Employed by Survivors

This theme looks at the positive and negative outcomes of participants' use of coping strategies to handle their "lived" childhood traumatic experiences.

4.4.6.1 Positive Personal Effects

Child labour cannot be said to have only negative effects on the participants. Participants identified several positive personal and psychological benefits that are results of their childhood experiences of child labour. These include alertness, positive world view, self-efficacy, and resilience.

4.4.6.1.1 Alertness and Readiness

First, participants regard their current state of psychological soundness/alertness as a sequel to difficult child labour experiences that they have endured and survived. They indicated that their ability to withstand the tortures and inhuman treatment meted out to them during child labour had toughened them, made them focused, alert, and smart. These contribute to their survival and moving on. Furthermore, participants mentioned that their experiences made them daring and fearless. They possess the mind of "have-seen-worst" situations before and are, therefore, not afraid of other circumstances that come their way.

Jola narrated that

So we were very alert. As soon as they drop water in your ears you know you have to wake up and be going. So with this I don't need anyone to prompt me to do anything. Then there were competition among the fishing companies ...They always wanted to find out at

the end of the year which group had the most catch or money so we were working very hard. ... as I said, like determination, hard working, focus, and mental rehearsals. There we were thinking of where to get fish, I mean, good catch. So these things helped.

(Jola, a 34 year old Sports Coach)

Jola was of the view that due to their previous traumatic experiences, they have become toughened and fearless, always ready for anything. Jola's account reveals that participants have reached a stage where they could look back at their traumatic experiences and make meaning out of it; see the positivity embedded in an otherwise traumatic situation.

4.4.6.1.2 Positive Worldview

These experiences also have brought about change in attitude. Participants reported that their worldview has been changed regarding people and suffering, work and resilience. Pepsi revealed that

I gave my children the best I can. I encourage them and guide them and provide their needs. I tried to give them what I lacked when I was a child.

(Pepsi, a 46 year old Banker)

By their experiences, participants are humbled and believe that their survival is providential. Additionally, their experience and survival are responsible for their caring attitude towards others especially their own children since they reported that they believe if all children are given care and attention by their parents and adults who accept responsibility for them, most children if not all, would be successful in adult life.

4.4.6.1.3 Perceived Self-Efficacy

One other positive personal effect of child labour on participants is the identity of perceived self-efficacy. Participants reported that having gone through the kind of childhood trauma that they experienced, they developed self-encouragement and belief in their capabilities through their previous experiences as means of forging ahead in times of challenges in life. Sacus poignantly captured this:

You know we had seen suffering before so training challenges could not break us. You know at training you have to wake up early y 4.30 am and I had that in me already. You have to do your chores, and they were not new to me. So I took things in good faith and applied myself diligently to assignments. At the end, this actually led to my award as the best conduct during training. My father was proud of me because my name was in the newspapers and everywhere and I was happy. While people were saying that I was good, I took it as normal because of what I went through.

(Sacus, a 41 year old Police Officer)

Sacus has identified the source of his self-efficacy as something he has built over the years through his period of child labour. He believed that he has the ability to do well in training and to become the best student of his group. This, he attributed to his enduring spirit nurtured through child labour. Self-motivation is when the individual induces himself to work or do something and to achieve. The inner will is tapped by the individual to respond to tasks that need to be performed. This will drives away fear of competition and challenges. It makes the individual to see himself as an achiever and to move towards achieving that goal. Participants indicated that they persuaded themselves and used the experiences of others as a way of pushing themselves into action and moving on. It is the

participants' identification of their mastery experiences in the face of another challenging task.

4.4.6.1.4 Resilience

Closely linked to self-efficacy is the attitudes of resilience that participants have developed over the years as a sequel to their past traumatic experiences. Taken from the above statement from Sacus, one can infer determination and hard work that child labour has brought to bear on survivors. Through their past experiences participants were hardened, daring, and fearless. They possess the character of "have-seen-worst-situations" or have passed through worst traumatic experiences that nothing can break them now. They believe they have come back in life though they were scathed deeply during their traumatic experiences of child labour in the past. This attitude saw them moving on in spite of challenges that came their way. The next section develops the relationship between the major themes analysed above to develop the emerging theoretical model of the study.

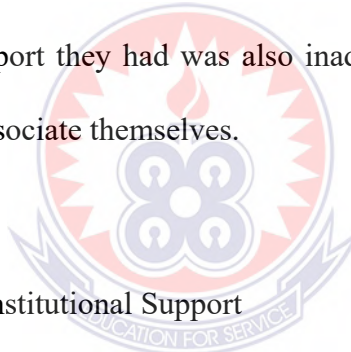
4.4.6.2 Negative Consequences

Almost all adult survivors interviewed expressed the feeling of fear during child labour. However, it was observed that the fear associated with fishing activities seemed more intense than others. Child labour survivors of fishing experienced so many life threatening events such as witnessing all forms of abuse perpetrated against other children that they feared for their own lives as they see other children being drowned or murdered. JKA had witnessed the

torture and death of a colleague child labourer and this scared and scarred him. Jola recounted, “*Everyone was afraid of the men. ...I got so scared*”. The fear experienced during child labour continued to haunt participants even in adulthood reflecting in their flashbacks causing them distressful moments that limited their coping and moving on. This also jolted their narration and flow of thought during individual interactions.

4.4.7 THEME 7: Non Available Counselling Services

Under this theme, it emerged that survivors did not benefit from any professional counseling though they had received advice from caring persons and the institutional support they had was also inadequate and they did not identify any peer group to associate themselves.



4.4.7.1 Inadequate Institutional Support

Bobo and Jared had their child labour experiences in the Western Region of Ghana. Though they never met till this research period, their narratives revealed that they had had scholarship grants to attend senior high school yet these grants were inadequate in both cases. While Bobo was on missionary scholarship, Jared received German scholarship. Bobo narrated:

And why I had to work was that the missionaries paid only my fees but I needed other things too so I had to work. What they were giving was not enough. Now the missionaries left just after the second year... So my work continued because I paid the larger part of my fees and even provided my other needs.

(Bobo, a 31 year old Teacher)

Jared corroborated this by saying

This scholarship helped me but it was not sufficient because after my school fees and books, I had no provision and clothing so I had to continue to work... You see in the first school too even though the scholarship was sent, the school never provided my books and it was difficult... the accountant never gave me my books.

(Jared, a 32 year old Teacher)

It seems that the adequacy or otherwise of the scholarship grant was dependent upon the kind of institutional support received. Whereas those who received institutional support at the teacher and police training colleges were satisfied, those received at the secondary school level were inadequate and or misappropriated by people in authority.

4.4.7.2 Non-availability of Support Group System

Closely related to inadequate institutional support discussed above was the issue of counselling services/interventions or peer groups. In a follow-up interview, Stado was of the view that:

Like, if we have group and we come together to talk about the challenges, problems and difficulties that we faced and continue to face, I would have talked about my sexual abuse. You know sometimes it is easier to talk to people who have the same experience like you. But there is no one so I kept everything to myself till now. If I share with people, I will get encouragement, energy, support that I'm not alone, then I will be happy.

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

The general response to this was that none of the participants had had any form of counselling from any institution or a recognized counselling provider. They

however stated that they had received advice from family members and friends.

This revelation prompted the following analytical memo in the research diary:

Counselling service provision to child labourers and adults who have survived child labour seems missing in our institutions. Does it mean that participants did not seek counselling, were not aware of counselling services, or there is no existing counselling unit for survivors? What is the way forward?

(12/11/14, Researcher's Diary)

Participants narrated that the non-availability of counselling services made them to keep their painful emotional experiences to themselves or to take personal control over situations to manage them. They were of the view that what could have benefited them would have been that they belong to support groups such as fellow child labour survivors' group especially just after they had come out of or were rescued from child labour.

Stado's point is that it will be useful to form and be part of groups or association of child labourers. In his view, this will not encourage the practice of child labour, but promote healing through sharing experiences and strategies. Again, such groups could be resource groups for combating child labour. Further, the above statement indicates how participants valued support groups and counselling services and believed that these would have played significant roles in their coping process and healing. It would have provided them with the awareness that others were dealing with similar emotional and psychological problems, and sharing their experiences would have given them support, made them stronger and happier. As indicated by JKA, one of the reasons why he has moved into a smaller apartment is to create the opportunity for his former co-

child labourers to get along with him so they can talk about themselves and their challenges so that he can serve as motivation to them.

In similar vein, Sparko expressed how his inability to find a support group when he stopped working as a child labourer did not help him to understand his situation and experiences. He was of the view that

It's great to have people who know what you went through and can guide you. I'm talking about people who had learned about our condition and therefore will understand us better. They will know my feelings and can direct you to others. When you share with people you have different ideas and learn more. Initially I was depressed and if I knew of any group I would have shared and be happy earlier.

(Sparko, a 47 year old Senior Accountant)

According to Sparko, creation of counselling service units or professionals to deal with their past challenges would be beneficial to their coping process and “moving on”. Participants indicated that knowing of and being involved in a support group or a counselling service would have assisted them to move on with their experiences and “relieve their overwhelming feelings”. The non-availability of social or counselling groups for survivors seems one major challenge/barrier to the coping process and “moving on” of participants.

4.5 Paradigmatic Analysis: Finding Relationships among Categories

This section uncovers the relationships between categories exploring the predisposing conditions (PC) that underlie the development of coping strategies and survival; the Phenomena that arise from the Predisposing Conditions of the difficult nature of child labour experiences and the socio-cultural and economic factors; the Context in which child labour experiences existed, the Intervening Conditions that influenced the development of coping strategies and survival; the Actual Strategies for coping with child labour and survival; and Consequences resulting from the coping strategies employed. This part builds the emergent theoretical model of the study as presented in Figure 8 below.



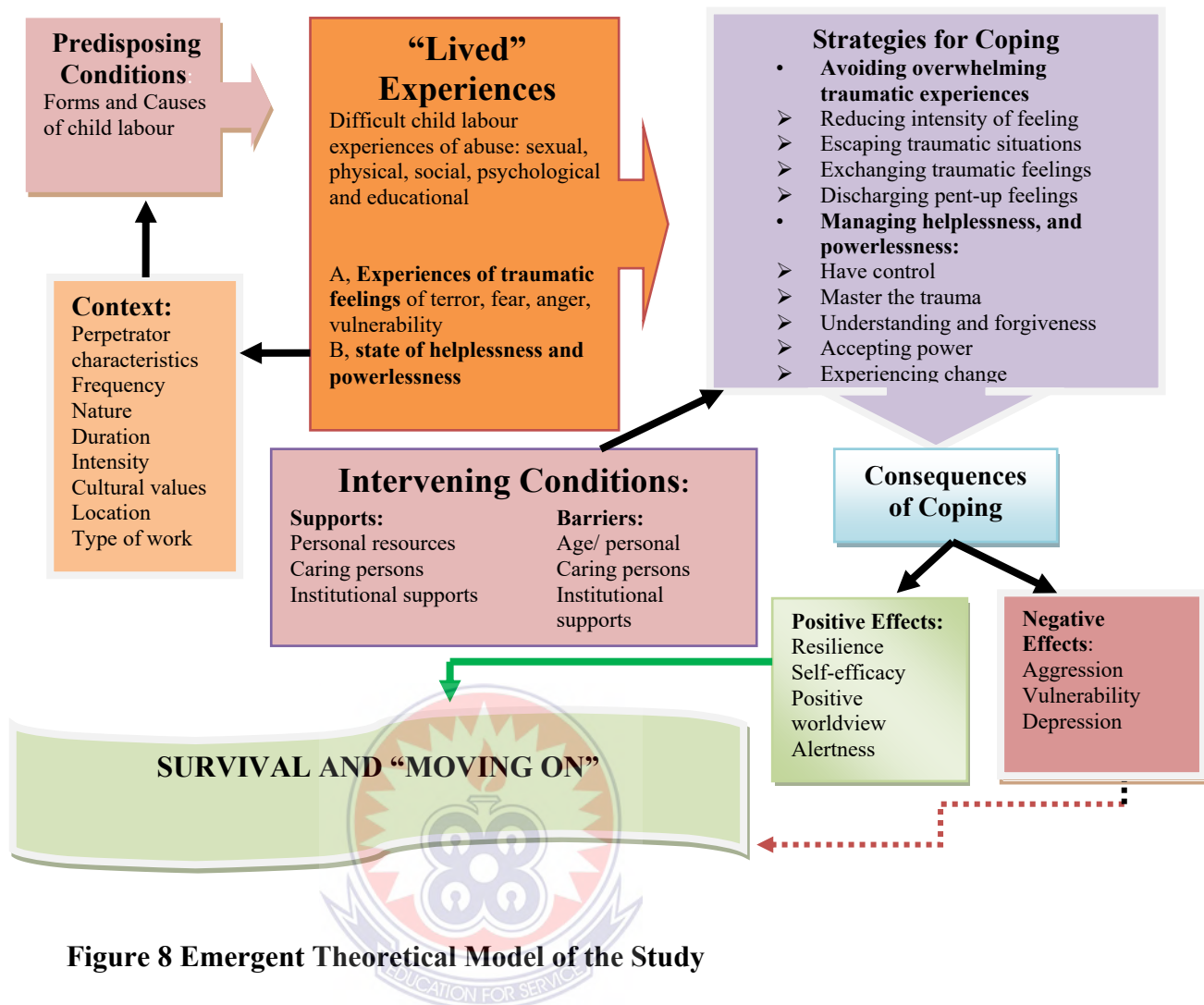
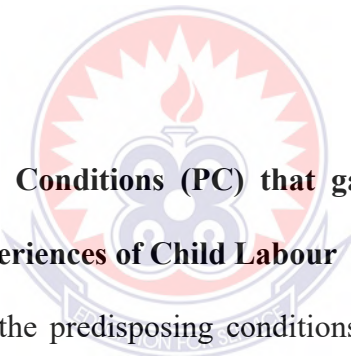


Figure 8 Emergent Theoretical Model of the Study

Figure 8 depicts the emergent theoretical model of the study. The emerging central phenomenon is “moving on” after traumatic experiences of child labour. The predisposing condition presenting as factors that triggered child labour experiences existed in the context of perpetrator characteristics such as cultural values, and the very nature of the traumatic child labour experiences. The predisposing condition also gives rise to the phenomenon of lived experiences of child labour for which coping strategies were used to manage in order to survive and move on. These coping strategies were used both during periods of child labour in order to survive the difficult experiences and after child labour to move

on in life so as to put the past behind and reintegrate into families and communities and to reach the top in society.

As these coping strategies were adopted in managing the conditions of child labour, various intervening conditions that served both as *supports* and *barriers* were met. The supports helped in coping, surviving and “moving on” while the barriers constrained attempts to move on and survive. The use of coping strategies in managing child labour conditions resulted in consequences that are both positive and negative. However, the positive outcomes supersede the negative outcomes and this led to “moving on” from the past traumatic experiences of child labour. These elements in the theoretical model are analysed below.



4.5.1 Predisposing Conditions (PC) that gave rise to the Phenomena of “Lived” Experiences of Child Labour

In analysing the predisposing conditions that led to the development of coping strategies, two types of conditions emerged from the data. These predisposing conditions eventually led to the phenomenological experiences that relate to child labour. Firstly, the forms of child labour experiences and secondly, the cultural and socio-economic conditions of child labour.

4.5.1.1 Nature of Child Labour Experiences

One predisposing condition that gave rise to the negative effects of child labour is the *nature of the child labour experiences*³ which comprised the various forms of child labour activities. The nature and intensity of the work was the yardstick with which participants were justified as child labourers. In some cases the activities themselves do not seem detrimental but the frequency and intensity with which the children were made to work qualified the activities as child labour. Child labour experiences in this study have been categorized into three forms: farming, fishing, and domestic work. Farming activities ranged from weeding people's farms and backyard garden, coffee and cocoa hauling, head loading farm produce, planting and harvesting. Fishing activities fell within scooping water, diving, paddling, fishing, mending net, disentangling net, carrying outboard motor, among others. Domestic work was difficult to categorize. However, the properties and dimensions such as it being very intensive and exhausting and a daily activity made it possible to place it under child labour.

The second predisposing condition of child labour refers to the causes⁴ that pushed or pulled participants into work. These are cultural norms and poverty as the major causes of child labour. Cultural norms of submission of children to parental authority, and birth order and role formed the basis of child labour. Children take up adult roles and migrate into adulthood forfeiting the pleasure and joy that is associated with childhood and at the same time, missing

³ The major theme of the nature of child labour experiences has been previously discussed in this chapter. See page 173.

⁴ The sub theme on the causes of child labour has been previously discussed in this chapter. See page 174.

on the developmental phase of adolescence. The issue here is that though these individuals by their chronological age were seen as children and adolescents at some point in their life, they were actually living and acting beyond their age due to child labour and this has brought effects on their lives. The causes in addition to the nature of the unique child labour experiences constitute the predisposing conditions that gave rise to the phenomena of the “lived” experiences of childhood abuse during child labour and its negative effects on participants.

4.5.2 Phenomena of “Lived” Experiences that arise from the Predisposing Conditions of Child Labour Experiences

As indicated by Figure 8, the phenomenon of childhood abuse and its negative effects created the need for the use of coping strategies necessary for coping and survival. As children engaged in child labour they had “lived” experiences of several forms of abuse ranging from physical, sexual, psychological to educational. These traumatic experiences consequently brought about social, personal, psychological and educational effects on participants. The personal negative effects were low self-esteem, vulnerability, stigmatisation, frustration and psychological distress with social effects being socio-cultural disadvantages. Physically, child labour results in physical scars and health problems. Educationally, it breeds school dropouts, irregular school attendance and or low academic performance. Predisposing Conditions of cultural and socio-economic conditions coupled with the nature of the work survivors did result in negative effects of child labour. During the analytic moment of personal reflection on data, I wrote the following analytic memo in the field diary:

What is the emerging theory of participants' emotion as reported? Is it about the high level of abstraction indicated in GT analysis? I think I'm hitting the theory level. But how do I go about this? What is the overarching category here? How did participants protect themselves from these overwhelming traumatic feelings of aggression, fear, pain and anger then and now? How did their work affect them? Did these effects call for CS? If so, which areas of pps. lives?

(4/3/14: Researcher's Diary)

These reflections precipitated the conceptualisation of broad coping strategies used to both avoid and manage the “lived” experiences of child labour. These effects further resulted in two core categories of subjective phenomena: (a) experiencing traumatic feelings, and (b) state of helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control. Child labour work brought some negative effects in the areas of physical, social, educational and personal lives⁵. The core category of being overwhelmed by traumatic experiences has subcategories of terror, fear, pain and anger, and vulnerability. As participants were confronted with their traumatic conditions of child labour and its effects that threatened their very existence, they were overcome with terror. Most of the participants in the study reported experiences of terror during their child labour period. Working on sea was accompanied by the emotional feeling of terror resulting from witnessing the death of other children on sea, and acknowledging the dread of fishing.

These overwhelming feelings resulted in the second core category of experiencing helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control. As participants lived their experiences and were met with traumatic conditions, they became helpless and powerless. Participants were helpless as they could not inform their

⁵ See page 188 on the discussion on negative effects of child labour on participants

parents of the abuses they were subjected to, they had no one to confide in, and could not prevent their own siblings from being drowned. These conditions of helplessness and powerlessness heightened participants' vulnerability during their childhood and had progressed through to their adult life making some of them quiet with low self-esteem. Participants lived their traumatic experiences in the context that promoted/exacerbated their conditions.

4.5.3 Context in which Child Labour Experiences Existed

As a result of the nature of the child labour experiences of survivors and the effects that these experiences had on them, the phenomena of traumatic experiences coupled with state of helplessness and powerlessness of participants were impacted by some contextual characteristics related to both the predisposing conditions and the resultant phenomena—the childhood abuse experienced during child labour. The negative effects resulting in the experiences of helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control, were experienced in the context of perpetrator characteristics, frequency of traumatic experiences, duration of child labour experiences, intensity of workload and feelings, location of child labour experience, type of child labour, and cultural values regarding children's work.

Child labour was experienced in the presence of perpetrators who either directly perpetrated these experiences of child labour or condoned it. *Perpetrator characteristics* were parents, close families, traffickers and strangers. With both genders, perpetrators were always older than the victims/survivors and were either male or female who happened to be blood relations in the form of biological father or direct auntie. Strangers as perpetrators were not involved in

trafficking but were employers of these trafficked children. Some of the survivors who were pulled into work as children also worked under employers.

The *frequency* and *duration* of traumatic or difficult child labour experiences ranged from three to seven years; single phase of child labour to multiple phases of child labour experienced along the developmental continuum with child labour activities occurring as often as daily, every time, day and night and as frequently as weekly. The phenomena of being overwhelmed by traumatic experiences and state of helplessness and powerlessness and lack of control of situations also differ according to the nature and *location* of child labour experiences. The nature and location of child labour experience also determined the *intensity*, the duration and the frequency of one's experience. Additionally, *cultural values* regarding work and the occupation in the participants' community also determined the kind of child labour experiences that participants were subjected to. Child labour experiences of farming or fishing were dependent on participants' childhood locations and the general occupation of the people. Those who come from or lived in fishing communities were those pushed into fishing though at different child labour locations. Those from farming communities were either pushed or pulled into farming and or domestic work be it at their own location or elsewhere. As participants experienced the phenomena of difficult childhood "lived" experiences contextually and developed some coping strategies to handle their experiences, they encountered some intervening conditions that influenced their coping.

4.5.4 Intervening Conditions that Influenced the Development of Coping Strategies and Survival

In the face of existing phenomena of traumatic experiences in addition to the state of helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control which are as result of the lived experiences of childhood abuse and its effects, participants had to deal with intervening conditions in the process of coping and surviving. The intervening conditions were the broad general conditions that influenced participants' selection of coping strategies and the process of survival and "moving on". Intervening Conditions were broadly categorized as *supports* (factors that facilitated or promoted the development of the coping strategies leading to survival and "moving on") and *barriers* (conditions or factors that prevented or constrained the development and use of coping strategies for survival and "moving on").

4.5.4.1 Supports that Promoted Coping

I have framed the *supports* categories as *personal* and *social support systems*. I conceptualized internal supports in terms of participants' constructions of their child labour experiences and their self-efficacy concerning coping and survival. The core categories that participants identified as contributing to their coping process included the categories of *personal resources* and *social supports* as both *caring persons*, and *institutional supports*. The personal resources are the inherent abilities or traits that the individual possessed or has acquired over a period of time as a result of their unique "lived" experiences of child labour. These personal resources came in the form of hope, self-efficacy, resilience, and religion among others. Caring persons are individuals who offered useful and

instrumental assistance to survivors along their journey to survival while the institutional supports were the financial assistance they received from institutions. These categories promoted personal achievements that brought about survival and “moving on” as shown in Figure 9 below.

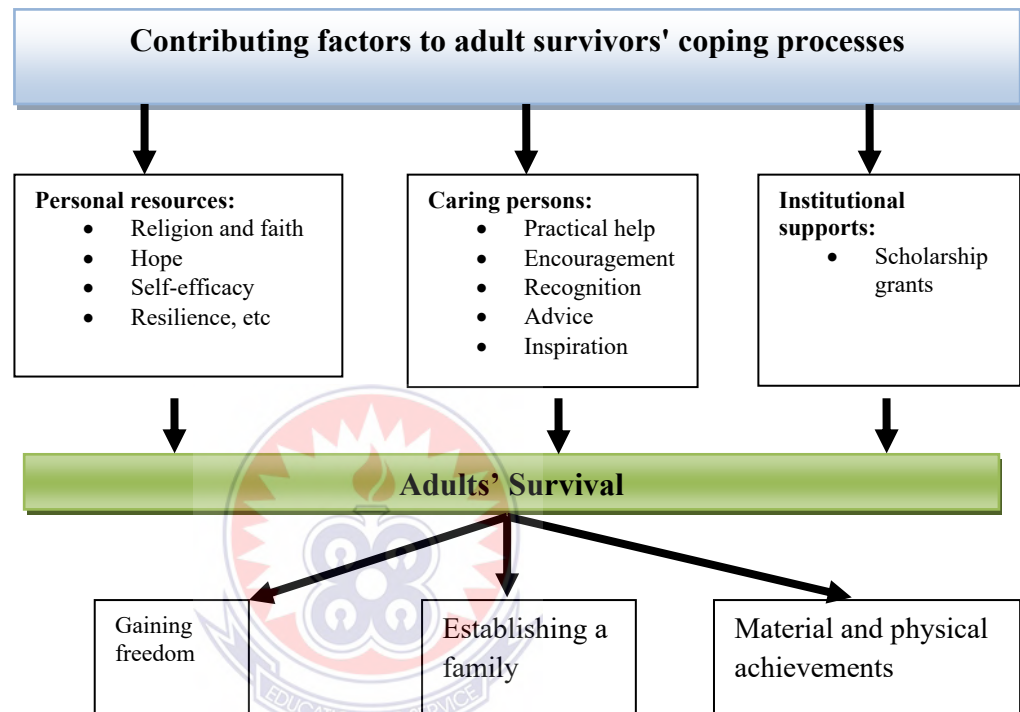


Figure 9 Survival as motivation for adult survivors' coping processes

Source: Author Constructed, 2015

Figure 9 relates factors that promoted participants' coping processes and survival. All participants experienced various forms of support from *caring persons* ranging from friends, teachers, spouses, to family members. These caring persons provided *practical help* by financially assisting some participants especially in the area of education, to either register for their examinations or to pay school fees, or provided them with basic essentials for school such as trunk and chop box. Some caring persons also *encouraged* participants to endure their

conditions by giving them *hope* that their condition was temporal and that they could lift their heads above water, though some community members saw nothing good ever coming from people like the participants because of their conditions. Encouragement from caring persons pushed participants and motivated them to survive and “*move on*”. In addition to encouragement, caring persons’ *recognition of participants’ ability to transcend* their conditions and achieve was considered supportive in the process of coping.

The survival of all participants had some *caring persons* who were there *to direct* participants to their escape routes and or *to provide emotional support* during these times though there were some persons along the journey to freedom who sought to prevent survivors and to keep them in perpetual child labour and slavery. Many survivors commented that they were not able to start the process of survival and “moving on” until they came across caring persons and or institutional support systems.

In addition to individual supports from caring persons are the institutional supports which were in terms of provision of economic and educational opportunities. Four participants received various scholarship grants during their schooling that facilitated their education. The scholarship grants, though most often inadequate, it, however, helped participants to end their involvement in child labour activities and paved the way for them to receive education and to survive. All these supports in the coping process facilitated participants’ coping and catapulted them into adult survivors where they gained freedom, established families and had material and physical achievements.

4.5.4.2 Barriers Inhibiting Participants' Coping Strategies and Survival

A number of factors and experiences during and after child labour periods at the personal and community levels were viewed by participants as hindrances to their coping process or survival and “moving on”. The major limitations reported were the difficult child labour experiences. Other limitations include: age of participants during child labour, socio-cultural values, fear and non-availability of support system, poverty and psychological distress in the areas of personal resources, caring persons, and institutional support.

Participants discussed the nature of their unique child labour experience itself that were perceived as obstacles. The nature of their “lived” experiences⁶ was perceived by participants as one of the most sensitive barriers which were difficult to cope with and highly demanding. *Being abused* and *witnessing abuse* which characterised participants experiences also pose major challenges for participants' efforts focused on challenging their conditions and attempts to cope and survive. Long after participants' experiences of child labour, the memory of their abuse kept them in continuous traumatic conditions which did not pave the way for early healing.

Additionally, the *ages* at which participants entered work ranged from 5 to 14 years. Most participants entered child labour at a very tender age and the nature and volume of work placed on them affected their physical, social, psychological and educational development. Participants at the time of work were too young to bear certain workloads or perform those tasks but were forced to do so. This placed participants in *vulnerable* situations to which they had no control.

⁶ See discussions on page 173.

The age of participants at the time of their experiences was described as a limitation for some efforts meant to respond to the difficult and inhuman nature of child labour activities. A pattern regarding the entering and leaving age from child labour vary. Data analysis revealed that all participants who were pushed into fishing activities did so at a very early age. Most of them did not even consciously remember when they were taken to work because they were very young. This does not suggest, however, that all participants who engaged in farming and domestic work could tell their age at the time of starting work.

During this period of coping participants employed *avoidance of disclosure* in order to put the past behind them and forge ahead. This avoidance of disclosure prolonged participants' process of coping and moving on. Avoidance of disclosure also stemmed from *fear* of being stigmatised in the community. The *stigma* and *shame* associated with being or having been a child labourer prevented participants from disclosing their past child labour experiences.

Another limitation identified through data analysis is the *socio-cultural values* of the communities regarding children's work in the family. Data analysis reveal that participants' conditions at the time of their child labour were seen as normal child training in the community coupled with the belief system that children have no voice and must do what adults decide for them. This system denies children the independence of being agents of their work and life. It is true that childhood is a period of dependency and need for adult support and direction but the practice of this leaves most children exploited by the very system that is expected to provide for and support them. It thus seems normal for oldest children, first borns, and oldest male children to assume adult roles by working

and maintaining the family livelihood in the event of the death, loss of job and retirement of parent(s).

Furthermore, all participants reported that they had not experienced professional/formal counselling intervention although all had since their experiences, turned to and found emotional support from caring persons. The emotional support received from these caring persons is believed to have saved their lives and egged them on into survival. The non-availability of counselling services made participants to keep their painful emotional experiences to themselves or to take personal control over situations to manage them. They were of the view that what could have benefited them would have been belonging to support groups such as fellow child labour survivors especially soon after they came out or were rescued from child labour. Participants indicated that knowing of and being involved in a support group or a counselling service would have assisted them to “move on” with their experiences and “relieve their overwhelming traumatic experiences”.

4.5.5 Strategies for Coping with Child Labour and Survival

Through the identification of the factors contributing to adult survivors’ coping process of child labour these categories were unearthed and reduced to a conceptual level. During this stage of data reduction and “fracturing”, it was imperative to explicate the relationship between and among categories that initiate a theoretically integrated explanation of adult survivors’ coping process in the course of their child labour period and beyond that eventually made it possible for them to “move on”.

Participants employed several coping strategies to respond to their varied traumatic experiences and these promoted their survival and moving on. When incidents that were demanding both physically and psychologically, causing them depression and other forms of personality disorders, they resorted to using both personal and social resources to manage their conditions. In this section, therefore, I discussed the coping strategies that participants used to manage or handle their traumatic child labour experiences in childhood and beyond to the point of survival and moving on. Two main categories were employed to respond to the “lived” experiences of the subjective phenomenon of experiencing traumatic feelings and state of helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control that arose as result of the predisposing conditions and the context. These are (a) avoiding being overwhelmed by traumatic experiences; and (b) managing helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control.

4.5.5.1 Avoiding Being Overwhelmed by Traumatic Experiences

The “lived” experiences of childhood abuse during child labour produced intense emotions of terror, anger, pain and sadness in its child victims. At the time of these childhood abuse, participants lacked the ability to control their emotions or feelings and these participants, then child victims, initiated/generated strategies to keep them from being overwhelmed in order to promote their well-being.

In responding to the phenomenon of being overwhelmed by traumatic experiences, the following four coping strategies were used: (1) reducing the intensity of traumatic feelings, (2) escaping traumatic situations and feelings, (3)

exchanging traumatic feelings for less threatening feelings, and (4) discharging pent-up feelings.

4.5.5.1.1 Reducing the Intensity of Traumatic Feelings,

When participants were confronted with traumatic experiences that seemed to consume them, they employed the strategy of reducing the intensity of their traumatic feelings. In this regard, participants used a variegated *modus operandi* to deal with their abuse in order to lessen the intensity of the feelings in them. Some of the methods employed by participants to lessen feelings were self-motivation and assurance, where participants turned in to assure themselves about the ephemerality of their child labour conditions. JKA indicated that during those periods of abuse, he was hopeful and constantly assured himself that one day he would be out of his predicament and have education. This self-comfort prevented the abuse from weighing him down completely. By mentally and verbally restating their predicament, victims lessen the importance of their trauma which eventually paved way for survival and “moving on”.

Closely associated with self-motivation is excusing the role of their perpetrators in their experience. Sparko reported, *“I know they were lying to me that they will send me to school, but I chose to believe what they said because I believe I will go to school one day. So I don’t blame them, it’s not their fault”*. And Stado added during a FGD, *“and I don’t hate my father for putting me through all that”*. However, the feelings of abuse still lingered on with all participants. Participants revealed that to minimise these intense overwhelming traumatic feelings that arose as result of child labour experiences, they used

different modification strategies such as engaging in sporting activities, writing stories and communicating with friends through letter writing in their bid to cope with and promote survival and “moving on”. Pepsi narrated, “*I tried to do something like to sing or go out with friends to play football so as to forget those painful moments*”. Some others used reading as a means of modifying the intense feelings. In adjusting to these traumatic feelings, participants reported that they did not engage in substance use such as drugs, cigarettes and alcohol. However, three participants used food and sleep as coping strategies after child labour when they felt so intense about their traumatic experiences. As Sparko narrated, “*I don’t know but one thing is that anytime I’m down, I tend to eat a lot...*”. This indicates that eating was a coping strategy to reduce traumatic feelings.

Further, it was realised that the traumatic feelings invoked other feelings of violence and aggressiveness and in attempt to reduce this some participants used *situational avoidance*. This is when participants intentionally avoid situations that would otherwise enhance their overwhelmed traumatic feelings.

Participants also kept memories of the experiences from emerging. They consciously suppressed the intense feelings into the subconscious so that they do not feel their feelings, a practice which kept them sane and happy. Advent commented in an FGD, “*those feelings are in my head*” and JKA added that “*my feelings about my experiences are not with me, I have moved on*”. It is clear that participants consciously repressed their emerging threatening feelings. Spiritual coping strategies were used to reduce the intense feelings that threatened participants. Most of the participants found solace or relief in spiritual activities by praying to God or questioning God’s response to their case.

Beliefs and value systems played particularly important role in the coping and survival process of participants. Beliefs and values were related to religious beliefs and faith. Participants believed and had faith and still do that a higher force or power was responsible for their coping and survival. They were of the view that they could not have survived and “moved on” to the level they are now without any special divine power. In addition to praying, participants used meditation, conversion, going to church, joining religious groups, fasting and forgiveness of perpetrators, to reduce their feelings and believe that God has reason for their experiences.

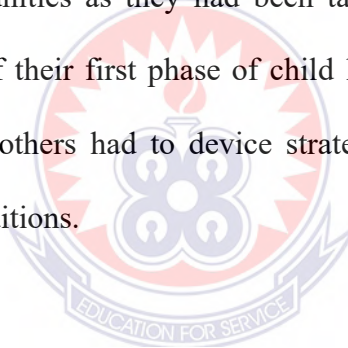
4.5.5.1.2 Escaping Traumatic Situations and Feelings

In an attempt to keep from being overwhelmed with traumatic experiences and resentful feelings, participants employed another method of escaping the traumatic situations and feelings. In many instances participants employed situational avoidance which is both a physical and psychological strategy used to avoid negative people and places, in order to make the traumatic experience less realistic, and or make them to ignore the experience altogether.

4.5.5.1.2.1 Physically Escaping from Trauma

To physically escape difficult child labour conditions, participants avoided people not only to reduce the intensity of the feeling of their trauma, but also to leave the experience behind them. Austa for example indicated that she kept herself isolated from people in order not to remember those traumatic incidents. All participants reported physically leaving their trauma environment

as one strategy that facilitated the coping process and survival. They were of the view that remaining in their child labour locations would not have helped the healing process and accentuated survival and moving on. Adult survivors believed that physically leaving the community that held them slaves and inflicted numerous abuses on them was one healthy thing for their coping and survival. As Sparko said, *“without my departure from the community, I would still have seen myself a child labourer and maybe my condition might not have changed. But thank God. New environment, new life”*. This explains participants belief that their change in condition was tied to their change of environment which they escaped. Though most of the participants had the opportunity to change their communities as they had been taken out of child labour by their parents at the end of their first phase of child labour experiences in the case of those from fishing, others had to devise strategies to escape and change their community and conditions.



4.5.5.1.2.2 Emotional Escape

In addition to physically escaping their communities and people to avoid the feelings associated with trauma, participants also escaped what reminds them of their experiences. Though all participants reported that their abuse was traumatic and difficult to cope with, they all indicated that they never thought of death or suicidal ideation at any point during their child labour days or adolescence as a way of escaping their traumatic experiences or feelings. They intimated that they had hope that their conditions would be better and they steadfastly held on to life and persevered. This way, participants managed to

distract their attention from their threatening feelings and cognitively focused on coping, survival and “moving on”.

4.5.5.1.2.3 Problem Solving

Furthermore, participants revealed that they have become very sensitive to danger as Jola disclosed, “*So we were very alert*” as they have lived and experienced worst forms of danger and traumatic experiences. What these participants reported doing was to have attempted to escape their abuse by hiding both literally and figuratively. While Stado hid behind or found refuge in cracking excessive jokes to forget about his past trauma everywhere especially at his work place, Austa plunged herself into artistic works such as bead designing and event planning. She was of the view that her work provided her refuge and peace that eluded her during childhood and enabled her to do what she can with what she has without any one denying her. Sparko’s solution reveals itself in his sporting activities, “*And one thing is that these activities kept me going and made me forget about my past. With these I was not thinking too much*”. These kind of escapes helped participants to either physically, psychologically, or emotionally leave their traumas behind them as if they never existed.

4.5.5.1.3 Exchanging Traumatic Feelings for Less Traumatic Feelings

To avoid being overwhelmed with traumatic experiences and feelings associated with the abuse suffered during child labour, participants substituted these dangerous feelings with other less threatening ones such as being jovial and playful, and rescuing child labourers on the lake. All participants reported that

their moment of satisfaction is when they are able to educate children and parents on the dangers of child labour and or have been able to rescue child labourers. When the possibility of attending school presented itself and participants realised that they could also be educated in spite of their conditions, they were happy and quickly plunged themselves into studying and learning hard. This helped them not only to forget about their past traumatic experiences, but to break away from the stigma of “never-do-well” tag associated with people who had been child labourers. However, while some participants resorted to crying, praying and fasting to relieve themselves others also used reading and sports when overwhelmed with traumatic feelings.

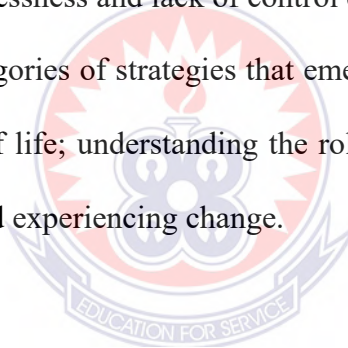
4.5.5.1.4 Discharging Pent-Up Feelings and Reconnecting to Others

Another strategy that participants employed to keep from being overwhelmed was discharging or releasing pent-up feelings and reconnecting to others. The activities used here included spiritual activities, sharing past experiences, humour, sports, rescuing and taking up leadership roles. The use of humour was especially useful for Stado and Pepsi in dealing with past experiences but other participants also echoed similar way of releasing pent-up feelings. To them in order to keep off the past traumatic experiences, they tend to be very nice to people, giving to society what they had been denied in their developmental years. They indicated that they believe if all children would be treated fairly in spite of their conditions, they would all grow up well. Humour has become part of their survival and “moving on”. Talking to others about their experience also seemed effective. JKA has become an advocate for child labour and has spoken on many national and international platforms. According to him,

this gives him a sense of releasing his own tension. He was of the view that having talked about his experiences, he feels relieved and better. With this, he was able to put the pain and some emotional locked-ups out of his being and to “move on” normally. Nevertheless, apart from JKA, other participants could not disclose their abuse till during this study’s interactions. These participants however, saw their reconnection to others as significant in their coping process.

4.5.5.2 Managing Helplessness, Powerlessness and Lack of Control

Aside developing coping strategies to handle traumatic experiences that overwhelmed them, participants also developed strategies to manage their state of helplessness, powerlessness and lack of control during and after their child labour conditions. The categories of strategies that emerged are: attempt to have control over other aspects of life; understanding the role of perpetrator and forgiveness; accepting power; and experiencing change.



4.5.5.2.1 Attempt to have Control over other Aspects of Life

Through education and career, all participants managed to overcome their state of helplessness and to have control over their lives. They are able to provide for themselves and their dependents what they lacked as children and this gave them a sense of fulfilment. All participants tried their best to control other areas of their life by channeling their strengths and ideas into areas where they believe they could help others to do well. For example, JKA, Jola, Owner, and Stado turned “saviours” by devoting their lives to saving other children caught in child labour. Austa, Jared, Bobo, Advent and Sacus all teachers, engage in developing

other children and moulding them for a better future through teaching and counselling. They tend to assist others who are less privileged in society in order to lessen their own powerlessness and helplessness and that of others. They believe that by helping other children, they possess the power that eluded them.

4.5.5.2.2 Understanding the Role of Perpetrator and Forgiveness

Additionally, survivors tend to understand their perpetrators' role in their experiences and to forgive them. All survivors indicated that one way of managing their past was to forgive those who put them through such inhuman treatments in order to move on in life. They were of the view that continuous anger about and hatred for their perpetrators was not going to do them any good and that they believed that some of the perpetrators were used by a higher force to place them into such conditions in order for them to become what they are today. They believe that their perpetrators, who in some cases were their parents, did so in their own interest.

4.5.5.2.3 Accepting Power

Participants all reported accepting leadership positions since their child labour experiences and have used such positions as means of self-fulfilment and reaching out to others. This way, participants seem to be giving to society what they were denied. They gave love when they had been maltreated; they gave hope and help when they received indignation and helplessness. The acceptance of leadership roles also helped reduce participants' level of vulnerability as they

were able to exercise their power and authority: an exercise they never had the privilege to do.

4.5.5.2.4 Positive Worldview

The change in attitude, which is a problem solving strategy, assisted participants to manage their conditions both during and after child labour. Participants changed from anti-social life to interacting with others in order to integrate into their communities by writing to old friends and attending social gatherings. They also learned new skills in order to survive and to “move on”. Their traumatic experiences also brought about positive growth after trauma. The worldview of participants changed as a result of their past experiences. They were of the opinion that they have found deeper meaning to life, they have been remoulded to face life’s challenges, they have become humble due to their experiences, and above all, their spirituality has been improved as they have “moved on”.

As individuals experience traumatic child labour triggered by predisposing conditions of nature and causes of work in the context of perpetrator characteristics, they employed coping strategies of avoiding the overwhelming traumatic experience of child labour and managing them as they met with barriers and supports. These condition and efforts brought in the wake consequences that are both positive and negative.

4.5.5.2 Negative Outcomes of the Coping Strategies

Due to the strategy of fighting and being strong in order to survive, “survival of the fittest” concept, some participants in adult life have become aggressive. They are quick tempered and very defensive. Though they reported their displeasure at this behaviour, they find it difficult to unlearn. The avoidance of disclosure that participants used to repress their childhood abuse also culminated in their moments of depression where they experienced flashbacks.

The positive outcome of coping strategies resulted in participants’ survival and the development of the central phenomenon of moving on”. This phenomenon is regarded significant for participants as they believe they have gained more than they have lost.

4.6 “Moving On” as a Central Phenomenon

Since the process of coping, moving on and surviving are longitudinal/long-running after child labour, describing the phenomenon has not been an easy task. Participants did not describe or provide one experience or moment of surviving rather their descriptions bordered on several attempts that were variously made and experienced to survive. Just as there are similarities in their process of survival, so are differences. In this study, survival was not a systematic process; it was marked by a series of complex and reciprocal relationships. In my attempt to identify the core category of the process of survival to which all other themes and concepts are connected, I realised that all participants talked about and described a process of their attempts to “move on” after their child labour experiences. This process is depicted in Figure 10 below.

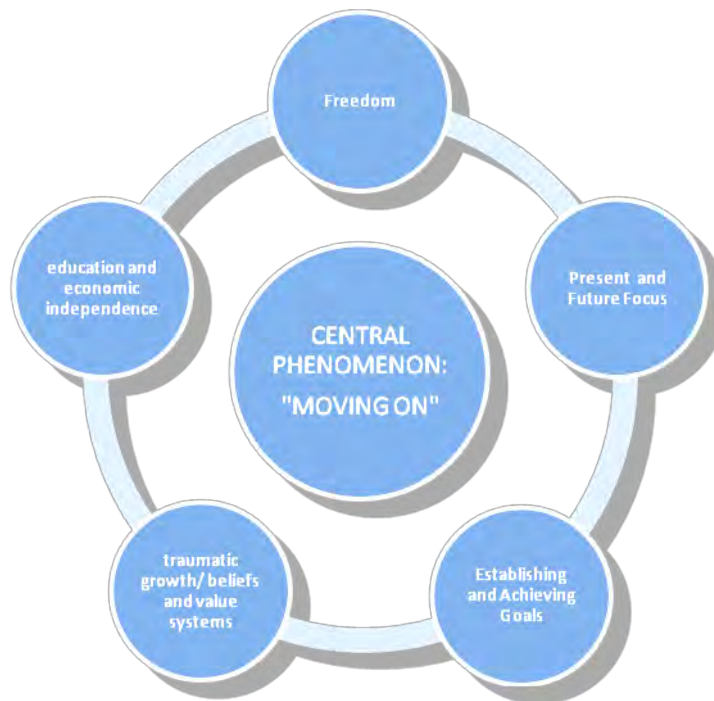


Figure 10 Emergent Process of “Moving On”

Source: Author Constructed, 2015

Figure 10 describes survivors’ process of “moving on” as a central phenomenon of the emerging model of survival and “moving on”. To move on, individuals must have freedom, be present and future focused, establish goals, have education and economic independence which make them fulfilled in order to experience growth through trauma that make them transcend their conditions and move on as survivors.

In spite of the variegated means through which participants described their survival, it is evidential from the data that the conditions and resources available to participants promoted survival and enabled participants to “move on” with their lives.

The term “moving on” is an *in vivo* term. It is a term often used by participants in their narratives to describe the process of survival. The term “move on” appeared

several times ranging between 3 to 7 times in each participant's narrative. The central phenomenon of "moving on" as an emergent theoretical proposition revolves around five core categories of (1) freedom, (2) being present and future focused, (3) establishing and achieving goals, (4) having education and attaining economic independence, and (5) experiencing growth through trauma.

4.6.1 Getting Freedom

An important theme of "moving on" as identified by participants is freedom from child labour. When Jola was asked to describe his moving on, he said, "*The only thing on my mind was my coming back to ... and that was moving me*". As Jola described, the knowledge of leaving child labour behind and getting into freedom in his hometown was a big relief that reduced all the fear and anxiety associated with the distant sojourn. Participants believed that once they are no longer under the control of their employers or working for other people, then though they were working as children, they had, to a very large extent, "moved on". Additionally, their ability to detach their thought and feelings from their past traumatic experiences has provided them the freedom that they yearned for.

4.6.2 Being Present and Future Focused

One other important aspect of "moving on" identified by participants was their ability to focus on the present and the future. Participants expressed that though it was difficult for them to forget about what happened to them in the past, they also realised that focusing on the past would not help them to cope and

to “move on”. JKA intimated that he refused to talk about his experiences when he returned from slavery because to him it was not helpful and what he needed to do at the time was to concentrate on his education and another phase of child labour in order to make it in life. Participants recognised that they could not do anything about their past so it was, therefore, necessary to concentrate on the present and a future they can create for themselves.

4.6.3 Establishing and Achieving Goals

Another theme of “moving on” after getting freedom and focusing on the present and future was the significance of establishing and achieving goals in life. Most participants set goals for themselves: education. Obtaining education was a primary goal of all participants’ right from their child labour days and their ability to receive education to a higher level has made participants feel that they have attained that freedom and “moved on” from child labour and have survived it. JKA remarked that *“two things that have combined to make me a happy person...I always tried to go to school and I succeeded in going to school...”*.

The importance of setting personal achievable goals was also communicated during both individual and group interviews. Participants described how they had plans in place to have education and employment and to further develop themselves in their chosen fields. They were of the view that having secondary education alone was not sufficient for the development of their full potentials so they aspired and all participants furthered their education to the tertiary level. Participants also reported that in addition to their university degrees, they also furthered their professional programmes such as the coach

having his university degree and licensure in coaching to become a professional coach. All participants have other professional certificates in addition to their degrees. These achievements resulting from participants' freedom and being present and future focused, have made participants believe they have "largely moved on".

4.6.4 Having Education and Being Economically Independent

One significant theme closely linked with establishing and achieving goals that participants identified as having survived and "moved on" is their acquisition of education to an appreciable level and economic independence and ability to be self-sufficient. Because participants have obtained high levels of education as an achievable goal they had set themselves, they intimated that this achievement has placed them in employment, so they no longer depend on other people or have to do menial jobs in order to survive. They hold management positions and some are employers themselves. This status makes them happy and satisfied with life.

All participants clearly stated that what shows that they have survived child labour and have "moved on" as achievers is their education. Their zeal for education right from and after their child labour conditions is remarkable. All participants reported that without education to a higher level, they cannot consider themselves and be considered by others as having survived. Closely related to education is economic opportunity. This is a mark of survival and achievement because it has made them self-sufficient. Six participants are teachers with the least rank of principal superintendent with two being head-

teachers; two senior accountants; an international entrepreneur; one police sergeant; and an ICT Manager.

Having education and a good job brought happiness to participants and they revealed that they were satisfied with life. This level of fulfilment that survivors narrated revealed their level of satisfaction, achievement, and “moving on”. With employment, participants have been able to provide financial security for themselves and their children and thus have the assurance that their children would not enter child labour. This way, they believe they have broken the cycle of poverty and child labour in their life.

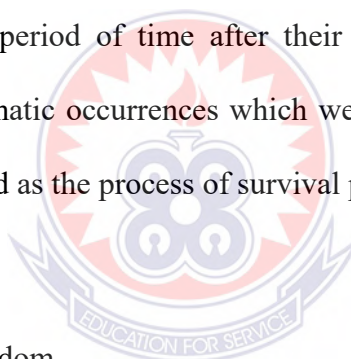
4.6.5 Growing Through Trauma

Having gone through the unique “lived” experiences of childhood abuse and trauma and surviving though scathed, participants have come to possess beliefs and value systems of understanding and forgiveness. Not only do participants understand and forgive the perpetrators of their childhood abuse, but also understand that human nature is a complex issue that most individuals suffer not through any fault of theirs; that most people who seem not to have risen up to the top could have been there with some amount of enhanced self-efficacy and resilience. Suffering is part of life and that which prepares one to meet challenges and be able to surmount them. To “move on” is to have suffered, to have struggled, to have pursued that which one believes in as achievable and obtainable and giving to society not only that which has been given to one by society, but even that which was denied by the very society; this is the true essence of forgiveness as both spiritual and physical to the physical and spiritual

development of man. This improves our spirituality which then is the true meaning to man's existence. Closely linked with the central phenomenon of moving on is survival of participants. The following section discusses the indicators of survival as part of moving on.

4.7 Indicators of Survival

Participants expressed various indicators of surviving after child labour. These indicators include: (1) gaining freedom, (2) establishing a family, and (3) having material/physical achievements. These indicate personal, social, physical, psychological and emotional changes that have occurred in the life of the participants over a period of time after their child labour experiences. These changes were systematic occurrences which were interconnected and reciprocal. They were developed as the process of survival progressed.



4.7.1 Gaining Freedom

Several ways of survival has been described by participants. The category of gaining freedom as a signpost of survival is an *in vivo* term. The following excerpts describe participants' construction of survival after child labour.

JKA in response to how he has survived stated,

A lot of them died. You know, 6 of us were taken from here the same day to Yeji. Three died and three of us did not die. A lot of children died during and after child labour...I used to meet with some of those that we were together and we talked but now, it is like you know, but sadly because of my place in society, you know

now I'm always in a big car, travelling here and there, you know... **(JKA, a 40 year old Businessman)**

Sacus also described his survival in terms of

But you see, I will also say that those of us who did not have life easy rather saw the training as another avenue for survival. Indeed, though I suffered as a child, today I'm proud of my past. It made me feel good about myself and people appreciate me a lot. I didn't give up. I have survived.

Owner described his survival as

I'm a freeman, not a slave. I didn't perish, did not become nothing as people were thinking and saying, I have made it. I'm a manager of an IT company where I teach big men too...

These constructions give birth to the understanding of survival in terms of gaining freedom by not dying and not perishing, and by achieving a place in society.

4.7.2 Establishing a Family

One indicator of participants' success in survival is their ability to establish themselves and their families. For most participants, it was very necessary for them to have their own children and be able to see them through education. Table 5 (see p. 167) indicates that nine out of the eleven survivors were married of which eight have their own children. Pepsi remarked during an FGD that *"my children's success is a mark of my survival. I was a child labourer but my children are adults who never had the occasion to go into child labour. This also is healing for me"*. Participants were of the view that once they are able to provide for their children holistically- psychologically, socially, educationally, then they have survived because they have secured themselves and their

children's future. Participants indicated that their ability to provide education to their children is a sign that they have transcended their child labour conditions. Those participants whose children are still in school or yet to start school reported of establishing investments in terms of insurance policies and other income generating activities that secure the future of their children.

4.7.3 Material/Physical Achievement as an Indicator of Survival

Of the eleven participants of the study, one has three buildings at different places in the country, five live in their own houses. Seven own and drive their own private cars while two others have their vehicles for commercial purposes. Two own NGOs and one has established a church of his own with a population of about 150 members. JKA set a record in his secondary school where he had aggregate 6 with 9 ones, won 9 international awards, and has an assortment of companies around the country. Jola was made the class prefect: unprecedented deputy sports prefect in JHS2, his school qualified for Milo games and the Valco competition for the first time in its history during his administration, the school won Minister's Awards for sports, and he owned a football team. Stado had the best result from his school during his time and Sacus was adjudged the best recruit at the end for his training at the police training school. Almost all participants ran small-scale businesses to support themselves and their families. The material possessions of participants place them high in society. They are recognised by their achievements as distinguished individuals.

4.8 Barriers to Survival and “Moving On”

A significant theme identified as a hindrance to participants in the process of moving on is suppressing the threatening past event and pain. Participants identified and reported that their inability to forget their past has made their moving on, healing and survival quite difficult. Pepsi, faced with the thought of his past reported that,

all these things happened to me and I couldn't do anything about it so what I used most of the time was to suppress the thought especially when the issue of the sexual issue I told you comes up. I tried to do something like to sing or go out with friends to play football so as to forget those painful moments.

(Stado, a 30 year old Senior Accountant)

In attempt to avoid being overwhelmed by his traumatic experiences, Stado did not only substitute his overriding feelings with less traumatic feeling of being jovial and playful, he also distracted himself physically from violent situations. According to Pepsi,

Even though I'm very quiet, I can be very aggressive and very violent. In fact, it [child labour] has made me very aggressive so I don't want to go to any place where there is violence or aggression because I'll join in right away. It has made me quick tempered. It's like something that had happened to you and you wished to respond and you couldn't so you think that you should do that now... I hate to feel tension or to see maltreatment.

(Pepsi, a 46 year old Banker)

Pepsi disclosed that he is fully aware of the danger of his suppressed dangerous feelings of aggression and has chosen to be friendly with people especially his colleagues at work. He indicated that he informed them not to abuse his friendliness as this is only a facade used to avoid the re-emergence of

aggressiveness acquired through child labour experiences of abuse. He also physically avoided violence and traumatic places. He reported that he consciously avoids wherever there is fight or any form of violence as he quickly would jump into whatever the situation is in order to defend the weak. From the description above it is clear that participants attempt to forget the past and focus on the present was not always successful. They rather resorted to the use of suppression as a mechanism that would eventually find an outlet elsewhere.

4.9 Summary

This chapter reports the results obtained from the study. First, thematic analysis of the raw data was presented to set the stage for a relational analysis. Secondly, a paradigmatic analysis was done using the emerging themes that facilitated grounding a theoretical proposition on coping and “moving on” after traumatic child labour experiences. This approach of thematic and paradigm model of grounded theory gives a comprehensive understanding of the topic under interrogation and holistic view of the results. Based on these, findings of the study are discussed with the existing literature in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

A major proportion of international research about adult survivors of man-made or natural disasters has focused on the clinical perspectives of traumatic experiences stressing mainly on PTSD and mental health status. Key researches on other forms of survivors such as torture and refugee survivors worked on understanding survivors' mental health and psychiatric morbidity and factors that promote healing (Isakson, 2008). Despite the acknowledgement of survivors' endurance abilities to survive traumatic events, relatively little is known about adult survivors of child labour, their coping processes and how their past traumatic experiences impact on their positive adaptation to life's challenges. This study was, therefore, undertaken to explore the coping strategies of personal and social supports that adult survivors of child labour employed to handle their child labour conditions and how these strategies influenced their positive adaption to "moving on" in life.

Participants were able to identify key strategies that promoted coping and survival as well as defining "moving on" and its characteristics. Using the grounded theory approach developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as a qualitative research methodology for data collection and analysis based on inductive approach, major themes and their relationships relevant to the research questions were developed. The result of this approach was the development of a

middle-range theory captured in a theoretical model for which there is, as yet, no strong theoretical framework to describe and explain the process of coping that result in the phenomenon of “moving on” as an emergent central theme pertaining to surviving after child labour. A middle-range theory deals with a specific group or field of interest to which its propositions are applicable in practice and allow for empirical testing for its validity and reliability (Merton, 2002).

This chapter presents the synthesis of findings of this study relating these findings to relevant existing theory and empirical research highlighting correlations as well as disconfirming literature. The discussion is done in line with the major themes that were analyzed in chapter four and provides answers to the research questions that undergird this study.

5.2 Theme 1: Nature and causes of the child labour experiences

A thorough analysis of data pertaining to the theme of nature and causes of the child labour revealed that though child labour activities that participants engaged in were tedious and sometimes hazardous due to the workload and the context in which such activities were carried out, the abuse that participants suffered made their child labour experiences traumatic. The description of their abuses falls within the international definition of trauma (Pitonyak, 2011). After analysis of research question one, the following eight “defining characteristics” of traumatic experience embedded in child labour were identified:

1. Verbal abuse
2. Sexual abuse

3. Neglect and abandonment
4. Loss of parent
5. Witnessing murder and torture
6. Physical abuse/Being tortured
7. Separation from immediate family
8. Frequent changes of residential placement

These defining characteristics of child labour may be used to classify child labour as a traumatic experience that would need traumatic approaches to interventions.

Another significant finding is that while all participants who began their child labour experiences in the fishing sector were pushed into child labour by their parents or relatives, participants who started child labour activities in the farming sector did so as a result of poverty. Survivors with fishing experiences were pushed into child labour because they were obeying parental authority where their parents gave them out to work or were forced to work because of their birth order. It was found that even as children, participants were aware that most of the decisions their parents took for them were not in their best interest but due to cultural expectations and their physique, they could not challenge those decisions. These cultural norms, therefore, deny children their power of agency.

Loss of adult job or retirement also pushes children into work. Poverty makes parents to accidentally push their children into work. “Accidental push” is when parents had no intention of putting their children into work but are constraint to look on while their children work to provide for themselves and the family. Due to poverty well intentioned parents sent their children to relatively well-to-do families to assist their children access education but some of these relatives turn these children into child labourers.

5.3 Themes 2 and 3: Childhood abuse: difficult child labour experiences and Effects of child labour on participants

It was found that child labour has negative effect on all aspects of survivors' development. The study found that adult survivors of child labour experienced many forms of abuse during their child labour period. This assertion resonates with the findings of Ray (1999b), Al-Omouh (2008) and Agordzo (2011). Psychologically, survivors developed low self-esteem which made them to have poor self-concept and look up to others for approval and recognition. Survivors were engulfed in fear of death, of the unknown, and of not being trusted by parents. Some of the environmental vulnerability encountered was fear of the dangerous lake or forests in which participants worked. It was also found that participants were also socially vulnerable due to stigmatisation from some community members. One other significant vulnerability of participants lies in the Ghanaian culture where children are not regarded as agents of life but subjects that must be decided for. The culture puts fear in children making them afraid to complain about their abuse or maltreatment for fear of being regarded as lazy or disrespectful.

It was found that children in child labour are either sexually abused or forced to witness sexual behaviors against other children. This experience traumatised most survivors even well after child labour where their sexual relations are affected.

The analysis identified several characteristics of negative effects on individuals who engaged in child labour or adults who had survived child labour. The following characteristics were identified and could be used in diagnosing

both children who are rescued from child labour or adults who had experienced it for counselling interventions:

1. Low self-esteem
2. Frustration
3. Aggression
4. Lack of communication skills
5. Psychological distress in the form of:
 - a) Depression
 - b) Flashbacks/recurring painful memories
 - c) Difficulty in concentrating/ easily distracted
6. Antisocial lifestyles: social withdrawal and introversion/aloneness
7. Sadness
8. Physical scars
9. Inability to learn in school
10. School dropout

This finding on the negative characteristics of child labour on individuals confirms the works of Dworetzky (1996), Al-Omouh (2008) and Agordzo (2011) that child labourers suffer from anxiety and other stress related disorders.

5.4 Theme 4: Actual coping strategies for coping with child labour

This theme is the pivot of this study. Although there is a growing body of knowledge on child labour, and survivors' coping strategies and capabilities in general, there seems no widely accepted and over-arching theory of process of coping with traumatic experiences of child labour. Interestingly, participants in

this study identified three major factors that have contributed to their coping process and survival. The following findings emerged from the data analysis and are discussed vis-à-vis the existing literature on trauma and coping. Personal resources, caring persons, and institutional supports were the major themes on coping strategies that contributed to survivors' coping and moving on. These findings are discussed in the following sections with existing literature.

5.4.1 Personal resources as Coping Strategies

Religion and faith, hope, tolerance and patience, resilience, perceived self-efficacy, change in attitude and being smart were recurrent positive personal traits and attitudes reported by study participants as helpful strategies to cope with child labour traumatic experiences.

This study found that traumatic child labour experiences might have enhanced or engrained in participants certain coping strategies such as hope, tolerance, and aggression, religion and faith, and being smart which contributed to their “resilience” and thereby to their effective coping during and after child labour. It emerged that hope for liberation or freedom and having education motivated adults who were child labourers to persevere in the face of their traumatic experiences. This is consistent with research conducted by Goodman (2004) who investigated how unaccompanied young Sudanese resettled in the U.S.A. coped with trauma and daily hardship and found that hoping and planning for an independent future were major motivating forces in their making intensive efforts at school so as to regain the power to effect a change in their lives and become self-reliant.

Religion and or faith were reported as very fundamental and powerful sources of hope, strength, and source of encouragement in time of adversity. It was found that religious and spiritual activities allow survivors to understand and accept their conditions and to move on as they demonstrate their spiritual development in transcending their past and present difficult situations. It was their faith that a higher force has a hand in their survival and that their religious activities such as prayer, fasting and meditation helped them to find meaning in life. This finding is consistent with studies conducted by Dorais (2007) and Shoeb et al. (2007) amongst former South East Asian refugees resettled in Canada, and amongst Iraqis in the U.S.A. respectively that religion was an important source of hope, meaning and acceptance throughout the refugees' migration process. This study's finding further resonates with Brune et al. (2002), Koss-Chioino and Hefner (2006), Koenig (2007), and Williams and Sternthal (2007) that many people closely associate religion or spirituality's positive effects with personal well-being.

Contrarily, the study's finding is in sharp contrast with Koenig, McCoulogh and Larson, (2001) who reported that individuals using religion and or faith pass through maladaptive processes such as attributing illness to sin, justifying physical or psychological abuse in the name of a spiritual discipline or, refusing potential life-saving treatment. Participants in this study did not attempt to justify their past traumatic experiences as good but believe that their survival was divine. In this respect, it is acknowledged that spirituality supports the personal quest for meaning, purpose, transcendence, and connection with others and values. This finding further correlates with Hornblow, (2007) who found that faith and related practices appear to answer individual spiritual needs such as

hope, meaning, acceptance and transcendence and go beyond traditional measures of religious commitments such as church attendance. Just as Herman's (1992) stage theory of recovery, religion and spirituality have been found to be important coping resources in dealing with everyday events and they also serve as protective factors against severe traumas and stressful situations for survivors.

This study also found that knowledge of others to have suffered or still suffering similar traumatic conditions was source of empowerment to participants. This knowledge motivated them to change their attitude towards themselves, others, and their condition in order to move on in life.

In addition, the study found that participants used avoidance of disclosure as a strategy that helped them to forget about the past and concentrate on the present and future. They were of the opinion that the past is gone and they should not allow it to hold them captives. This attitude, they believed, helped them at the time when they were still struggling to survive and move on. This finding contradicts Folkman and Lazarus (1980) who suggested that in emotion-focused coping, people try to moderate and regulate distressful emotions by strategies such as seeking support from others (as cited in Straub, 2003). They tend to rely on this style of coping when they believe little or nothing can be done to alter the stressful event.

Another main finding of this study is participants' identification of their self-efficacy. It was found that survivors believed they possess some inner motivation and common sense to cope with their situation, to move on and to survive. They indicated that they learned from others (vicarious learning) and "moved on". Self efficacy was expressed through inner motivation, belief in oneself, and vicarious learning. Perceived self-efficacy made it possible for

survivors to find strength from within, motivate themselves to rise above their situation and not to perish but to cope and “move on” after traumatic child labour experiences. They believe they can also become somebody in life just like other people and this knowledge kept them moving on. It was also identified that participants coped during child labour because they learned from others or took inspiration from what others were doing and how they were making it; they were inspired by the abilities and performance of others they perceived as their equal and vicariously learned from them and changed their mentality that helped in their coping and survival. This finding is congruent with the conclusions of Benight and Bandura (2003) and Schwarzer et al. (2005) who have underlined that people who believe they can defeat their trauma demonstrated proactive coping abilities to regain control over their lives rather than having their lives dictated by adverse circumstances. It further supports Scholz et al.’s, (2000) finding that self-efficacy construct tends to be universal despite cross-cultural differences and that people possess the broad and stable sense of personal competence to deal effectively with a variety of stressful situations.

The belief in “self” is a strong coping strategy that gave them strength and hope that one day it will be well with them too if only they keep on coping and moving on. It is this belief that sent and kept them in school to achieve their dreams. It was this belief that made them work long hours and to stay in school in spite of their difficult child labour activities.

Another form of self-efficacy found is the encouragement participants received from caring persons which strengthened them and enabled them to move on. Family members and friends encouraged participants to go to school or to stay in school to make it in life. This has given them hope and propelled them to

move on in life and not to give up on life. This finding correlates with the result of Kanbaras et al. (2008) that emotional support, such as encouragement and empathy which are two examples of social persuasion, positively influenced self-efficacy leading to active coping by diabetic patients and thereby to a reduction in daily stress because of their sense of control over the disease. Further, empirical studies of the application of the self-efficacy theory in understanding depression found there is strong evidence that low self-efficacy beliefs can cause depressive moods (Bandura, 1994; Maddux & Meier, 1995).

This study is rich in its description of resilience following traumatic events. Participants described how they coped and adapted after their difficult experiences. As the description of my model shows, participants used their strengths and available resources to “struggle well” through their pain and suffering (Higgins, 1994). None of the participants made it through the torture unscathed, but they all worked hard to move on and bounce back after their experiences (Agaibi & Wilson, 2005).

5.4.1.2 Resilience, Life Course, and Post Traumatic Growth

The interrelation and utilisation of positive characteristics of resilience⁷ were described by adult survivors of child labour as one effective coping strategy in managing traumatic child labour experiences to “move on” and survive. Resilience was in the form of determination and hard work. To cope with child labour, to achieve their dream of having freedom and education, participants had to work hard by carrying out all their workloads, motivating themselves to

⁷ See discussion on page 212.

persevere in the face of their adversity in the hope that all will end well with them. Participants therefore made good use of every available opportunity by taking advice and encouragement from caring persons, utilising the scholarship opportunities available to them whether adequate or inadequate, and moving on. In this study it emerged that hard work, perseverance in the face of challenges, determination to achieve goals, taking responsibility, having big dreams of education and freedom, hope, “can-do-spirit”, possessing the attitude of “have-known-worst-situations” in other aspects of life, all worked to bring survivors out of child labour not only as freed persons, but as survivors and achievers. This is consistent with Garnezy, (1991), Werner, (1995), Rutter, (1999), Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker, (2000), Marsten, (2001) who suggested that many survivors achieved a better level of functioning than expected and that some turned out to be competent and successfully adapted over time because of personal capacities and external support.

This study extends Bonanno, Papa, & O’Neill’s (2001) concept of resilience and life course approach that resilient individuals may experience transient perturbations in normal functioning such as sporadic preoccupation or restless sleep. Generally, however, they exhibit a stable trajectory of healthy functioning across time with the capacity for generative experiences and positive emotions as some survivors in this study reported of sporadic eating and sleep disorders yet on the whole, reported that they have coped well and have survived.

Again, it was found that survivors’ employment of several means of resilience such as determination, hard work, and support from caring persons and institutions are factors that pushed participants, kept them on track to foster the development of positive outcomes of survival and moving on, and healthy

personality characteristics such as forgiveness and helping others. This finding resonates with research on the concept of resilience and posttraumatic growth in that through the struggling and suffering, survivors reach down more deeply and tap into resources they didn't know they possessed or had not developed (Walsh, 2003; Ayalon, 2005).

Additionally, the study found that one significant trait that has helped participants a lot in coping with their child labour conditions and beyond is their ability to take up responsibility. Participants were of the view that though they had accepted their conditions, they also had to be responsible for their freedom. To be free in order to move on and survive, participants had to employ several means to escape. Though participants know the consequences of their attempts to run away, that did not deter most of them from attempting to run away. Others also worked themselves very hard because they believe they needed freedom which they can only achieve by themselves. They did not accept their condition as never-to-do-well children but rather resolved and set achievable goals and worked hard at their dreams. Hard work, according to participants was their distinctive mark. This finding resonates with Wilson (1995, as cited in Agaibi & Wilson, 2005) who identified similar manifestations of resilience amongst survivors in relation to trauma and PTSD which include acceptance of the trauma experience, a sense of group identity and "self" as a positive survivor, the perception of personal and social resources to cope in a recovery environment, and the capacity to find meaning in their past trauma and life afterwards. This finding is a shift from a focus on failure to a focus on success. This understanding can facilitate repair and growth in troubled people (Walsh, 2003). Although many people experience acute reactions after a traumatic event, most are able to cope,

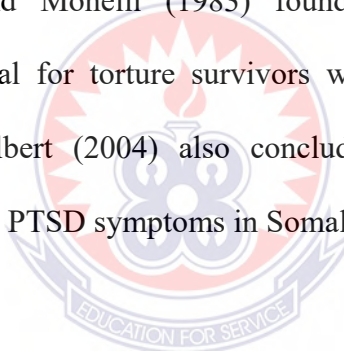
adapt, and bounce back; most do not develop long-term disturbances (McFarlane & Yahuda, 1996; Litz, 2004) as found with the 11 participants in this study.

5.4.1.3 Religion and Narrative Therapy

Clinicians working with war victims have emphasised that after a severe trauma the central point in the recovery process is to integrate this traumatic experience into a meaningful context in the life story of the affected person (Vanista-Kosuta & Kosuta, 1998). This study found that participants recognised their participation in the interactions during this study as moments of off-loading their long carried burdens of unshared traumatic experiences. Furthermore, this integration of past experiences of traumatic events into meaningful life story resonates well with Herman's remembrance and mourning stage in the recovery process where individuals tell their stories to begin the healing process of their traumatic experiences. The development of a coherent narrative is an essential element of post-traumatic growth, allowing people to make sense of their experiences and integrate them into conscious memory (Chesler, 2003), Vanista-Kosuta and Kosuta (1998) observed that giving place to painful events in a person's story is a central component in the recovery of trauma.

This study's finding further confirms Silove's testimonial stage of recovery that was developed on Cienfuegos and Monelli's (1983) treatment for survivors of political violence in Chile that survivor and interviewer work together to tell the survivor's story (the interactive individual interviews, informal interactions, and FGDs) into a formal document (the transcriptions and analysis in this study), and together they look for ways to share the story with others

(submission of this dissertation, publications and creation of platforms for adult survivors to share their experiences). The narrative process was identified by survivors as a moment of healing and recovery as most of them had the chance for the first time after their abuse to tell their stories and be listened to and believed. Survivors acknowledged that because of the time frame between their abuse and now they were not sure they could tell their stories well but indicated that the rapport, the conducive environment together with interviewer's posture, made it possible for the reconstruction of their most difficult life experiences. This finding confirms what Weine et al. (1998) found that testimonial psychotherapy reduced symptoms of PTSD and depression in Bosnian refugees and Cienfuegos and Monelli (1983) found that testimonial therapy was particularly beneficial for torture survivors while Neuner, Schauer, Klaschik, Karunakara, and Elbert (2004) also concluded that brief narrative therapy significantly reduced PTSD symptoms in Somali refugees.



5.4.1.4 Caring Persons and Institutional Supports for Coping and “Moving On”

Whereas data suggests that the personal resources of individuals in the form of resilience, self-efficacy, among others have promoted coping and survival, it was found that caring persons also played a fundamental role in their coping processes. Participants indicated that the presence and availability of these caring persons were significant in overcoming their difficulties because these caring persons encouraged and inspired them, provided practical help, showed recognition and appreciation of participants' personal resources and gave them advice. It was found that such caring persons provided them with the

opportunities to demonstrate and use their skills and talent to become sports boys and police officers. The same positive appreciation was given to all survivors in many ways along their coping process. Such nurturing support was described by adult survivors as an important contributing factor to boost and mobilise their inner resources to overcome child labour difficulties. Many explained that such a support comforted them in their self-belief that they could gradually adjust and thereby cope with life. This finding confirms Carlsson, Olsen et al.'s (2006) finding that strong social relations was related to both mental and physical health quality of life in a longitudinal study of torture survivors from various ethnicities.

Additionally, this finding is consistent with self-efficacy theory and highlights social persuasion (referring to verbal persuasion) which aims at convincing and strengthening people's beliefs that they are capable of performing a task and succeeding (Bandura, 1994; Parajes, 2002). It is also consistent with resilience theory which identifies a supportive environment or supportive relationships outside the family as protective factors serving to improve coping or decrease the negative influence of being at risk. This, however, contradicts Lee's (1988) finding that strong family support before the traumatic experiences of the Holocaust acted as a protective factor in Holocaust survivors because in the case of adult survivors of child labour, their families did little or nothing to prevent participants from entering child labour, a period when these survivors were more vulnerable and needed their families' protection most: an act that could have saved some, if not all participants, from entering child labour.

Another major finding of this study is that the social support provided by caring persons was perceived as more effective than the support provided by formal institutions because of their availability. This is consistent with the

previous findings underlining participants' perceived inadequacy of institutional supports in the area of counselling services and non availability of survivors' peer groups that could provide strength and social support to survivors especially soon after gaining freedom. This finding contributes to the call by Goldberg (2011) that little research has looked at coping over a lifetime rather than focusing on coping immediately preceding, during and immediately following the Holocaust or other traumas. It confirms Robertson et al.'s (2006) and Behnia's (2004) findings that informal support networks can be very beneficial to survivors and that one form of informal connection with others is found in peer support groups.

Several studies have found that social support before or after a torture experience acts as a protective factor from psychological distress. Silove (2005) argued that the best treatment for immediate care after a crisis is social interventions that provide opportunities for work and study, reunite families, provide safety, establish effective systems of justice, and re-establish religious and socio-cultural systems. Conversely, Summerfield (2003) found that Kosovo refugees did not feel they had mental health issues and did not want counselling. They were concerned with finding adequate employment, family reunification, and education. Contrarily, survivors studied in this work indicated their willingness to join peer support groups in order to learn and share their experiences that will empower them. It was also found that they need counselling services that will help them resolve their psychological distress. They expressed their desire for counselling especially immediately after child labour.

5.5 Themes 5 and 6: Barriers and Supports as Consequences to Coping Strategies of Child Labour

Themes five and six helped identify the issues as well as persons who constrained participants attempt to cope and move on during and after traumatic child labour experiences. Since coping strategies employed by participants to cope and move on were the same as the supports: consequences of the negative effects of child labour on them yet, have been discussed under coping strategies above, only the barriers are discussed here.

5.5.1 Barriers to Coping with Personal Resources and Caring Persons

As participants employed coping strategies to manage their traumatic conditions during and after child labour, they encountered some barriers that hindered their coping and moving on. Some of these barriers are vulnerability, psychological distress. Research questions four and five reveal some constraints that inhibited survivors' attempt to cope and move on.

This study found that traumatic experiences exposed survivors to various forms of vulnerability. It was also found that the working conditions exposed them to traumatic experiences that caused fear and trepidation. Being tortured, abused and exposed to witnessing sexual abuse and murder and other forms of abuse left adult survivors traumatised. This finding confirms Pahud (2008) assertion that the social network of trauma survivors is often shattered. They may be separated from and lose loved ones or even witness the death of loved ones. Support systems can also be damaged by fear and mistrust of others after the torture experience. These findings further resonate with Catani et al (2009) that

the extreme cumulative adverse childhood experiences such as war, family violence, child labour, poverty and strong gender differences with respect to both the frequency of such experiences are the cause of different types of stressors with PTSD symptoms. The results suggest that the interplay of multilevel stressors in Afghanistan children contributes to higher vulnerability for the development of PTSDs.

Just as some caring persons supported survivors on their journey to coping, moving on and survival, there were others who hampered their use of coping strategies to cope and move on. These constraints include stigmatisation, and verbal abuse. It was found that society's attitude to child labourers and people who had been child labourers stigmatised survivors and prevented them from reconnecting to their communities and reporting their abuse earlier. Participants also described various unhelpful people including family, friends, and community members as constraints to their coping process. The experiences of torture and murder, and not being believed kept participants from receiving emotional support and reconnecting.

5.5.2 Comparison of the Model of “Moving On” to Other Models

The process model of “moving on” after child labour (see Figure 11) that emerged in this study is similar to existing models developed to understand recovery from trauma. In general, participants in this study described a broad range of areas of their lives that were impacted by traumatic child labour experiences and factors that promoted surviving and moving on that were similar to Silove's (1999) ecological model of systems of health impacted by torture and

mass trauma, including (1) attachment, (2) security, (3) identity/role, (4) human rights, and (5) existential meaning. This broad focus supports arguments that a narrow focus on reducing pathology limits our understanding of the recovery process and overlooks important areas of intervention to promote total well-being of the individual other than health (Watters, 2001; de Jong, 2004, Silove, 2004; Zarowsky, 2004). In addition to Silove's security and attachment and existentialism, this study's model also identifies being present and future focus and establishing and achieving goals as recovery.

In addition, similar to Herman's (1992) model of recovery, results of this study suggest that the process of surviving and "moving on" has a number of complex and reciprocal relationships. Herman (1992) suggested that trauma survivors proceed through three stages in the recovery process: (1) the establishment of safety, (2) remembrance and mourning, and (3) reconnection. In the same manner as Herman's model suggest that individuals do not need to sequentially follow all the three stages, the course of "moving on" does not necessarily follow stages in a straightforward manner. In contrast to Herman's (1992) model, however, this model (see Figure, 8) is not a stage model that describes stages that must be *passed through* for recovery. It is a multi-dimensional model of the process of *utilising personal resources and social supports* to "move on" and survive after child labour trauma. Though it was found that all participants reported establishing safety networks after child labour, not all went through the stages of remembering their past traumatic experiences before reconnecting to others. It emerged that Herman's second stage which is replete with remembrance and grieving was established in this study as except one participant reported having the opportunity for the first time after their

coping to give a vivid account of their past traumatic experiences. Survivors reported that this project allowed them to tell their stories, be listened to and to feel well. Conditions that enabled the process and coping strategies used were unique to each individual within the various dimensions of the model depending on strengths and available resources of the individual and his or her environment.

It was found that survivors used belief and values systems as a major factor that promoted “moving on” after child labour. Participants used their belief and values systems as a religious coping system with other supports and coping strategies. Using belief systems to make meaning after torture has been identified by many researchers as an important component in the healing process after traumatic experiences (Herman, 1992; Silove, 1999). Belief systems in the form of religious and spiritual activities brought about survivors’ understanding and forgiveness of perpetrators, their sense of stability, and making them present and future focused.

Understanding of the Role of Perpetrators: Participants’ belief systems informed their understanding of the role of their perpetrators in the abuse that they had suffered with several mentioning that the experiences were trials from a higher power to make them stronger. Although some people who experienced traumatic events report questioning or losing their faith in a higher power (Ortiz, 2001; Piwowarczyk, 2005), the participants in this study said that they did not lose or question their faith or religious commitment (Shrethsa et al., 1998). Rather, it was found that with all participants, their faith got stronger as a result of their experiences (Overcash et al., 1996; Shaw et al., 2005). In fact, many of the participants stated that their belief in a higher power was the most important factor in “moving on” and surviving after their experiences and felt they were

only able to survive because a higher power allowed them to live. Studies on refugees and their coping strategies have shown perceived importance of belief systems to overcome terrifying events and the challenges of exile.

Faith and religious beliefs were significant in the process of “moving on” after traumatic experience during child labour. Not only were belief systems used to make meaning of experiences, participants used their belief systems to gain strength and courage to endure hardships and to understand how they survived (Shaw et al., 2005). The participants described, almost exclusively, positive patterns of religious coping (Pargament et al., 1998). For example, they described coping through religious practices such as prayer, fasting and forgiveness.

Forgiveness: In addition it emerged that understanding the role of their perpetrators in the abuse survivors suffered, forgiveness is another key component of “moving on” through the use of belief and values systems identified by participants. As with other theories (Herman, 1992; Toussaint et al., 2001; Staub et al., 2005), although not a requirement for coping, being able to forgive perpetrators promoted moving on, gave inner peace, and released anger and emotional pain. In this study, all participants remarked that they have truly forgiven their perpetrators. To them, being able to forgive was a very powerful experience and a significance step into survival which is consequent on their ability to helping others who had been through difficult life experiences. Further, this forgiveness exemplifies itself in participants’ ability to give to society what they had been denied when they were children. Because participants were able to let go of their anger towards others, it was easier for them to connect with others. Not only was forgiveness of perpetrators important in “moving on”, being able to

absolve themselves of any blame for the causes of their childhood trauma or abuse was also considered relieving (Toussaint et al., 2001).

Most likely, because of understanding of role of the perpetrators and forgiveness, most participants did not discuss wanting revenge or justice to be served. Contrary to some research findings, most of the participants were not obsessed with seeking revenge (Silove, 1999), and they did not report that justice had to be served before they could begin coping and survival. However, some participants expressed getting justice for children still in child labour. In addition to forgiveness and understanding, another reason for this lack of desire for revenge and justice could be the geographic distance participants now have from where the abuses occurred and the time frame between the abuse and now. It was found that survivors found it difficult to seek justice because they have lost track of the perpetrators to initiate any cause for justice.

Being Present and Future Focused: “Moving on” also means focusing on the present and future in order to achieve set goals that will enhance one’s position in life. This study found that having education, getting employment and taking part in normal routines such as sports, social activities, and establishing their own families were helpful in regaining self-respect and self-confidence. This confirms Almedon and Summerfield’s (2004) assertion that these allow survivors to regain control of their lives.

Establishing Safety and Stability: Participant described coping strategies they used to establish safety and stability. It was found that physically leaving child labour locations, emotionally distancing the traumatic experience through avoidance of disclosure or situational avoidance and gaining freedom that culminated in having education and employments made survivors stable.

Survivors however, reported that psychological distress, such as flashbacks, memory problems, depression, and nightmares were major barriers in establishing and maintaining stability. Isakson (2008), working on torture survivors opined that a sense of safety and support actually empowers survivors to move on from their past to live in the present by exploring action strategies such as disclosing experiences, controlling memories, supporting others, and utilizing available supports. He found that moving on led to improved relationships, more adaptive functioning, improved health, and release from emotional pain.

Establishing Emotional Support: Because torture and trauma survivors often isolate themselves emotionally from others, emotional support and reconnection is very important in “moving on” as identified in the models of Herman (1992) and Silove (1999). When survivors reconnect with others, they are able to receive emotional support (Herman, 1992; Silove, 1999; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). This study found that participants first connected with someone informally (e.g., friends and teachers) with whom they developed a relationship and who later helped them take advantage of additional support and services such as starting or going back to school that promoted coping and moving on.

One of the qualities of this study is richness of the descriptions given by participants of emotional support they received. They described establishing support and connection through encouragement, inspiration, and recognition and appreciation of their personal resources from caring persons. A related factor in establishing social support identified by participants was that caring persons did not push them into taking decisions (Fabri, 2001) but encouraged them to take their time in establishing relationships and making decisions.

Farmer and Hafeez (1989) investigated the resettlement experience of 114 South East Asian refugees resettled in New Zealand and found that “the most important thing to a newly arrived refugee in the host country is to find a job and become financially independent” (p.166). Not being able to achieve that goal leads to adverse mental outcomes documented worldwide (Chile, 2002; Colic-Peisker & Walker, 2003). Studies conducted by these authors amongst different groups of refugees resettled in New Zealand, Australia or the U.S.A. found that chronic unemployment or job insecurity increased people’s feelings of being both hopeless and useless, as well as their sense of stigma and discrimination. Contrarily, adult survivors in this study reported that since they had education, they had had no challenge with employment. They had indicated constantly the significant role education and employment played in their “moving on” and survival and they were satisfied with their work and life in general. Participants recognised that focusing on the past was unnecessary, therefore, they concentrated on the present and a future they can create for themselves. Participants also reported that in addition to their university degrees, they also furthered their professional programmes such as the coach having his university degree and licensure in coaching to become a professional coach.

5.5.3 Personal Achievements

This study found that having education to a higher level, accessing work and establishing their own families were the major indicators that participants have coped and survived. Many participants indicated that these were linked intrinsically to education, economic independence and the ability to provide for

one's own family was critical to survival and moving on. It was identified that participants' employment gave them the chance to work with and interact with prominent persons in society in addition to winning prestigious national and international awards which have all contributed to their sense of personal achievement and survival. Participants' ability to provide for their children, seeing them through education and making necessary investments for their future are significant strides made towards their survival. These they reported, helped them to put their past traumatic experiences behind them believing that they have shed off the stigma, poverty and broken the cycle of child labour in their children. However, participants did not indicate that family reunification was a major achievement and a powerful source in coping with child labour and survival.

Another significant finding is participants accepting leadership positions after their child labour experiences so as to eliminate their low self-esteem. They have used such positions as means of reaching out to others. This way, participants seem to be giving to society what they were denied. They gave love when they had been maltreated; they gave hope when they received indignation. The acceptance of leadership roles also helped reduce participants' level of vulnerability as they were able to exercise their power and authority: an exercise they never had the privilege to do.

5.5.4 Traumatic Child Labour Experiences and Positive Growth

While most theories focus on the negative consequences of trauma, several theories have been developed to describe the positive effects of experiencing trauma. These theories such as posttraumatic growth examine possible positive transformations following trauma. When only the negative

aspects of trauma are examined, a biased understanding of posttraumatic reactions occur (Linley & Joseph, 2004). This study found that individuals who went through the full rigours of child labour and suffered untold hardships of different kinds of abuse during their developmental years when they were most vulnerable could not be said to have “remained unscathed”. Survivors reported how they suffered abuse and had to rely on coping strategies such as personal resources of self-efficacy and resilience and social supports in order to cope and survive their traumatic experiences. This finding confirms Antonovsky’s (1979, 1987) broader concept of salutogenesis (origins of health) in response to the negative concept of pathogenesis (etiology of disease) in which he modeled that individuals mobilise their “generalised resistance resources” to manage stress and deal with the negative effects of the environment (phenomenon). This study’s finding is in contrast with alternative theories which recognise the possibility of “remaining unscathed” following trauma (Almedon, 2005).

Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) developed the concept of posttraumatic growth as a positive psychological change experienced after the struggle with a traumatic or very difficult life experience and that growth is not due to experiencing a traumatic event, but struggling with the new reality after the event. While the finding of this study resonates with Tedeschi and Calhoun’s findings that individuals experience post traumatic growth after trauma, it contradicts their assertion that the growth is not due to the traumatic experiences. This study found that survivors have developed these positive traits as result of their past traumatic experiences. The positive perception of survivors and their conditions are based on their ability to cope with their traumatic experience. Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) concluded that people who experience such

growth, experience improvement in some areas that exceed what was present prior to the traumatic experience. The trajectory for trauma is not either growth or pathology, but growth and distress are often found together.

5.6 Theme 6: Consequences of Child Labour

Theme six further brought to bare whether participants in the Central Region of Ghana received any form of counselling that assisted coping and “moving on”. It was found that none of the adult survivors in the study received any form of counselling but were aware of the benefits of receiving counselling and forming peer group for support.

Informal support networks can be very beneficial to survivors. This study found that no survivor received any form of formal counselling services but that participants reported that they talked to friends to cope. This finding confirms Behnia’s (2001) finding that members of an informal social network often include family members, friends, religious leaders, neighbours, and co-workers who are supportive. Additionally, survivors in this study expressed their desire to form groups to which they can share their experiences and take strength. This was also found by Behnia (2004) that one form of informal connection with others is found in peer support groups. He was of the view that these groups allow survivors to meet other survivors who have experienced similar atrocities. Some of the other benefits include advice on finding friends, being understood, learning and talking about their problems, and learning about community services. He recommended establishing ‘Community gardens’ to connect survivors with other survivors, community members, and caring professionals.

These settings allow survivors to reconnect with the environment and provide a safe setting for them to express their challenges and hopes for the future.

5.7 Theme 7: Counselling with Adult Survivors of Child Labour

5.7.1 Purpose of Counselling

This guideline is based on the experiences of 11 adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana, counsellor-in-waiting's interventions with some of the participants during this study, and our collective extensive counselling expertise (myself and my thesis supervisors). The guidelines were produced as part of the purpose of the thesis to help meet the demands of counselling adult survivors and children still caught up in child labour. As counsellors working with adults who had experienced child labour, we need to understand the rubrics and dynamics of child labour. For effective therapeutic sessions on child labour, counsellors need to understand that children are not properties. They are humans with dignity and worth and deserve to be respected and treated well. And that sometimes, most children engage in work to educate themselves for a better future that their parents are not able to provide for them.

Counsellors need to have an understanding of traumatic events and their characteristics so as to be able to identify the symptoms in clients. Individuals who had been child labourers suffer some kind of trauma which affect them physically, psychologically, socially and educationally for which they need counselling in order to recover and function optimally. Traumatic child labour

experiences may include one or more of the following characteristics⁸. The criteria for assessing traumatic child labour experiences may follow Pitonyak's (2011) suggestion⁹.

The risk of child labour relates partly to increased vulnerability in childhood and effects of abuse experiences in adulthood. Most survivors reported increased risk of psychological distress, sexual and general physical/health difficulties which may result in self-destructive behaviour, or attacks on valued relationships. Survivors will need emotional support of some kind, but their needs may vary. All survivors need to be listened to with respect and without being judged when they choose to talk about their experiences. They want to be believed and to feel they have been understood. Mutual support from other survivors who have had similar traumatic experiences can be very valuable: it may help survivors to feel less isolated and to recognise that none of the abuse they experienced was their fault. They will get this kind of support if they join a peer support group.

Some survivors may benefit from more formal counselling - immediately after escaping or being rescued from child labour, when physical safety and practical issues are likely to be of greater concern. Therefore, it is now well

⁸Physical abuse: torture; verbal abuse; sexual abuse; emotional abuse: witnessing abuse and murder; neglect and abandonment; loss of parent or parent's retirement at a person's early age; separation from family and friends at an early age; frequent changes in residential placements.

⁹ Traumatic event:

- a) The adult survivor had been exposed to a traumatic event in which one or two of the following were present:
 - i) The adult as a child had experienced, or witnessed a torturous event,
 - ii) The event caused intense fear, helplessness or lack of control in the person,
- b) Re-experiencing the traumatic event:
 - i) Recurrent and intrusive distressing recollection of the child labour abuse including physical scars and thoughts,
 - ii) Nightmares involving the past traumatic event, flashbacks,
 - iii) Psychological distress at events similar to past experience.

accepted that abuse (both in childhood and in adult life) is often the main factor in the development of depression, anxiety and other mental health disorders, and may lead to sleep disturbances, self-harm, suicide and attempted suicide, eating disorders and substance misuse (Pitonyak, 2011). Let the client understand that child labour can have an enormous effect on their whole life.

5.7.2 General Guideline for Counseling with Child Labour

Abuse, especially, sexual abuse experienced during child labour can cause distrust of authority and avoidance of intimate relationships. Clients may fear that the therapist cannot be trusted. Begin your interventions by building strong rapport based on *Respect, Acceptance, and Worth* (RAW system) of the client:

- *Respect*: Treat your client with empathy. Listen attentively: give your clients time to narrate their experiences at their own pace.
- *Acceptance*: Believe their story by being in their frame of reference: Avoid being judgmental and be full of acceptance. Be patient and help clients to express emotions through warmth and care.
- *Worth*: Give encouragement during the narrative session as you empathise. Build on their resources: Help clients identify their potentials or personal resources and help them focus on achieving positive changes rather than being overwhelmed with the past traumatic experience. Offer help: Help your clients to find social support where available and to identify peer support groups for help.

Survivors initially fear being overwhelmed and losing control. Unresolved grief and anger need to be faced if it is to be accepted, but difficulties may

worsen during the narrative session. This is helped by allowing the survivors to progress at a pace set by them, working with what the survivor brings, rather than trying to 'reconstruct' missing material. Throughout the sessions, focusing on achievement and reinforcement of coping strategies are vital to building self-esteem. Survivors may seek help for sexual difficulties as a result of childhood sexual abuse that occurred during child labour. Feelings of disgust about sex, flashbacks and memories may result in a lack of interest or responsiveness, and fear or avoidance of sex. This may be dealt with through specific focused work on an individual or if possible, with the couple.

5.7.3 Counsellor Characteristics

The following are characteristics that counsellors should exhibit during the counselling session for effective counselling with a survivor:

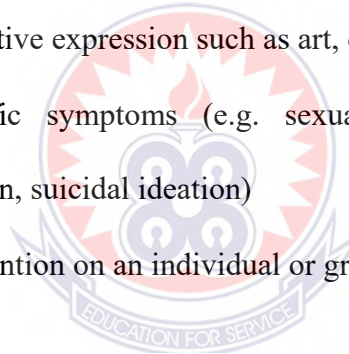
- calm, empathic, compassionate, and nonjudgmental,
- truly understand and build trust to facilitate the narrative experience,
- take a stance of respect and acceptance towards the survivor,
- demonstrate counsellor confidentiality (e.g. firm boundaries on session arrangements),
- ensure the safety of the counselling session (e.g. an assurance of no physical contact in sessions; no third party present unless with the survivor's approval).

5.7.4 Intervention and Therapeutic Approaches

Many effective therapeutic approaches and techniques have been used with trauma survivors. The client's needs, however, should be the final determinant of the approach the therapist chooses to use to support recovery. This study suggests two models that counsellors may use during therapy. They are not exhaustive but counsellors could learn and use a wide range of trauma counselling approaches.

5.7.4.1 Intervention Approaches for Counsellors

- may use unstructured and open-ended narrative technique,
- include creative expression such as art, dance, demonstration,
- treat specific symptoms (e.g. sexual dysfunction; anger, lack of concentration, suicidal ideation)
- offer intervention on an individual or group basis.



5.7.4.1.1 A Trauma Survivor Therapy (Proposed Therapy)

A trauma survivor therapy is a mixture of social learning therapy, life course therapy and stage-specific form of therapy in which the emotional conflicts caused by the traumatic event are the focus of treatment, particularly as they relate to the client's early life experiences through his life span. Important principles of this treatment model include respect, acceptance, worth (RAW) system positive regard, and the assumption of growth through resilience and self-efficacy. Key concepts for practitioners to follow are support, therapeutic feedback, and working through the trauma. The rationale of trauma survivor

therapy is that a client's retelling the traumatic event to a calm, empathic, compassionate, and nonjudgmental counsellor will result in greater self-esteem, more effective thinking strategies, and an increased ability to manage intense emotions successfully. On the basis of an analysis of power, this therapeutic approach treats victims of abuse and neglect by focusing on their strengths, despite losses and injuries and makes them feel accepted, believed and trusted. It takes into account the impact of trauma within the survivor's socio-cultural and economic context, emphasising respect and empathy for all child labourers who have been abused. Trauma survivor therapy explores the coping strategies adopted by survivors and builds on their strengths while exploring new ways of coping and so enabling survivors to reach their full potentials. Throughout the process, the therapist helps the client identify current life situations that trigger traumatic memories and exacerbate stress symptoms.

5.7.4.1.2 *A Stage-Specific Model* (Herman, 1997)

Herman (1997) described trauma recovery as unfolding in three broad stages. The first stage focuses on establishing a client's safety and stabilization. Once these goals are reached, the client proceeds to the next stage of remembering, exploring, and mourning past traumas. The third and final stage of recovery is described as one of reconnection. This stage focuses on expanding and revitalizing the relational world of the client. The therapeutic alliance is described as a collaborative relationship with the client in charge of recovery; the therapist's role is described as that of witness, consultant, and ally (Herman, 1997).

5.7.5 Starting Therapy

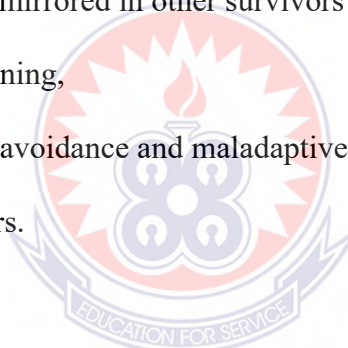
1. Get to know the person
 - Spend some time with the person interacting with him/her and show interest in his affairs.
2. Help tell the person's story: Child labourers hold lofty story that most people think to be normal/usual. Their stories are buried beneath layers of pain and humiliation/stigmatisation.
 - Pay attention to non-verbal cues as well.
 - Do a careful review of the person's history as well as family background.
 - In the process of gathering information on the person, look out for the following:
 - Type of child labour experience: fishing, farming, domestic work
 - Type of abuse: *what*—sexual, physical, psychological; *where*—location of the traumatic experience; *when*—time of the abuse.
 - Age of the client at the time of the abuse and relationship to the perpetrator
 - Intensity of abuse/trauma.
 - Subsequent reaction to the trauma/abuse: depression, anger, situational avoidance, timidity, fearfulness, aggression, self-efficacy, resilience.
 - Duration of the abuse: length over which the traumatic experience occurred.

5.7.6 Group Therapy

Child labour thrives through deception, secrecy and collusion. For survivors who fear memories of the experience of abuse, a climate of open inquiry in a non-judgmental atmosphere can be reassuring. It is effective to form peer group therapy or identify one and encourage client to participate.

Benefits of Group Therapy

- reduces isolation and stigmatization,
- provides role models, coping strategies and information sharing,
- being believed and listened to by peers enables self- acceptance,
- seeing experiences mirrored in other survivors enables self-reflection and vicarious learning,
- helps in improving avoidance and maladaptive coping strategies that can be challenged by peers.



5.8 Summary

Building on the results of the study in Chapter Four, a structured discussion based on the research questions as building blocks in terms of findings was done in this chapter through broad-based thematic and paradigmatic analyses. Throughout the discussion, the findings were related to existing literature either confirming or disconfirming it. Based on the findings and the counseling services provided during this study, a guideline delineating how to assist adults who have experienced child labour has been suggested.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The main objective of this qualitative study was to explore how adult survivors of child labour coped with child labour in the Central Region of Ghana. Chapter Five presented the findings of the study in terms of related literature reviewed using the grounded theory approach. This chapter presents summary of key findings in respect of research questions as formulated in chapter one, conclusions indicating the outcomes of the study, and recommendations based on the research questions and data analysis, strengths and weaknesses of methodological choices and research process as well as limitations of the study, beginning with an overview of preceding chapters.

6.2 Overview of Preceding Chapters

Chapter one provides a general background to the study under the major headings of Problem Statement, Purpose, Research Questions, Significance of the Study, Delimitations, Definition of Terms, and the Organisation of the Study. Chapter Two reviews relevant literature pertaining to theoretical and conceptual frameworks and identifies the gaps in the literature that justify a study of this nature. Chapter Three, positions the research within qualitative methodological paradigm while Chapter Four presents an analysis and explanations of the results of the study and develops a theoretical model of the coping process and “moving

on”. Chapter Five contains discussion of the findings with existing literature and presents a counselling guide to helping adult survivors.

6.3 Summary of Key Findings from the Study

1. Though analysis was done using the thematic paradigm approaches, the findings derived from these analyses are presented in line with their research questions. Research Question One sought to find out the nature of child labour that adult survivors experienced.

- i. It was found that participants engaged in various community-based child labour activities such as farming, fishing and domestic work to earn money, to provide for the family, or to go to school. The kind of child labour activity one engages in is largely determined by the occupation of the people or where one finds himself at the time of child labour.
 - ii. Due to poverty and cultural norms, such as parental authority and birth order and role, children were pushed into work.
 - iii. Child labour experiences are traumatic due to the abuse that participants suffered.
 - iv. After detailed analysis of Research Question One, the study identified eight “defining characteristics” of trauma embedded in child labour (See Chapter Five).
2. The second research question required participants to indicate how childhood experiences of child labour influence their lives in general.
- i. It emerged that psychologically, survivors developed low self-esteem which made them to have poor self-concept and look up to others for approval and recognition.

- ii. Survivors were often overwhelmed with intense fear of death, of the unknown, and of not being trusted by parents.
 - iii. They experienced vulnerability, stigmatization, and loss of power of agency as children.
 - iv. Survivors have become resilient and have self-efficacy. They have transcend their conditions by being able to forgive and have positive world view.
 - v. At the end of analysing Research Question Two, the study identified several characteristics of negative effects of child labour on adults who had survived child labour to help in diagnosing both children who are rescued from child labour or adults who had experienced it for counselling interventions (See Chapter Five).
3. Research Question Three required participants to describe the strategies they employed to cope and to survive.
 - i. It was found that hope for liberation or freedom and having education motivated participants to persevere in the face of child labour adversity.
 - ii. Additionally, religion and faith, change in attitude and resilience were some personal resources that participants used to cope with child labour traumatic experiences. These helped participants to accept their conditions and to move on whilst knowledge that others have suffered similar traumatic conditions or are still suffering egged some survivors on to move on.
 - iii. It was found that survivors used religious and spiritual activities as a major factor that promoted “moving on” after child labour. Participants

used their belief and values systems as a religious coping system with other supports and coping strategies.

- iv. There is a strong relationship between resilience, life course approach and traumatic growth where survivors make use of their personal resources and social supports to bounce back after traumatic experiences of child labour and have positive world view and forgiveness.
 - v. It was found that narrative approach to this study provides most survivors the first time opportunity to share their past experiences and feel relieved.
 - vi. Another very significant finding in this study was the use of perceived self-efficacy to cope with child labour. Self-efficacy gave participants strength, and motivated them. Several sources of self-efficacy such as vicarious learning, verbal persuasion and mastering past experiences were identified with participants coping process.
 - vii. During the coping process, it was found that support from caring persons and institutions were factors that pushed participants, kept them on track to foster the development of positive outcomes of survival and “moving on”, and healthy personality characteristics such as forgiveness and helping others.
 - viii. Another major finding of this study was that the social support provided by caring persons was perceived as more effective than institutional support which were most often, inadequate or misappropriated.
4. Research Questions Four and Five reveal some constraints that inhibited survivors’ attempt to cope and move on. They helped identified the issues as well as persons who constrained participants’ attempt to cope and move on during and after traumatic child labour experiences. Coping

strategies employed by participants to cope and move on were the same as the supports they received. As participants employed coping strategies to manage their traumatic conditions during and after child labour, they encountered some barriers that hindered their coping and moving on. Some of these barriers are vulnerability, and psychological distress.

- i. This study found that traumatic experiences exposed survivors to various forms of vulnerability. It was also found that the working conditions exposed them to traumatic experiences that caused fear and trepidation. Being tortured, sexually abused and or exposed to witnessing sexual abuse and murder and other forms of abuse left adult survivors traumatised.
- ii. It was found that society's attitude to child labourers and people who had been child labourers stigmatised survivors and prevented them from reconnecting to their communities and reporting their abuse earlier.
- iii. Participants also described various unhelpful people including family, friends, and community members as constraints to their coping process. The experiences of torture and murder, and not being believed kept participants from receiving emotional support and reconnecting.
- iv. The process model of "moving on" after child labour that emerged in this study is similar to existing models developed to understand recovery from trauma. In general, participants in this study described a broad range of areas of their lives that were impacted by traumatic child labour experiences and factors that promoted surviving and moving on that were similar to Silove's (1999) ecological model of systems of health impacted by torture and mass trauma.

- v. In addition, similar to Herman's (1992) model of recovery, results of this study suggest that the process of surviving and "moving on" has a number of complex and reciprocal relationships. Herman (1992) suggested that trauma survivors proceed through three stages in the recovery process: 1) the establishment of safety, 2) remembrance and mourning, and 3) reconnection. In the same manner as Herman's model suggest that individuals do not need to sequentially follow all the three stages, the course of "moving on" in this study does not necessarily follow stages in a straightforward manner. In contrast to Herman's (1992) model, however, this model is not a stage model that describes stages that must be *passed through* for recovery. It is a multi-dimensional model of the process of *utilising personal resources and social supports* to survive and "move on" after child labour trauma.
- vi. Though it was found that all participants reported establishing safety networks after child labour, not all went through the stages of remembering their past traumatic experiences before reconnecting to others. It emerged that Herman's second stage which is replete with remembrance and grieving was established in this study as participants reported having the opportunity for the first time after their coping to give a vivid account of their past traumatic experiences. Survivors reported that this project allowed them to tell their stories, be listened to and to feel well.
- vii. This study found that having higher education, accessing work and establishing families were the major indicators that participants have coped and survived.

- viii. It was identified that participants' employment gave them the chance to work and interact with prominent persons in society in addition to winning prestigious national and international awards which have all contributed to their sense of personal achievement and survival.
 - ix. Participants' ability to provide for their children, seeing them through education and making necessary investments for their future are significant strides made towards their survival. These they reported, helped them to put their past traumatic experiences behind them believing that they have shed off the stigma, poverty and broken the cycle of child labour in their children.
 - x. However, participants did not indicate that family reunification was a major achievement and a powerful source in coping with child labour and survival.
 - xi. This study found that survivors have developed these positive traits as result of their past traumatic experiences. The positive perception of survivors and their conditions are based on their ability to cope with their traumatic experience.
5. The last research question sought to find answers as to whether participants in the Central Region of Ghana received any form of counselling that assisted coping and "moving on".
- i. It was found that none of the adult survivors in the study received any form of counselling but were aware of the benefits of receiving counselling.
 - ii. Additionally, survivors expressed their desire to form groups to which they can share their experiences and take strength.

- iii. This question also facilitated the development of a guideline counselling trauma survivors.

6.4 Conclusions from the Study

This study explored the coping strategies of eleven adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana. This study identifies that individuals who, by a change in the social structure had their childhood disorganised through child labour, managed through the use of some coping strategies to reconstruct their lives over time to become survivors. They also were actively engaged in changing the same structure of child labour that contributed to their childhood abuse experiences by helping other children still caught up in child labour. The following conclusions were drawn:

1. Child labour is a traumatic experience as it exposes survivors to abuse. This proposition is premised on the fact that the descriptions of child labour experiences narrated by survivors meet the international definition of trauma.
2. The eight “defining characteristics” of trauma identified in this study may serve to classify child labour experiences as traumatic events that could help counselling psychologists to begin to work with trauma theories when treating clients with child labour history.
3. Additionally, the characteristics of negative effects identified could be used in diagnosing both children who are rescued from child labour and adults who have experienced it for counselling interventions.

4. The effects of difficult child labour experiences are fairly common and frequently associated with psychological distress that continues into adulthood and play a significant role in their survival as individuals.
5. Adults who escaped and survived child labour physically and cognitively leaving their experience and its environment reported strong sense of stability which was significant to their coping and moving on.
6. During the process of coping; understanding the role of perpetrators, forgiveness, avoidance of disclosure and the narrative exposition served as a way of grieving over the experiences and letting go of the past which enabled survivors to move on with life.
7. Adult survivors of child labour used two or more sources of perceived self-efficacy as coping strategy. These sources employed by participants bring together both the personal resources they possess and social supports they received from caring persons and institutions to cope and move on.
8. Grounded theory approach to the study of adult survivors of child labour yields a theoretical model that sees the survivor in his/her context of lived traumatic experiences of child labour under the predisposing conditions employing some personal resources to handle the effect of the phenomenon. In the midst of these, survivors encountered barriers yet, persevered in their quest to cope. These positive effects of self-efficacy, positive worldview lead to traumatic growth through adversity. Within this model lies the central phenomenon of moving on where survivors gained freedom, were present and future focused, established and

achieved goals, acquired educational and economic independence that have changed their lives positively.

9. The diversity in outcomes may be attributed to characteristics of the abuse experienced, environmental conditions, survivor attributes, and availability of social support and resources.
10. The benefit of peer group will allow survivors to meet other survivors who have experienced similar traumatic conditions. Some of the other benefits include advice on finding friends, being understood, learning and talking about their problems, and learning about community services. This contributes to knowledge about the role and benefit of counselling services and peer support groups for survivors during the course of coping and surviving which is seen to be very crucial but which has been little researched.
11. The life course framework and trauma theories can be used as a backdrop to better understand the traumatic experiences of child labourers.
12. There is positive growth through trauma that enhances individuals' understanding, encourages forgiveness and directs one into finding meaning in life.
13. The counselling guideline in this study would serve as a foundation for trauma counselling with survivors of disaster and child labour.

6.5 Reflections on Possible Contributions of the Study

6.5.1 Theoretical Contributions

1. Theoretically, this study has positioned child labour experiences within trauma studies that deserve understanding and traumatic approach to intervention.
2. Through the development of the theoretical models for the coping process and “moving on”, this study establishes the primary models that could be used in future research either developing it further or validating its applicability in research related to survivors with past traumatic experiences.
3. This study provides a shift from a focus on failure to a focus on success which is the core subject matter of positive psychology. This understanding can facilitate repair and growth in troubled people. Although many people experience acute reactions after a traumatic event, most are able to cope, adapt, and bounce back; most do not develop long-term disturbances (Walsh, 2003).
4. This study adds to the concept of resilience and the theory of life course approach that resilient individuals may experience transient perturbations in normal functioning such as sporadic preoccupation or restless sleep but generally exhibit a stable trajectory of healthy functioning across time with the capacity for generative experiences and positive emotions (Bonanno, Papa, & O’Neill’s, 2001).
5. It also adds to resilience theory which identifies a supportive environment or supportive relationships outside the family as coping strategies serving to improve coping or decrease the negative influence of being at risk.

6. This study extends our knowledge on self-efficacy theory by highlighting social persuasion (referring to verbal persuasion), mastering past experiences, and vicarious learning which aim at convincing and strengthening people's beliefs that they are capable of performing a task and succeeding (Bandura, 1994; Parajes, 2002).

6.5.2 Methodological Contributions

- 1) At the end of the study, the coping process reflected that the diagramming had been useful for thinking about things and that it was good to look at child labour from another perspective: adult survivors' coping strategies. The generation of process diagrams pivoted on an inter-play between narratives based interviews and discussions, and the art of diagramming built on my ability to create a close relationship with participants is the pivot for constructivist grounded theory work (Charmaz, 2000). The process of coping strategies requires reflection on a past traumatic experience of child labour and partnership between participants and my role as a facilitator.
- 2) The aim of using diagrams is consistent with the technique outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998), but embraces the call of Charmaz (2000) to re-engage with the raw data in constructivist grounded theory. Rather than 'stand back', using diagrams as a method enables the participant(s) to move forward and stand with the researcher in moving from identifying the story, defining the descriptive story and formalising a 'storyline memo'. This was vividly captured in the series of figures described in this

study, particularly Figures 9 and 11, where the level of thought and movement that went into the creation of these diagrams had a flow, energy and fluidity that was not far removed from the creation of a substantive grounded theory, with “moving on” as the basic social process that both explains and transcends the data.

6.5.3 Professional Contributions: Implications for Trauma Counselling

1. If the argument holds in public opinion that sexual violence against children is fairly common and is frequently associated with psychological distress that continues into adulthood, then same debate can be put forward that effects of child labour experiences continue into adulthood: playing a significant role in their survival as individuals. Having knowledge in this area is critical for all individuals working with survivors, including victim advocates, counsellors, community health workers, and policy makers. First, this study promotes continued empathy and support for survivors through its methodology and counselling guidelines. Second, the knowledge may help diverse groups of service providers to respond to current trends in traumatic interventions of adult survivors. In this context, it is helpful for counselling professionals to have an in-depth knowledge of child labour issues in order to establish trust and cooperation of survivors. This will aid drawing a large number of survivors to seek counselling assistance in resolving their life challenges especially survivors who are struggling to cope with life.
2. A primary implication of this study’s findings relates to the academic preparation of graduate students to engage in *trauma counselling* pursuits

prior to placement in the field as interns or active agency employees. Contemporary graduate training in counselling demands an increased focus on understanding and intervening in the many recognised forms of posttraumatic reactions. From natural disasters to human violence inflicted on a domestic, national, and international scale, traumatic events are currently understood to be normative rather than outside the range of usual human experience. Thus, understanding posttraumatic experience relating to child labour is important for general counselling practitioners as well as for trauma specialists.

3. The guideline developed in this study is to serve as a springboard on which subsequent research and interventions can be built. The logical extension of this line of thought is that counsellors must possess skills at the individual as well as policy level in order to shape social and psychological issues to meet client needs, protect client rights, and ensure freedom from oppressive barriers.
4. The life course perspective has many implications for counselling practice, including the following:
 - i) It helps clients make sense of their unique life's journeys and to use that understanding to improve their current situations. Where appropriate, counsellors could help survivors to construct a lifeline of interlocking trajectories in order to assess their present placement on the life continuum.
 - ii) It helps to understand the historical contexts of clients' lives and the ways that important social/ historical events have influenced their behaviour. Where appropriate, counsellors could use life event inventories to get a sense of the level of stress in a client's life.

- iii) It helps counsellors to be aware of the potential to develop interventions that can serve as turning points to help individuals, families, communities, and organizations to get back on track.
- iv) Work with the media to keep the public informed about the impact of changing social conditions on individuals, families, communities, and formal organizations.
- v) Counsellors need to recognise the ways that the lives of family members are linked across generations and the impact of circumstances in one generation on other generations.
- vi) Counsellors need to use existing research on risk, protection, and resilience to develop prevention programs.
- vii) Counsellors working with child labourers and adult survivors of child labour need to be aware of the age and cultural norms of their clients.
- viii) Counsellors need to support and help to develop clients' sense of personal competence for making life choices.

6.6 Limitations of the Study

Though informal conversations and media literature indicate that there are a number of adults in prominent positions in life who had had child labour experiences, accessing this population proved very daunting. Participants most often were not available for data collection and participant validation. Further, at the initial stage of data collection, participants did not open up early to narrate their experiences. It took a lot of rapport building for participants to eventually relax and tell their stories. All this delayed the research process.

6.7 Emerging Hypotheses from the Study

1. Self-efficacy beliefs and outcomes expectancies are significant determinants of coping with child labour.
2. Trauma produces stress that necessitates the use of coping strategies among adult survivors of child labour.
3. There is a significant relationship among self-efficacy, resilience, social support and positive coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour.
4. Perceived self-efficacy influences successful coping with child labour.

6.8 Strengths of Methodological Choices and Research Process

Choosing a case of adult survivors of child labour living in the Central Region of Ghana and applying the grounded theory approach implies certain advantages. Firstly, focusing on only one region enabled me to move between the communities and establish rapport with the participants. This made it possible for me to become part of their families and gain insight into their personal experiences (Merriam, 1998). The decision to apply the grounded theory to the study of these participants furthered the advantage of the in-depth study of this sample as one of the advantages of qualitative research lies in the rich contextual data gathered in the natural setting and from the perspectives of the participants. Using the individual interviews helped in the identification of challenges of participants that necessitated individual counselling sessions to assist some of the participants to overcome some of their psychological challenges.

Secondly, by using the grounded theory that does not necessitate large sample size, I was able to focus on the few cases and gain in-depth knowledge of

the phenomenon under study. The selection of the Central Region can be regarded as cost-effective in terms of time and space as I live in the region. The focus group discussion also provided members the opportunity to learn from others and share their experiences. This was regarded by participants as strengthening/empowering them for which they wish to form an association to learn from and to empower others too. Participants' appreciation of the FGDs improved our relationship. Frequent contacts with participants as follow-up sessions kept participants enthusiastic about the project till the end.

The model presented in this study provides a description of personal and social supports that interact to provide an opportunity for coping and growth. The model presented can be examined further qualitatively and quantitatively. This study has a variety of strengths that promoted gathering rich data and interpreting it in a meaningful way. I intentionally attempted to limit influence of the interviewer by keeping the interview questions open ended. Participants were able to tell their experiences in their own manner and at their own pace, regarding the effects of child labour and their coping process. In addition, the participants were from many different ethnic groups across the country and there was a broad age range. This was helpful in developing the model of coping and moving on because the participants' child labour experiences were unique from each other, but there were many common experiences in the process of coping and moving on.

Collaboration

Another strength of the study is the broad range of collaboration in developing the study and in data interpretation. I approached participants in this study with strong counselling principles of acceptance, worth and positive unconditional regard. I established rapport with them which enabled me to gain their trust, and thus, they were excited to have me do a research study with them. They were very supportive throughout the whole process. I consulted with participants through member checks to get their feedback on the themes they described. They were able to confirm my conclusions and clarify any misinterpretations.

My encounter with survivors became a collaborative theoretical journey with the locus of control being shared with participants. The *a priori* and *in vivo* coding process enabled analytical and reflexive work completed through diagramming as part of the interview and these brought participants and me together in a shared process of theoretical coding as the study progressed. The research methodology allowed participants to co-construct and generate their own subjective storylines of child labour experiences, the effects such experiences had on them, their coping processes, and the “moving on” (Plummer, 2005). Arguably, my role as a researcher provided participants with an opportunity and techniques to provide ‘transforming knowledge’ based on the ‘interpretive renditions’ of worlds we study rather than an external reporting of events and statements.

In terms of data analysis, I had advisors and coders with broad ranges of experience from child labour, counselling psychology and applied linguistics. I purposely sought feedback from non-experts in the development of the codebook

and in coding to avoid group think. Thus, through the collaboration of people with varied expertise, I was able to develop and carry out a study that allowed meaningful data to be gathered and interpreted in a culturally sensitive manner.

Positive Experience from Participation in the Study

In addition, being in the study seemed to be a very relevant and positive experience for the participants and myself. Participants expressed gratitude for being able to tell their stories and to be listened to. One participant stated, *“In my heart we very much appreciate today. You give me the chance to express my thinking inside my mind I keep for a long time. Today I have the time to open it, to record it.”* It appears that for some participants, being part of the study was therapeutic. Most participants expressed their gratitude especially for the lasting cordial relationship during my follow-up sessions. On a follow-up visit, JKA commented, *“you know, I have my masters (academic degree) and I have granted a number of people interview concerning my child labour experience but not even one came back to tell me anything. After the first interview, that is all. I must say that you have done very well by coming and coming for further discussions...”*. Owner reported being very grateful for the opportunity to share his experiences. When asked how it was for him to share his difficult experiences with a stranger, he declared, *“Thank you for making me to share my story. I hope this project would help to find a platform for us to share our experiences with society. I think it would help in the fight against child labour”*.

In a sense, participating in this study is similar to testimonial or narrative therapy. Participants were able to examine their experiences in a new context and perhaps develop new understandings of their histories (Weine et al., 1998). After

the interviews, participants would often talk with me about the interviews and what they learned. For me, the interviews were very rewarding both as a researcher and a counsellor. I was excited to do each interview because of the energy and strength of the participants. They were very inspirational and I gained much insight into how to work with adult survivors of child labour.

6.9 Challenges with the Methodological Choices and Research Process

Based on the methodological choices regarding qualitative approach and especially with grounded theory research, I faced certain challenges which were not unperceived though. These challenges were however utilised to advance the course of grounded theory research in particular and qualitative research in general. By choosing a grounded theory approach, I faced the challenge of identifying a suitable sample and deciding whether to use existing non probability sampling techniques or strictly grounded theory sampling procedures. However, by virtue of the nature of the topic, a blend of non probability sampling techniques and grounded theory sampling procedures were used.

The challenge of large volume of transcripts was worrisome but by applying the coding processes in grounded theory, I was able to fracture the data and coded emerging themes. These themes enhanced the establishing of relationships among the codes and themes. Indeed, the complexity of grounded theory data collection as it is theory driven though seemed onus to carry out, helped as the emerging theory was driving the data collection therefore moving the data collection towards its point of saturation. This prevented additionally unnecessary visits or search for new participants.

My major methodological challenge had to do with lengthy and tedious data analysis activities due to the volume of data gathered. However, because my research participants were all literate, this was overcome as there were more *in vivo* codes than *a priori* codes making it easy for the coding process to progress.

Another critical challenge was the place of literature review in grounded theory. Basically, grounded theory does not permit review of existing literature as this is perceived as influencing the emerging theory (Glaser, 2004), yet there was the need to position the thesis within some theoretical frameworks so as to be able to have fruitful discussion of the study results to see how far it confirms or disconfirms existing theory and empirical works. To overcome this, I used Straussian approach to grounded theory and adopted a forward-backward approach to literature review. This allowed the emerging themes to direct which literature to review.

One other limitation of the study was that though the findings suggest that adult survivors were found to be well functioning and coped well after child labour, conclusions cannot be drawn that they display higher levels of coping than those who did not engage in child labour since the study did not include adults who had not been child labourers.

6.10 Closing Comments

The 11 adult survivors of child labour who participated in this study opened their lives to share their “lived” experiences of traumatic experiences of child labour, the process of coping and moving on after child labour. Their narratives were triangulated by five significant others. Participants described the

effects of child labour on their social, psychological, and physical lives that they needed to employ coping strategies in order to move on after child labour. Their rich descriptions paint a picture of a complex, reciprocal process of utilising personal and social supports to attain this ultimate goal. Each person described unique experience in which they used their strengths to cope as well as explain the barriers that inhibited this process.

The central theme of the process of coping was being able to survive and move on after child labour. Participants stated that their desire to have education and freedom moved them to cope. Participants reported that spiritual beliefs and values gave them strength to endure hardships and were helpful in giving meaning to their experiences. In particular, they described that being able to forgive and understand the circumstances of their perpetrators was very helpful in moving on after child labour. They described the importance of using personal resources, caring persons and institutional supports for establishing safety and stability in order to move on with their new lives. Various qualities of personal resources and caring persons promoted a sense of emotional support that enabled participants to reconnect with others and promote coping and “moving on”. Participants displayed great strength and resilience during this process. Once participants felt a sense of safety, stability, and emotional support, they were empowered to utilise environmental resources and personal coping skills such as controlling memories and disclosing of experiences in order to move on. Moving on led to more meaningful relationships, having education to a higher level, establishing their own families and these led to more adaptive functioning and emotional wellbeing for these participants.

Though the course of their lives was distorted greatly due to traumatic experiences during childhood, they had worked hard to return to wellness. A researched-based understanding of the “lived” experiences and the contextual nature of survivors’ constructions provide child labour advocates, governments, counselling professionals an opportunity to offer specialised services and programs to adults who had been child labourers and children still caught up in child labour. This study provided a unique and valuable optic to an untapped data source, which until now has remained silent.

6.11 Recommendations for Further Research

The ultimate goal of this dissertation was to explore the coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour and develop a guideline for counselling practice which is based on research findings from this study. However, this proposed framework is by no means exhaustive since this research was exploratory. It offers only a starting point. The following recommendations for further research are provided:

1. At the outset, this study focused only on the strengths of survivors in overcoming child labour trauma. However, including social supports from family members and institutions in this study was instrumental in understanding the important connections that exist between adult survivors, significant others and our institutional provisions.
2. Since “lived” child labour experiences of survivors differ resulting in a unique coping response from each participant, there is the need for a study

into establishing the differentiation among survivors' use of coping strategies.

3. Research should continue in terms of interrogating the levels of psychological functioning of survivors of child labour and those who did not engage in child labour.
4. Comparative study could be conducted into assessing the relationship between coping strategies during and after child labour to establish which category is responsible for participants' survival and "moving on" both in childhood and adulthood.
5. It may also be useful for further research on the theoretical model for survivors. Putting the model into practice and developing programs from this system would be the first step. The effectiveness of the practice and programmes that make use of the theoretical model would need to be researched.
6. Research could also include replicating this study in order to refine, revise, and or extend the emergent theoretical model.
7. The experience of child labour came to include abuse and trauma. A quantitative or mixed method approach could be used to study the relationship between trauma and coping strategies among adult survivors of child labour. Due to the limited number of participants in this study, it would be important to conduct future studies that include the same population but use larger participant numbers with a quantitative methodology.
8. Further research could look at surveying other populations who have experienced severe trauma and comparing those to adult survivors of

child labour. Examples could include 2012 Melcom disaster survivors and the current 2015 Accra Circle Flood and Fire survivors.

9. Further study is also needed to test the emerging hypothesis developed from the study to find out their significance in trauma studies of survivors.
10. It is also suggested in terms of implications for practice that counselling practitioners graduating with MA/MED/MPHIL degrees should enter into practice with a broad range of knowledge and skills on trauma and its interventions. This conclusion, rooted in these empirically-based findings, are in line with existing concerns about dichotomized counselling work education and its impact on social issues regarding the numerous disasters that engulf us as a society.



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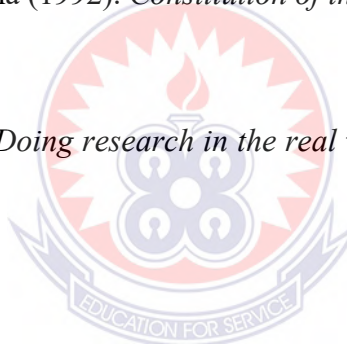
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Appendix A



UNIVERSITY OF
EDUCATION, WINNEBA

Faculty of Educational Studies
Dean's Office

P.O.Box25, Winneba, Ghana- Tel: +233-3323-21178 Ext.120/122 Email: spse@uew.edu.gh

Our Ref:

Your Ref:

Date: August 3, 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Nyuiemedi Ama AGORDZO is a postgraduate student of the University of Education Winneba. She is required to carry out a research study towards the fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Ph.D degree in Guidance and Counselling.

Her research topic is:

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF COPING STRATEGIES OF ADULT SURVIVORS OF
CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA**

I would be grateful if you could give her the necessary assistance with her research project.

Thank you.

Professor George Kankam, Ph.D
Dean, Faculty of Educational Studies
(Thesis Supervisor)

Appendix B

A Flyer Announcing the Research Project to the General Public

JOIN! JOIN!! JOIN!!!!


Are You An ADULT Who Had A CHILD LABOUR EXPERIENCE?

Do You Want To Share Your Experience?

We are looking for adults, men and women 21⁺ who want to share their child labour experiences with us to:

Join an exploratory discussion as we take CHILD LABOUR to the next level.

CONTACT Nyuiemedi on 0240269496/ 0506501071



You would be asked to participate in an interview and or focus group discussion about your experiences and coping strategies used to cope with child labour. This is part of a doctoral dissertation project being carried out by Nyuiemedi AGORDZO. Nyuiemedi is a professional counsellor, a teacher, and a doctoral student in Guidance and Counselling in the Department of Psychology and Education, University of Education, Winneba.

*Appendix C***Inclusion Criteria/ Screening Questions**

This is a study on adults who had worked as child labourers. Your presence here is an indication that you had worked as a child. Kindly respond to the following questions to help determine your eligibility to participate in this study. Thank you.

1. When were you born?

Before 1992 [] After 1992 []

As a child:

2. Did you work to care for your basic needs including your own education?

Yes [] No []

3. Did your work make you too tired to learn at home, and or concentrate in the classroom? Yes [] No []

4. Did your work prevent you from attending school/to drop out from school?

Yes [] No []

5. Were you the income-earner/ bread-winner for your family?

Yes [] No []

6. Did your work as a child prevent you from playing with your friends?

Yes [] No []

7. Did the work you do prevented you from attending school regularly or make you frequently late to school?

Yes [] No []

Appendix D

Information Sheet

An exploratory study of coping strategies of adult survivors of child labour in the Central Region of Ghana.

Dear participant,

I am Nyuiemedi AGORDZO, a PhD student in the Department of Psychology and Education, University of Education, Winneba. I wish to invite you to participate in a research project involving adults who had worked as child labourers. The main aim of this study is to understand the personal-social strengths and skills used by adults who were child labourers to overcome their past traumatic child labour experiences. It is to also find out what led them to work, the problems they faced in the course of their work, and what effects they believed their work had/have on them. I am interested in your perspective on what has helped you to overcome past and present difficulties. This will help counselling psychologists to understand the strengths of survivors to address the needs of other survivors and children still caught up in child labour in building their lives. It also hoped to make the voices of these adult survivors known to policy makers.

Through this letter, I wish to have your permission to recruit you to take part in this all-interesting project as we tell our individual stories. I wish to also assure you that the information you would provide would be solely used for academic purposes and that your identity and valued information would be handled with utmost care.

Your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at anytime and may ask for an interpreter of your choice if necessary. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form to confirm your willingness to be involved. The interviewer will be sensitive to your emotional needs. However, some of the questions may trigger memories of your experiences during child labour. Should you become emotional as a result of participating in this study, and wish to talk to someone about your feelings, you are informed that I and a senior counsellor will be available to provide free counselling services for you during this period.

The data collection will span from November, 2013 to February, 2015 comprising individual meetings and focus group discussions where necessary. With your approval, the talk might be recorded and or hand written. The final writing of the research will be done in May 2015. You will receive a copy of the summary of the final report if you wish. The University will receive a full copy of the final report.

Yours sincerely,

Nyuiemedi A. AGORDZO (PhD student, UEW)

Tel: 0240269496/ 0506501071

Email: nyuie1610@yahoo.com

Appendix E

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I fully understand the purpose of this study and its benefits to me. I understand that participation is voluntary and that my real name will not be used in this study. I have read/ it had been read to me about the peculiar nature of this study and I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time I so wish. I also understand that any issue that I do not understand would be explained to me in the course of the study and that I can also contact Nyuiemedi (The Researcher) on Tel. 0240269496/ 0506501071

Email- nyuiel610@yahoo.com

Or:

Prof. George Kankam (Thesis Supervisor, DPE, UEW)

Dr. Stephen Antwi-Danso (Thesis Co-Supervisor, DPE, UEW)



PARTICIPANT'S PERMISSION

Name: Code:

.....

Address:

Phone: e-mail:

.....

Signature: Thumbprint:

.....

Date:

Do you wish to have an interpreter? YES [] NO []

Appendix F

Adult Survivors' Coping Guide (ASCoG)

Section One: Demographic Data

Participant's No.: Date/Total Duration of interview:
.....

1. Age Now:
2. Date or Age of entering work:Date or Age of leaving work:
.....
3. Gender: Male Female
4. Ethnicity:
5. Your Highest Level of Education:
6. What is your marital status?
Married Separated
Divorced Widowed Single
7. Do you have children? Yes No
If yes, how many?
8. What is your birth order position?:
9. How many siblings do you have?
Sisters Brothers None
10. Whom did you live with when you were working as a child?
Mother Father Both Parents
Other (mention relationship).....
11. Are you gainfully employed now? Yes No
If yes, what is your occupation?
.....
12. Are you satisfied with your current work? Yes No
13. Are you happy with your income? Yes No
14. Did you receive any form of counselling after your child labour experiences?
Yes No
15. Have you ever taken part in any study like this? Yes No
16. Are you satisfied with your life now? Yes No
17. What do you think could be done to help children at work?
.....
.....
.....

Section Two: Interview Questions

It is believed that work done by children both at home and outside the home have been seen as difficult and having certain effects on them. The main aim of this study is to understand the personal-social strengths and skills used by adults who were child labourers to overcome their past traumatic child labour experiences. It is to also find out what led them to work, the problems they faced in the course of their work, and what effects they believed their work have/had on them. The researcher is interested in your perspective on what has helped you to overcome past and present difficulties. This will help counselling psychologists to understand and address the needs of other survivors and children still caught up in child labour in building their lives after child labour. It also hoped to make the voices of these adult survivors known to policy makers.

Thank you and let us move on with our discussion.

Qt 1: I understand you worked as a child. Can you please share with me your experiences as a “child worker” when you were growing up?

Qt 2: It is often believed that working children face certain problems as they work. Describe the problems or difficulties you faced when you were working and how you managed to solve/overcome those problems.

Qt 3: Can you please share with me how, in your view, your work at a young age affected your life?

Qt 4: Do you believe that you would have been better off if you had not worked as a child?

Qt 5: So, how did you actually manage to be what you are today?

Qt 6: Would you say that in spite of your difficult moments as a child worker, you have achieved something and what are some of these achievements?

Qt 7: I would want to know whether you received any form of assistance or

Counseling services when you were working and what was the nature of these services?

Qt 8: Is there anything you wish to tell me?

It has been interesting talking with you.

Thank you very much for your time and story.



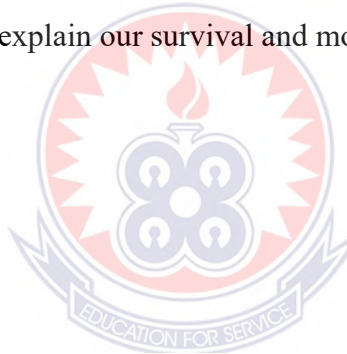
Appendix G

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

The FGDs were general to the topic under exploration especially on participants' construction of the process of moving on ad survival.

A, Three broad questions guided the discussion for survivors.

1. How can we tell the difference between household chores and what people call “child labour”?
2. We have all reported that we have survived child labour and have “moved on”. What shows that we have moved on?
3. How can we explain our survival and moving on?



Appendix H

Confirmation Agreement Sheet

I have fully read and understood the transcripts and interpretations of my child labour narratives. I wish to state that I agree/disagree that the story is mine and that I have given my full approval for the researcher to use my data for her project. I have/ do not have any doubt about its credibility for use.

PARTICIPANT'S PERMISSION

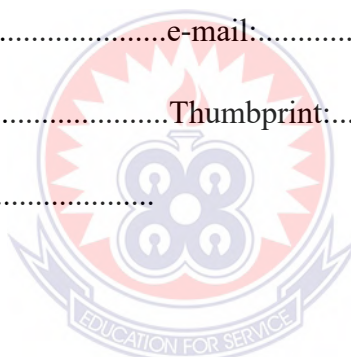
Name:

Code:.....Address:.....

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

Signature:.....Thumbprint:.....

Date:



Appendix I

Letter to a professional counsellor

Department of Psychology and Education

University of Education, Winneba

Winneba

30th August, 2013

Dr. Stephen Antwi-Danso,

Department of Psychology and Education

University of Education, Winneba

Winneba

Dear Dr. Antwi-Danso,

REQUEST FOR EMERGENCY COUNSELLING SERVICES

I am a PhD student in the Department of Psychology and Education, University of Education, Winneba and currently conducting a research project on how adults who have survived child labour, coped with their condition. The study area is the Central Region of Ghana. The findings of this study are intended to help counselling psychologists to understand and address the needs of other survivors and children still caught up in child labour so that they can build their lives. It also hoped to inform future capacity building initiatives.

Per this letter, I kindly request your assistance to provide any emergency counselling services that might arise during the period of data collection. Data collection would be between November 2013 and February 2015. Attached is a copy of introductory letter from my thesis supervisor.

Kind regards,

Nyuiemedi A. AGORDZO

Appendix J



UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

P. O. Box 25, Winneba, Ghana. Tel: (233-432) 20026 Ext. 123
Email: psychology@uew.edu.gh

5th October, 2013.

Nyuiemedi A. Agordzo
Department of Psychology and Education
University of Education, Winneba
Winneba.

Dear Nyuiemedi,

UNDERTAKING: EMERGENCY COUNSELLING SERVICES

This is to confirm that I will be available during the period of your data collection to provide any emergency counselling services that might be needed of your participants in your PhD research project. You may contact me on this number: 024-6041925

I wish you all the best in your study.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Dr. Stephen Antwi-Danso'.

Dr. Stephen Antwi-Danso
(Snr. Lecturer/Counsellor)

