

Child Labour Trafficking in the Lake Volta Fishery of Ghana
A Case Study of Ogetse in the Krachi West District of the Volta Region

By

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Master thesis in International Fisheries Management

(30 Credits)

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May 2009



Acknowledgement

To the Almighty God do I render much thanks and appreciation for the gift of Life. The fullness of which has given birth to this research work.

I remain eternally grateful to my supervisor, Professor Bjørn Hersoug, for his guidance, dedication and contributions in terms of constructive criticisms and very insightful suggestions.

My third appreciation goes to the Norwegian State Loan Fund, Lånekassen for funding my two year master degree studies, this would have been difficult to achieve without your financial support. Special thanks also go to Kirsten Zacharrissen, Ane Marie Hekton, Line Vråberg and the entire international students advisors.

I also express my sincerest gratitude to all my respondents (fishers and children) and especially to the following people who by their expositions facilitated the practical aspect of my research work:

Mrs. Adiza Ofori Adu – Public Relation Officer (MOWAC)

Mr. George Achebra and family – PACODEP

Mr. Amos A. Asuma – Karikari – Village of Hope

Mr & Mrs. Roland & Gladys Bulley – Village of Hope

I cherish the morale support and pieces of advice received from Paul Onyango and Anthony Sackey Tetteh. To all my friends and loved ones who lent a hand, chipped in words of encouragement or boosted my morale, I am truly grateful for them.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents (Mr. & Mrs. Vincent Agbenya) who have shared their love, inspired and enriched my live and also to the children at Village of Hope and PACODEP.

Abstract

Child labour trafficking in the Lake Volta fishery of Ghana is one of the prominent issues receiving immense attention from various organizations, NGOs, Civil society within and outside Ghana and the government of Ghana. This is due to the adverse impact on the children's developments. This thesis sought to find out the major causes of this phenomenon, tasks performed by these victims, the recruitment processes involved in this human trade and the condition under which these children work. It further seeks to investigate the measures and interventions put in place to curb this unabated problem. An exploratory study approach was adopted which led to the selection of Ogetse, one of the receiving communities along the Lake Volta in the Krachi West district of the Volta region. The data was collected using different data collection strategies and was analyzed qualitatively. Various theories of poverty were used in this study to explain the findings. The findings of this study reveal that poverty plays a major role in fuelling this problem however, other complex factors such as cultural norms, migration and institutional failures also contributes enormously to the problem. The children who are mostly boys between the ages of six and seventeen years performed tasks, such as fishing, mending of nets, diving and household chores. These children are made to work under extreme harsh conditions, waking up very early in the mornings at 3am or 4am and going to bed late in the evenings (11pm, 12am) mostly throughout the week without going to school and having little to eat and sometimes being flogged by their masters at the little offence. It also indicates that parents, family members, the fishers and agents are involved in this human trade. In addition the study also revealed that some effort is being made by government, NGOs, Civil Organizations and other institutions to combat this problem.

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Acronyms

ACHD	African Centre for Human Development
APPLE	Association of People for Practical Life Education
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
GPS	Ghana Police Service
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ILO-IPEC	International Labour Organization – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IOM	International Organization for Immigration
LDU	Local Defence Unit
LRA	Lord’s Resistance Army
MMDA	Metropolitan Municipal and District Assembly
MOWAC	Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs
NCCWD	National Commission on Child Welfare Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPA	National Plan of Action
PACODEP	Partners in Community Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UPDF	Uganda People’s Defence Force
USAID	United States Assistance for International Development
WISE	Women’s Initiative and Self Employment

Chapter 1: Introduction

Human trafficking has in recent times emerged as a social and global problem confronting many countries including Ghana. This problem has historical similarities with the movement of people as commodities during the colonial slave trade where many Africans were transported to Europe and America to work as forced labours on their farms, industries and homes. It has become an important issue in the world currently, because it undermines the dignity of the human race as said by Obi N. I. Ebbe (2008) and the rights of the affected people. The two major vulnerable groups most affected by this global phenomenon are children and women. Most countries in Africa and Asia are noted as the sending and receiving countries of trafficked persons whilst most countries in Europe and America are identified as the receiving countries of this trade in humans.

Ghana which is located in West Africa, is known to be a source, transit and destination country of trafficked children for the purposes of forced domestic and commercial labour and also for sexual exploitation. In terms of Ghana being a source and transit country, women and girls especially are trafficked from Ghana to Western Europe for sexual exploitation and from Burkina Faso through Ghana to Cote d'Ivoire respectively. Children are also trafficked from other West African countries most especially Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Nigeria, Guinea and The Gambia to work as farm workers, labourers, divers at sea, street hawkers and domestic workers (US State Department Trafficking, 2007). Though human trafficking goes on between Ghana and other countries, trafficking within the country is more prevalent than transnational trafficking and majority of these victims are children who according to a survey report in 2003 by the Ghana Statistical Services are numbering around 1.27million, who are engaged in child labour.¹

1. www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?newsid=5685§ion=2 (accessed on 30.04.2009)

In Ghana, trafficked children who are boys between the ages of 10 and 17 are used as forced labours in the informal sectors such as agriculture, mining, and fishing and the girls between the ages of 7 to 16 years are trafficked for the purpose of domestic servitude and sexual exploitation (DANIDA Report, 2002).

This study focuses on trafficked children who are used as labour in the Lake Volta Fishery in Ghana through a case study of Ogetse a fishing community along the Lake Volta. The choice of the fishery industry and the Lake Volta stems from the fact that the Fisheries sector contributes 3% to Ghana's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (FAO, 2004) and is thus a major source of employment for about two million people. The fishery sector also generates foreign exchange earnings for the country through the exportation of 12% of the total national fish catch to the European Union, Canada, Togo, Mali, Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, USA, Singapore and Hong Kong (FAO, 2004). It also serves as a last resort for poverty alleviation for most people along the coast and Lake Volta.

The Lake Volta on the other hand is the world's largest artificial inland water body, located in Ghana. It was formed in 1965 as a result of the construction of the Akosombo dam which generates hydroelectric power for the country. It has a surface area of 8500 km² or 3.6% of Ghana's area and a shoreline of 4880 km. The Lake Volta stretches from the Akosombo dam in the south eastern to the town of Yapei, 520 km to the north of Ghana which according to Braimah (2001) covers 1,232 communities whose main source of livelihood is fishing and has 32 landing sites which also serves as market centres. Most of these fishing communities along the Lake Volta are remote and lack road transport systems connecting them to the various urban centres and other neighbouring towns. An estimate of about 80,000 fishers, 20,000 fish processors and traders are involved in the Lake Volta fishery (NAFAG, 2004 – 2005). Fishing in the Lake Volta contributes about 90% of the total inland fishery (NAFAG, 2004-2005) and according to Braimah (2001) it has an estimate of 140 species contributing approximately 20% to the total fish catch in the country. The most landed species belongs to the tilapia species such as *Chrysichtys sp.*(34.3%), *Synodontis sp.* (11.4%) , *Mormyrids* (2.0%), *Heterotis* (1.5%)., *Clarias sp* (1.5%), *Schilbeide* (1.4%), *Odaxothrissamento* (1.4%), *Bagrus sp.*(1.35%), and *Citharinus sp* (1.2%). The total fish catch landings of the Lake Volta has been declining steadily over the years from 36,000 tonnes in 1971 to 28,373 tonnes in 1998

with an annual decline in catch per unit effort around 0.255kg/boat/day. This fishery is mostly dominated by small scale (artisanal) fishers who use small planked canoes, some equipped with outboard motors and fishing gears such as the gill nets, traps, hook and line. The Lake is also used for irrigation purposes especially during the dry seasons (November to May) and for fish farming. It also provides inland transportation linking the various fishing communities along the Lake due to lack of road transport systems and also a means of transport connecting the south to the north of Ghana.

However, despite the immense contribution of the Lake Volta fishery to the economy and the nation as a whole, it is also serving as a hub for trafficked children who are used as forced labours in the inland fishery activities as reported by most human rights activist and NGOs, such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM). It is very common to see children early in the mornings and late evenings in canoes on the Lake either transporting people or fishing instead of being in school or at home. It is against this backdrop that this study hopes to create an awareness concerning this disturbing issue and evaluate the response of government and other concerned bodies.

Operational definitions

For the purpose of this study, there is a need to define some basic terminology that will be used in the subsequent chapters. Most of these definitions are based on the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000 which most countries in the world are signatory to.

Trafficking in persons

Article 3 (a) of the UN Protocol defines trafficking in persons as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”

Exploitation is defined as “the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

Child trafficking

Article 3 (c) defines child trafficking as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) [coercion, fraud, deception, etc] of this article” (UN, 2000).

Child

Article 3 (d) defines child as “any person under eighteen years of age”.

Child labour

Child labour is any work performed by children under hazardous conditions which place their health and development physically, intellectually or morally at risk or which prevent them from being educated (Bøås et al, 2006).

Forced labour

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) No. 29 Article 2 (1), forced labour is defined as “all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily”.

Problem Statement

In recent times, child labour trafficking has become a major concern for all countries in the world especially in Asia and Africa. According to the ILO estimates for 2000, there are about

186 million children between the ages of 5-14 years and 59 million children between the ages of 15-17 years who are engaged in various forms of child labour globally. In Ghana, a National survey conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service revealed that from a population of 6.4 million children between the ages of 5-7 years, an estimate of 2.7 million were actively involved in economic activities. Most of these children are found in the fishing sector, especially the Lake Volta fishery, agriculture, domestic help, mining and selling which are mainly the informal sectors of the economy. Most of these children are trafficked from various parts of the country and neighbouring countries and are often sold to fishermen along the Lake Volta who use them as labourers. These children are either illiterate or dropped out of school. This situation has prompted me to delve into the issue of child labour trafficking in the fishing industry along the Lake Volta. In connection with this, the following objectives and research questions have been outlined to guide me in discussing this issue.

Aims of the study

This study aims to achieve an in-depth knowledge into the menace of child labour trafficking and the various mechanisms put in place to curb this menace. Specifically the research aims at:

- To find out the main causes of child labour trafficking in the Lake Volta fishery
- To identify the work performed by trafficked children and for how long.
- To examine efforts made by government, NGOs and other organizations to curb this problem.
- To provide relevant recommendations.

Significance of the study

This research is very important because children's right to good life through education, play, rest and freedom needs not to be jeopardized. Childhood is the formative part of a human beings life and especially being the future leaders, children need to be guaranteed their freedom especially from forced labour. Though some work has been done in this field already, there is limited literature on this topic relating to Ghana. This study will add to the

existing literature and will also bring to the fore issues that will motivate others to undertake in-depth research.

Research Questions

This thesis tries to provide answers to the following research questions:

- What are the causes of child labour trafficking?
- What kind of work do the children perform, for how long and under what conditions?
- What role have the government, NGOs and other institutions played in combating child labour trafficking in the Lake Volta fishery?

Methods

This study will rely on both primary and secondary data. The primary data underpinning this research will consist of interviews with fishers at Ogetse, children, representatives of the two NGOs: Partners in Community Development Programme (PACODEP) and Village of Hope and the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC). The secondary data will comprise of published works, policy documents and other relevant materials. Qualitative method will be used to analyze the data gathered since it is an exploratory study.

Organization of the study

The work is structured into seven chapters. It begins with introduction as chapter one and continues with chapter two which takes a look at global labour trafficking of children in specific countries in Asia and Africa where this phenomenon is prevalent. The third chapter focuses on the theoretical framework in which the theories of poverty will be analyzed. This is followed by the fourth chapter on the methods used for the study, whilst the fifth and six chapters discuss the findings on causes, work done and other important details and the measures put in place to curb this problem respectively. The seventh chapter encapsulates the conclusions on the study and provides some recommendations.

Chapter 2: Global trafficking of children

Introduction

Human Trafficking is considered as the third largest source of revenue for organized crime after drugs and guns which generate billions of dollars annually.² The most targeted groups in this billion dollar trade are women and children who are the most vulnerable and marginalized people in society. Trafficked children face an array of threat to their health, development, wellbeing, and in some cases to their lives. Due to the clandestine nature of trafficking, it is very difficult to know the exact number of child victims, however, according to the latest estimates by International Labour Organization (ILO, 2002) some 1 to 1.2 million children between the ages of 5 – 14 years are trafficked globally each year.

Though child labour trafficking is a global phenomenon, it substantially occurs in Africa and South Asia where these trafficked children are exploited sexually, for bonded or forced labour in the informal sectors like agriculture, mining, fishing, domestic servants and some in the manufacturing sectors like the glass factories, carpet industry, brass industry etc. and others are also trafficked for their body organs. Most children trafficked into Europe; America; and Latin America are mainly for sexual exploitation and for the purpose of this study; the focus is on trafficked children for labour in the informal sector. Therefore this chapter discusses child labour trafficking in some selected Asian and African countries where this problem is so enormous. It will also discuss the recruitment channels involved in trafficking and finally look at the various measure put in place by these countries in curbing this menace. These countries in Africa and South Asia are mostly sending and receiving countries whilst some serve as transit countries. Internally, child labour trafficking is also prevalent in the African and South Asian countries.

2. www.ewla.org/wf_dl/paper_Devi.doc (accessed on 09.02.2009)

The scope of trafficking in children

This section discusses some areas in the informal sector where child labour is prevalent and in doing this, focus is placed on few selected countries in Asia and Africa where this practice is very common to illustrate the magnitude of the problem. These countries are Cambodia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Uganda, Côte d'Ivoire and India.

Cambodia

Cambodia is located on the south east of Asia which is in the process of recovery from at least 30 years of civil war and four years of terror with genocidal dimensions which to some extent explain child rearing practices and the increasing rate of child trafficking in the country.³

Cambodia is known as a source, transit and destination country of child trafficking. These children are trafficked into Thailand, Malaysia, Macao and Taiwan for sexual exploitation and forced labour. The country also serves as a transit point for trafficked children from Vietnam to Thailand as well as destination country for trafficked victims from Vietnam and China.

There is also internal trafficking of children from the rural to urban areas in Cambodia.⁴ Child labour which is an associated crime of child trafficking, accounts for 53% in most cases.

These children are usually between the ages of 5–17 years. (Cruz et al, 2007). These children work in paid and unpaid jobs which are mainly in the informal sectors. Many of such children are found in the agricultural sector, on the street and in the domestic area. There are also an increasing number of children found in jobs detrimental to their development such as prostitution, deep sea fishing etc. (Cruz et al, 2007).

In a study conducted by the ILO – IPEC Action Programme in 2002, in Kampong Cham and Siem Reap, it revealed that trafficked children are used as labourers in the brick making - sector.

3. <http://seameo.org/vl/combat/appendix.htm> (accesses on 10.02.2009)

4. <http://www.humantrafficking.org/countries/cambodia> (accessed on 10.02.2009)

They perform duties such as mud kneading, mud molding, drying, carriage to the kilns, fuelling the wood – fired kilns, removing the bricks from kiln to be cooled and the carrying of finished bricks for transport. It was also observed that 74% of children work for 7 days a week and an estimate of 70% experience illness during work, mainly from headaches, fever and cough. It was also observed from their study that trafficked children are used as labourers in the salt production of Kampot. They help in collecting salt into baskets, carrying them into store houses and packing and hauling into trucks for distribution. Due to the carrying of heavy loads of salts, children suffer from soreness in their shoulders, tiredness from working long hours in the sun, stings from hot water, cuts and chafes to the feet from the salt crystals due to lack of footwear. Most young girls working in the salt industry frequently suffer from anaemia.

A survey conducted by ILO – IPEC (2004) in the fishery sector of Kampot and Kep provinces in Cambodia also revealed that children within the ages of 11 – 17 years are also working in the fishing industry as labourers. They perform various tasks ranging from fishing for about 10–11 hours a day mostly in the nights, peeling of raw and boiled shrimps or crabs, gathering of sea products and selling them and repairing of fishing nets. Children who work on larger vessels with refrigerator facilities spend two to three days at sea or sometimes more than a month at sea depending on the abundance of the fishery resources. Headaches, fever, cold, lower backaches and injuries from peeling shrimps and crabs are some common pains experienced by children working on onshore fishery. Some side effects associated with the offshore fishing experienced by children are sea sickness, fear of storms, big waves, falling into water and accidents on boats (Cruz et al, 2007).

Indonesia

Human trafficking and child labour was not a problem in Indonesia, however, it is only in recent time that it has become a major issue due to the global awareness and the international definitions of trafficking which encompasses a broader scope of abuses. This has helped Indonesia in recognizing that many previously accepted forms of exploitative labour, child labour, recruitment practices into sex industry and servile marriages are forms of human trafficking and violations of human rights of the persons involved (Agustinanto et al, 2003)

Trafficking in Indonesia, takes place within the country (domestic trafficking) and abroad (international trafficking). Trafficked children from Indonesia are sold to Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the Philippines and Thailand), Northeast Asia (Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea) the Middle East (Saudi Arabia), Australia and South America. (Sukma, 2008). The most commonly recognized sectors into which children are trafficked in Indonesia are child labour, domestic work, migrant work, sex work and servile marriage in the form of mail order brides. Working as domestic worker is the easiest job opportunity available for young inexperienced girls trafficked from the rural areas to the urban areas. According to 1995 statistics (CBS Intercensal Population Survey) it was estimated that 5.86% (48,959 of 767,817 servants) were children age 10 – 14 and 42.48% or 326,000 are between 15 – 19 years. The trafficked children work in the homes taking care of infants and children or the elderly, cleaning, washing, cooking and gardening. Child domestic labourers are classified as one of the worst form of child labour either due to the difficult working conditions which are hazardous or the exploitative way they are treated by their employers. These children are made to work for strenuous long hours with no days off and they are often confined in their employer's home with their freedom of movement restricted. They are deprived of family contact, no access to education and medical care, inadequate lodging and some of these children are sexually abused by their employers (Irwanto et al. undated).

Trafficked children, especially boys, are also used as cheap labour on the Jermal fish platform which is 15 to 25 kilometres away from the coast line of North Sumatera. According to Perusek (2004), there is an estimate of at least 5400 children working on the jermal platform of which one-third are under 14 years. These jermal platforms are wooden structure with an average of 20 by 40 metres in area floating above the water on stilts (ILO, 2001). The children's working day begins at 4am with the hauling in of long nets by manual equipment. Other duties they perform are lowering and raising of nets every two hours, sorting of valuable teri, squid, shrimps, eels, crabs, larger fish from jellyfish and poisonous sea snakes, mending fishing nets, grinding fishes and any other duties assigned them. These children are made to work for 12 – 13 hours and sometimes for 23 hours when fish is in abundance. There are no emergency or life saving equipment on the jermals and neither toilets nor beds for the children.

Most children stay on the platform for 12 – 18 months without a break or leave and are maltreated by their foremen who pour boiling water on them when they inadvertently doze off at their post or fail to wake up promptly when summoned.⁵ The children suffer from, fatigue related injuries, malaria, high blood pressure due to high intake of sodium, vitamin deficiency, respiratory and skin problems. The children are at risk of falling into the sea or struck by the winch there are holding. An investigation conducted by KKSP Foundation during the period of November 1998 to July 1999, revealed that three children died while working on the Jermal platform (UNHCR, 2000).

Pakistan

Pakistan has a youthful population; about half of the population is under the age of 20 years. A survey which was conducted by the Federal Bureau of Statistics indicates that 3.6 million children were engaged as labourers in Pakistan and a current national survey estimates that 40% of boys and 25% of girls in the age range of 15 – 17 are working. The latest labour force survey found that 17% of the boys and 6% of girls in the age group of 10 – 14 are part time labourers. Due to the youthful nature and poverty level, child trafficking has become prevalent in the country. Some of the children are trafficked from Bangladesh and Nepal to Pakistan and others are also trafficked internally from rural areas to urban cities. Victims of trafficking end up in various forms of sexual and labour exploitation such as domestic work, working in factories, on the streets, jockeys in camel race and working in the deep sea fishing (Muhammad, 2005).

Children are trafficked as camel jockeys to the Gulf States. These children are kidnapped by organized criminal groups or sold by their parents who in most cases are given advance payments. Most of the trafficked children are from Rahimyar Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan districts of southern Punjab.

5. <http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/the-fisher-boys-of-sumatra-1187835.html>

(accessed on 25.04.2009)

Children within the age group of 3 – 12 are mostly hired as camel jockeys because of their light weight which has the advantage of propelling the camel to speed up (Anwar, 2004). The child jockeys are kept at the “azba” (camel farms) together with other workers, labourers, “masool or mudhamer” where they carry out petty errands. These child jockeys are used in the camel races and are exposed to accidents which are sometimes deadly like broken necks, legs or ribs. They are treated like slaves while in the camel farms by not giving them enough food to eat, beaten severely and are sexually abused by the masool, mudhamer and labourer (Muhammad, 2005).

Uganda

Uganda is mainly a country of origin for human trafficking to South Africa, Sudan and the United Kingdom. The primary destination for child trafficking is Sudan. Internal trafficking of children is also prevalent mainly for the purpose of sexual exploitation especially in the capital Kampala with the exception of Northern Uganda (Odhiambo, 2003). In northern Uganda, children are being abducted by the rebels Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) from their various homes, schools and off the streets and are brutally treated as soldiers, labourers and sexual slaves (Human Right Watch, 2003). In 2003, it was reported that more than 8,000 children were abducted by LRA, which was the highest figure during the 17 years of conflict.⁶ The children are often flogged and forced to carry out criminal acts like burning houses, beating and killing civilians and abducting other children. They are made to carry heavy loads over long distances, work long hours, fetching water, firewood, gathering food and performing domestic duties.

Masool or mudhamer is the administrator of the camel farm (Asghar et al. 2005).

6. United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council, “Children and Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary-General” 30th October 2003. Page 11

Most of these children are trained as soldiers and are provided weapons to fight against the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) which is the Uganda government force. The LRA uses inhumane strategies to demand obedience from the children and are forced to beat and trample to death other abducted children who attempt to run away. They are constantly reminded that they will be killed if they try escaping and those who lag behind during marches or defy orders are killed. The abducted girls are used as domestic workers and those at the age 14 – 15 are forced into sexual slavery as wives of LRA commanders and are subjected to rape, unwanted pregnancy and the risk of acquiring sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS (Human Right Watch, 2003). Children as young as 12 years are also employed by the Ugandan government as soldiers to join the Local Defence Units (LDU). They are trained to fight against the LRA.

Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire is a source, transit and destination country for trafficked children. Trafficking within the country is more prevalent than transnational trafficking. Girls within the country are trafficked from the northern areas to the southern parts of the country for domestic servitude, restaurant labour and sexual exploitation and boys are also trafficked for agricultural and service labour. It is very common for children especially young boys in Côte d'Ivoire to work as labourers in the agricultural sector especially on the cocoa plantations which contributes greatly to their economy. There are about 600,000 cocoa plantations in Côte d'Ivoire (Child Labour Coalition) and there are an estimate of 200,000 children between the ages of 10-14 years from Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo, and the Central and northern parts of Côte d'Ivoire working on the cocoa farms (UNICEF, 2007). Work performed by these children include weeding of underbrush with machete, maintaining of cocoa trees, harvesting of cocoa, covering of seeds during the period of fermentation, turning of seeds when they are dried in the sun and bagging of beans when dried. The most dangerous and injurious tasks include the application of noxious pesticides, transporting excessively heavy loads of cocoa bags and using machete to open cocoa pods. These children are made to work for 12 hours or more, especially during the harvest seasons, denying them of good rest and education. These children are normally not paid or fed well and are mostly beaten by their masters.

India

India is a source, transit and destination country for child trafficking for the purposes of forced labour in the agricultural sector and manufacturing sectors (carpet industry, glass factories, match factories, brass industry and lock industry), commercial sexual exploitation, domestic servants, beggars and some used as armed combatants. Internal forced labour constitute greatly to India's trafficking problem.⁷

In India, some of the trafficked children are used as labourers in the manufacturing sector such as the Lock industry which is mostly located in Aligarh district of Uttar Pradesh of which it is estimated that more than 60% of the workers are children under the age of 14 years. The tasks performed by children are polishing, spray painting, electroplating and cutting of locks components with hand presses for 12-14 hours a day. The most risky tasks in the lock industry performed by these children include the polishing of the locks where the children inhale the emery powder coated on the bobs of the buffing machines and this causes respiratory diseases and tuberculosis.⁸ Another hazardous tasks is the electroplating process where the children work with bare hands in dangerous chemicals like potassium cyanide, sodium phosphate, sodium silicate, hydroelectric acid, sodium hydroxide and chromic acids. The children are affected by the chemical substances and also at risks of shocks from these chemical substances which produces electricity. Children who do spray painting suffer from breathlessness, fever, tuberculosis, bronchitis, asthma through the inhaling of large quantities of paint and paint thinners (Coonghe, undated).

Children are also used as labourers in the match factories at Sivakasi in Tamil Nadu which is the most publicized centre for child labour and three quarter of these children are girls (Weiner, 1990).

7. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_trafficking_in_India (accessed on 05.05.2009)

8. <http://www.hum-coolie.com/on-child-labour.htm> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

An estimate of total labour force in this industry stands at 200,000 with 35% being children, some of whom are bonded child labourers below the age of 14.⁹ Their day starts as early as 4am until 10 pm in the night performing tasks such as filling of slotted frames with a pile of splints, making of match boxes, packing of match sticks into match boxes, coating of match boxes with chemicals by the use of a brush or roller. Some health hazards suffered by the children in this industry are eye infection, respiratory diseases, exposure to chemicals and scars caused by burns.¹⁰

Another area where child labour is intense in India is the brass industry where according to Burra Neera (1995), there are about 40,000 - 45,000 children employed in the brass industry. The activities undertaken by these children are moulding of brass, pouring of brass into moulds, heating of oblong ingot on top of furnace, break it into small pieces with a hammer and melting of brass, rotating fan, removal of crucible and replacing it into the furnace. They are also made to grind hot mixture into a fine powder with their hands and also help adult workers to remove hot moulded metal from the moulds. These activities are performed continuously without a break for 10 hours.

The traffickers

Traffickers are individuals or groups of persons involve in the acts of trafficking. There are several networks involved in trafficking of children for sexual exploitation, child labour, domestic work and migrant work. These networks of traffickers run through almost all countries involved in trafficking business. These traffickers range from organized criminal groups to various individuals involved in this human trade. Below is a brief description of the various traffickers involved in trafficking of children in the world.

9. <http://childlabour.in/child-labour-in-india.htm> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

10. <http://www.hum-coolie.com/on-child-labour.htm> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

Agents, recruiters and broker

They are the people who recruit children for the various employers who need the services of these children. These people are mostly living in the same villages with the victims, and while others travel from village to village seeking for potential children. Agents may be concurrently working for both internal and external companies. These people may deal directly with the children (victims) or their parents and entice them by material rewards or juicy work offers in order to get their consents.

Village leaders, family (parents), neighbours and friends

These people help agents in trafficking children mostly internally for domestic work, child labour and sexual exploitation mainly due to poverty. Parents are involved in selling out their children as in the case of the camel jockeying sector in Pakistan, the Jermal fishing platform in Indonesia. Friends are also involved in the trafficking of young girls under the guise for looking for jobs for them.

Government officials

Government officials also participate in the exploitation and trafficking of children. The role of government officials ranges from falsifying documents, ignoring recruitment, labour violations to facilitating illegal border crossing which is mainly prevalent in Asia. In Uganda, the government is involved in exploiting children especially boys by recruiting them as combatants to fight against the rebels.

Recruiting agencies

These are usually involved in international trafficking. These are Labour Recruitment companies such as the Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (PJTKI) in Indonesia which helps in recruiting workers for companies within and abroad. They pay agents to find workers in Indonesian villages, obtain identification and travel documents, provide training, medical test, run holding centres and transport workers to their destination countries. They are involved in the exploitation and trafficking of migrant workers which mostly include children,

falsification of documents, illegal confinement in holding centres, charging workers with inflated debts and engaging them in forced labour to ensure those debts are repaid (Agustinanto et al. 2003).

Victims

The victims of trafficking are also in turn involved in trafficking of children. In Uganda for example the abducted children by the LRA are use in abducting other children.

Measures and interventions made

Cambodia

In attempt to combat child trafficking and child labour, the government of Cambodia signed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1992, ratified the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 138, in 1999 which specifies the minimum age for working and the ILO Convention No. 182 (worst forms) in 2005. The Cambodian National Assembly has also accepted and authorized the implementation of the 25th ASEAN Inter-Parliament Organization (AIPO) resolution in September 2004 which calls for concerted efforts in rescuing children from hazardous and sexually exploitative work and provide safety, rehabilitation and reintegration of affected children. (UNICEF, 2000). The 1996 Law on Suppression of Kidnapping, Trafficking and Exploitation of Humans criminalizes debt bondage, slavery and forced child labour in Cambodia (US Department, 2007) The penalty for trafficking in persons under the age of 15 years span from 15–20 years imprisonment and trafficking in persons over the age of 15 years is from 10–14 years in prison.¹¹ In terms of prosecution, the Cambodian police in 2006 arrested 65 people for human trafficking and 53 were convicted with penalties ranging from 5-24 years imprisonment.¹²

11. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78769.htm> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

12. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78769.htm> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

There were some prosecution of police officials for trafficked related corruption charges and were imprisoned for 5 – 7 years. The government also operates two temporary shelters and collaborates with NGOs in reintegrating trafficked victims into society. Law enforcement and immigration officials implement formal procedures to indentify victims among vulnerable groups such as girls in prostitution and refer them to provincial and municipal department of social affairs (US Department, 2007). The government also engages in sensitizing its citizen about trafficking through posters, television and radio programmes and traditional theatre. In 2006, the police raised awareness through campaign among 20,000 and 3000 students in Seim Reap and Phnom Penh respectively (US Department, 2007). There is also an international co-operation between the Cambodian government and other five member states of the Coordinated Mekong Ministerial Initiative against Trafficking (COMMIT).¹³

Indonesia

Indonesia in 2000 became a signatory to the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons especially women and children. Indonesia government in 2002 further adopted a National Plan of Action (NPA) for the elimination of trafficking in women and children by a Presidential Degree No. 88 and a National Plan of Action (NPA) for the eradication of commercial sexual exploitation of children by a Presidential Degree No. 87. (Sukma, 2008). The Anti-Trafficking bill on the Suppression of the crime of Trafficking in Persons was passed into law in April 2007 which criminalizes debt bondage, labour exploitation, sexual exploitation, transnational and internal trafficking. The bill also has the provision to prosecute corporate entities and government official involved in trafficking (US Department, 2007). In the Child Protection Act for child trafficking, penalties range from 3 to 15 years imprisonment.¹⁴

13. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2006/78769.htm> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

14. <http://www.humantrafficking.org/countries/indonesia> (accessed on 14.05.2009)

The Indonesia government through the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, collaborates with NGOs and International Organizations in raising awareness about trafficking in 16 provinces through televised public service announcement on private national television state and distribution of sex tourism materials in Bali and Batam (US Department, 2007).

Pakistan

Child trafficking has been taken as a major problem by the government of Pakistan and it is signatory to some international conventions on prevention and suppressing of human trafficking. Pakistan is signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1990 and has signed its two optional protocols which deal with Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography adopted by the UN General Assembly. Pakistan is also a signatory to the Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action, the Yokohama Global Commitment against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and has ratified the ILO Forced Labour Convention (Anwar, 2004). Currently, there is a National Plan of Action for children which was developed through a participatory process from September 2000 to June 2001 and revised later in 2005 involving relevant stakeholders. The government which sees to the child rights and welfare issues in the country is the National Commission on Child Welfare and Development (NCCWD). The NPA deals with the prevention, protection, recovery and rehabilitation of rescued victims of trafficking as well raising awareness, networking, advocacy, social mobilization and setting up and strengthening functional structures and system (Muhammad, 2005).

In August 2002, the government of Pakistan promulgated the Prevention and Control of Human Trafficking and Smuggling Ordinance which prohibits trafficking in persons and spells out penalties of 7 – 10 years imprisonment and a fine to offenders and in 2004 the Punjab Cabinet approved the Child Protection and Welfare Bureau Bill which specifies maximum of five years imprisonment for offenders who exploit children. Pakistan Navy patrols its waters to check criminal activities especially human trafficking (Anwar, 2004).

The Pakistan Bait-ul-Mal which is a government welfare agency operating 87 non formal education centres assist in rescuing children from hazardous work, providing them with informal and primary education, vocational training, medical care and stipends for income generating ventures.¹⁵ Various NGOs such as the Lawyers for Human Rights and Legal Aid (LHRLA), International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations Children's Fund and Canadian International Development Agency are assisting the government through raising awareness on trafficking, conducting research to determine the severity of the problem, providing legal aid for victims and families and the provision of funds needed to combat child trafficking.

Uganda

On the 6th of May, 2000, Uganda assented to the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict. This Protocol states the minimum age for all forced recruitment or conscription and for participating in hostilities at 18 years. The Optional Protocol also place responsibilities on the Uganda government to assist in the rehabilitation and reintegration of former soldiers. Uganda is also a party to the African Charter on the Rights and welfare of the child, a regional treaty that came into existence in 1999 (Human Right Watch, 2003). Article 25 of Uganda's constitution bans all forms of slavery, servitude, forced labour, social and economic exploitation of children and employment in hazardous conditions. The Penal Code prevents procuring a female and making her to become a common prostitute, to leave the country to frequent a brothel elsewhere or to become an inmate of a brothel which is punishable for 7 years in prison. The government has also created the National Council for Children and the Ministry of Gender and Community Development with the aim of raising the status of women and children. The government- run press, radio and television stations create public awareness on trafficking issues and the government has initiated moves on drafting a regulation to prevent the trafficking of persons abroad.

15. ILO-IPEC, "Time bound Program Technical Progress Report," (Geneva: 2004), 3.

In respect to International intervention, The US Department of Labour has provided some grants to help educate, rehabilitate and reintegrate former child soldiers and these projects are implemented by the ILO. The Uganda police force and local court officials have received special training and training materials for the purpose of protecting children against sexual abuse, violence and exploitation as well as presiding over cases concerning child sexual abuse and exploitation from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Some NGOs provide medical care, counselling, vocational training and reintegration assistance for rescued children and also help in raising awareness of child trafficking.¹⁶

Côte d'Ivoire

In an attempt to address this problem, the government of Côte d'Ivoire in November 2007 approved a National Plan of Action to eliminate child trafficking and worst forms of child labour by 50% in all industries; this was supported by the 2008 budget which allocated \$4.3million towards implementing this action plan. However, the existing Penal Code Article 378 prohibits abduction, receiving a person as a financial security and forced labour and prescribes penalties of one to five years imprisonment and a fine to offenders.¹⁷ In order to deal with the employment of children, the Ivorian government and the International Labour Organization (ILO) in August 2003 signed two agreements relating to the minimum working age and the worst forms of child labour.¹⁸ The government does not operate its own shelter due to lack of resources, but provides offices and personnel to NGOs and foreign aid organization assisting victims of trafficking. The government also assisted the ILO with personnel in establishing 13 villages and five regional anti-trafficking and child protection committees.

16. www.worldvision.org (accessed 25.02.2009)

17. <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,USDOS,,CIV,456d621e2,484f9a0e3ca,0.html>
(accessed on 06.05.2009)

18. "ILO, Ivorian Government Sign Agreements on Child Labour," Panafrican News Agency Daily Newswire, 25 August 2003.

With regard to rescue missions, the Ivoirian police has rescued at 57 foreign child victims and referred 42 of them to NGOs and foreign organizations for repatriation in 2007.¹⁹ As reported by the US Department of State (2001), since 1999 there has been prosecution of 22 traffickers and has repatriated about 3,000 foreign trafficked children. In terms of advocacy, there has been public awareness through numerous campaigns by the government, local and International NGOs targeting potential victims, traditional chiefs, religious leaders, school inspectors and headmasters, business leaders and local government officials.

India

In trying to address trafficking issues, the government of India established a central anti-trafficking law enforcement department responsible for collecting and performing analysis of data related to trafficking, identifying the causes of the problem, monitoring action taken by government and holding meetings with states law enforcement. Also in 2006, the central government passed a law prohibiting the employment of children in domestic work. (Button, 2007). There are already existing laws that prohibit bonded and forced labour through the Bonded Labour Abolition Act, the Child Labour Act and the Juvenile Justice Act. These laws prescribe penalties for offenders to the maximum of three years imprisonment but these laws are ineffectually enforced.²⁰

In 2005, the Maharashtra government rescued 2,058 children and arrested 358 suspects through its task force and the State of Andhra Pradesh also reported of rescuing over 9,000 children in a door-to-door campaign and prosecuted 17 suspected traffickers. The central government made provision of 10,000 rupees (\$225) for victims of bonded labour for rehabilitation purposes but the execution of this provision does not evenly apply across the country.

19. http://abidjan.usembassy.gov/cote_divoire_2007trafficking_in_persons_narrative.html
(accessed On 06.05.2007)

20. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_trafficking_in_India (accessed on 05.05.2009)

Though there are governmental shelters for victims of trafficking there is no holistic protection services like psychological counselling for the victims. Various NGOs help in rescuing and repatriate victims of trafficking.²¹

In summary, it is evident from the discussions above that child labour trafficking is a major problem affecting many countries in the world and many of the children (victims) are been denied their rights and freedom and the difficult aspect of this problem is the lack of reliable data indicating the number of children involved. This makes it very difficult for countries to properly address this problem because they really do not know the magnitude of the problem they are trying to solve. With respect to the effort made by the various countries, it seems that there are some significant strides made to meet the minimum standards in combating trafficking in persons and are they are all placed in Tier 2 Watch list of the U.S Department of State. Though the various countries have laws dealing with prosecution of offenders of child trafficking and child labour, most of the countries hardly enforced those laws due to the involvement of some law enforcement officials and the lack of adequate materials needed thereby allowing the practice to continue.

21. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_trafficking_in_India (accessed on 05.05.2009)

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

Introduction

Child labour trafficking in the Ghanaian fishery industry can be assessed using numerous theories, but the etiology of this problem can be analyzed using the theories of poverty. This chapter will focus on the theory of poverty by first and foremost conceptualizing poverty, relating poverty to the small scale fishery industry and finally relating poverty to the child labour trafficking in Ghanaian fishery industry.

The concept of poverty

The concept of poverty has evolved over the years from a simple statistical or economic indicators based on nutritional inputs, income and consumption for a household which was commonly used in the 1960s to the development of the basic needs concept which was championed by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the 1970s. The 1980s set the tone for a more vigorous approach in redefining the concept of poverty which took on a multidimensional and complex perspective (FAO, 2006). The diagram below depicts the evolution of the concept of poverty with its various indicators.

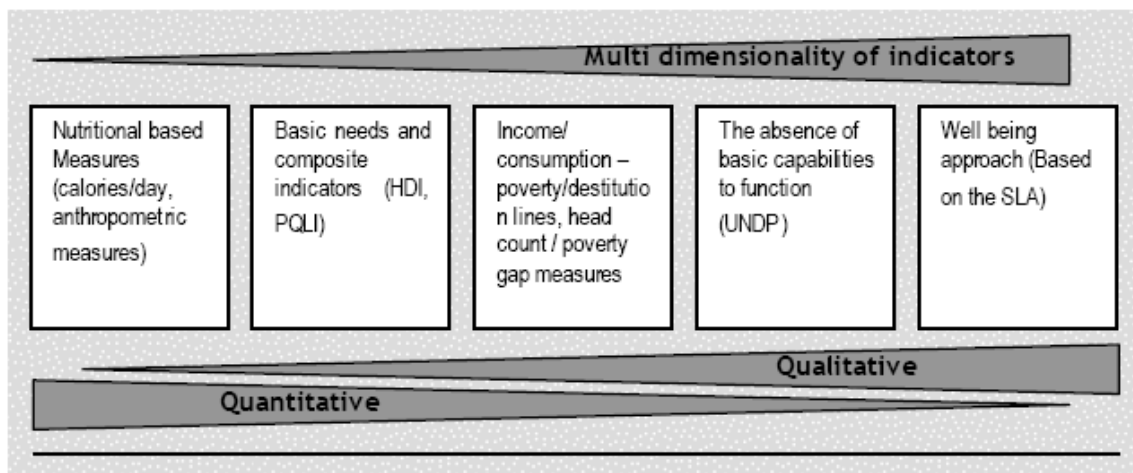


Figure 3.1: The evolution of the concept of poverty

Source: (FAO, 2002)

According to Naryan et al. (2000), poverty to the poor does not focus on only low income and consumption but it is a multifaceted and complex concept which encompasses lack of basic needs (access to food, shelter, health care and education), to include lack of basic human rights, the absence of basic infrastructure, involves psychological aspects (feeling of powerlessness, humiliation and insecurity) and lack of accessibility to assets and vulnerability to risk instead of income. Poverty is also defined by the World Bank (2000) as a pronounced deprivation of well being where well being is measured by individual's possession of income, health, nutrition, education, assets, housing, certain rights in society as freedom of speech and lack of opportunities, powerlessness and vulnerability. Therefore it can be said that poverty entails a lot of factors which can be analyzed in terms of quantitative and qualitative indicators or can be summarized according to Béné et al. (2004:48) into two broad headings: the Monetary Poverty Profile and the Human Poverty Profile.

Monetary poverty profile / Quantitative indicators

With the monetary poverty profile, it seeks to measure poverty based on certain defined minimum welfare functions that are necessary for an individual to meet basic food, clothing and shelter requirements, which is termed as the poverty line (Adjasi et al. 2007). The poverty line can be defined either biologically (these are expenses incurred in obtaining the daily calories necessary for the survival of individual), needs based (involves expenses needed to satisfy other basic necessities in life like housing, clothing, health etc apart from food) or normative which has to do with selecting a certain amount of daily expenses such as the daily threshold of \$1 and \$2 (Béné et al. 2004). The establishment of a predetermined poverty line makes it easier to differentiate between the poor and non poor. Individuals with mean per capita income below the poverty line are classified as the poor or destitute in society or community.

Other monetary poverty indicators include, the incidence of poverty (indicates the percentage of the total population living below the poverty line), the severity of poverty (establish the disparities in income among the poor), the extent of poverty (it indicates at what distance of the poverty line lies the average income of the poor), the capacity to overcome poverty (indicates the section of the population living close below the poverty line) and the

vulnerability to poverty (the segment of the population just above the poverty line) (Béné et al. 2004). Using the monetary poverty approach in Ghana, the Ghana Statistical Services in 2000 defines two nutrition-based poverty lines which are the upper poverty line of 900,000 cedis and a lower poverty line of 700,000 cedis per adult per year. The upper poverty line includes essential food and essential non food consumption whilst the lower poverty line was based on only what was necessary to meet the minimum nutritional requirement of household members. Based on the upper poverty line, the poverty level in Ghana was said to have declined from 51.7% in 1991/1992 to 39.5% in 1998/1999 and similarly a decline was also witnessed in the proportion of Ghanaian living below the lower poverty line from 36.5% in 1991/1992 to an estimate of about 27% in 1998/1999. Albeit, there has been a decline in poverty levels in Ghana, extreme poverty is still higher in the three northern regions of the country than in southern part of the country (Ahortor et al. 2007). Poverty is also higher in the rural areas in Ghana than the urban areas, as indicated in the table below.

Table 3.1: Incidence of poverty by Region and Location in the 1990s

Region	Proportion below the Lower poverty line		Proportion below the Upper poverty line	
	1991/1992	1998/1999	1991/1992	1998/1999
Western	0.42	0.14	0.6	0.27
Central	0.24	0.31	0.44	0.48
Greater Accra	0.13	0.02	0.26	0.05
Eastern	0.35	0.3	0.48	0.44
Volta	0.42	0.2	0.57	0.38
Ashanti	0.25	0.16	0.41	0.28
Brong-Ahafo	0.46	0.19	0.65	0.36
Northern	0.54	0.57	0.63	0.7
Upper West	0.74	0.68	0.88	0.84
Upper East	0.53	0.8	0.67	0.88
Urban	15.1	11.6	27.7	19.4
Rural	47.2	34.4	63.6	49.5
Total	39.5	26.8	51.7	39.5

Source: GSS (Ghana Statistical Service) (2000) Poverty Trends in Ghana in the 1990s, Ghana Statistical Service, October, Accra.

Generally, from the table above, the percentage of people living below the poverty line has declined almost throughout the entire regions of Ghana with the exception of Central and

Northern regions where there has been an increase in the number of poor people in the period 1991 - 1999.

Human poverty profile / Qualitative indicators

The human poverty profile analysis poverty as proposed by the UNDP (1997) as the absence or lack of basic capabilities to function such as access to proper health care (life expectancy rate, infant mortality rate), education (the ability to read and write), living conditions (access to potable water, access to good roads and access to other basic infrastructures). It also incorporates vulnerability which refers to the exposure to risks and stress and the ability of the individual to deal with them, lack of political voice and low social status (Béné et al. 20004). The human poverty profile dwells mainly on social and physical indicators rather than monetary indicators.

According to the Human Development Report, Ghana (2007), the estimated average life expectancy in Ghana is around 59 years. Infant and under five mortality rate is high at 62% and 102 per 1000 births respectively (GDHS, 2004). The percentage of enrolment of children in the primary school in terms of education is 83% (MESS, 2008) and an estimate of 53% of the rural population has access to potable water (Ghana Partnership Results Matrix, 2008). Both monetary and human poverty indicators show to a large extent the poverty level in Ghana especially in the rural areas.

In summary, the concept of poverty has gone through a lot of redefining and currently it embraces both the monetary indicators and the human poverty indicators giving it a multifaceted and complex approach. However the monetary and human poverty indicators according the Béné et al (2004) complement each other having a cause and effect relationship. This is so in the sense that, for example: low income or lack of reliable income can lead to lack of access to quality and formal education and training which affects the empowerment of an individual thereby denying the individual to be gainfully employed in order to achieve a reliable source of income.

Poverty in small scale fisheries

The conceptualization of poverty enumerated above which embraces a multidimensional nature has changed the perception of poverty in small scale fisheries from the old paradigm which seeks to relate poverty in fisheries communities to the overexploitation of fishery resources, low opportunity income or lack of employment alternatives and the sector as a safety mechanism for employment to incorporating other socio-institutional constraints.

Poverty in small scale fisheries according to the old paradigm has both an endogenous and exogenous origin (Béné, 2003). The endogenous origin of poverty in fisheries stems from the fishery sector itself which can be explained by the overexploitation of the natural resources due to the open access nature of the fishery thereby leading to low catches, loss of resource rent and finally impoverishing the fishing communities (Béné et al. 2004). According to Copes (1989) this approach is termed as the “Conventional wisdom on poverty in fisheries”. In this regard, low catches which leads to low income in my opinion cannot be solely attributed to the overexploitation of the natural resources in the Ghanaian fishery. This is because the fishery sector in Ghana is mostly dominated by small scale fishers, who use wooden canoes with some, empowered by the 40HP outboard motors and the small ones depend on sail power. These canoes are unable to travel offshore as the modern vessels do, which actually affects their catch levels due to the overcrowded nature of the onshore fishery resulting in low income. In this context, decline in catches resulting in low income to the Ghanaian fishers cannot be said to be attributed to the overexploitation of the natural resources but rather lack of access to the fishery resources due to lack of modern equipment and technology.

The exogenous origin of poverty in fisheries is attributed to the unavailability of alternative employment opportunities in other sectors of the economy thereby restricting labour mobility from the fishery leading to the increase in fishing effort which coupled with limited resources reduce income levels. In this approach the root cause of poverty in fishery stems from outside the fisheries sector. Analysing poverty in fisheries using this two approaches re-echo the general perception that “they are poor because they are fishermen” (Béné et al. 2004).

Another major idea of the old paradigm used in conceptualizing poverty in fisheries is the distributive dimensions of fisheries. In this regard, the fisheries sector serves as an employer of last resort or an insurance and safety valve for the poor. This is made possible due to the open access nature of the sector which allows people to enter the fishery when other opportunities or resources are closed or limited to them and this can be said to be a merit of the open access approach. Using the fishery sector as a safety mechanism, the general perception that “they are poor because they are fishermen” can be rephrased to read as “they are fishermen because they are poor” (Béné et al., 2004). The conceptualization of poverty in fisheries using the old paradigm approach can be equated to the monetary poverty profile analyzed above because it is centered on the income generated by the fishers. The diagram below depicts the two general perceptions of the old paradigm of conceptualizing poverty which leads to the self-contained equation “fisheries = poverty”.

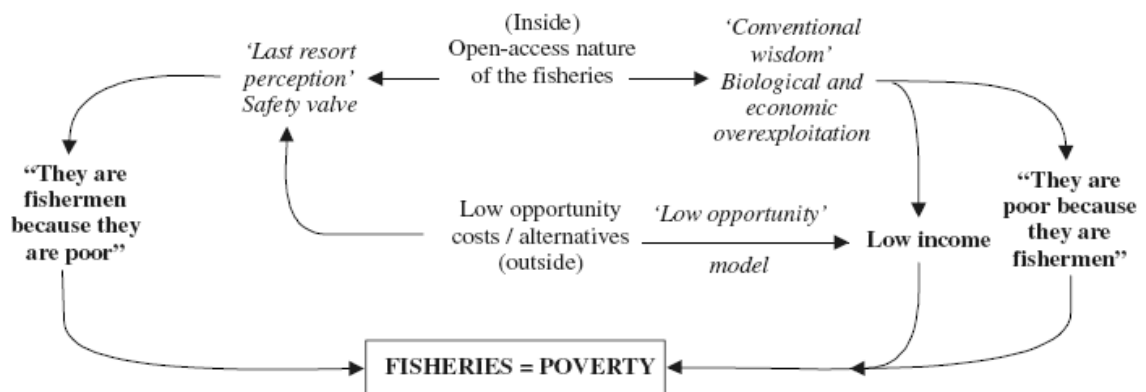


Figure 3.2: The relationship between small scale fisheries and poverty as conceptualized using the old paradigm

Source: (Béné, 2003)

The new perception of poverty in small scale fisheries

With the new emergence of conceptualizing poverty in a multifaceted approach, poverty in small scale fisheries can be analyzed using the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) which embraces the different dimensions of poverty in fishing communities, such as low levels of

educations, inadequate public services, low living conditions, lack of assets and skills, including vulnerability, social networks and more importantly the interaction with institutions which are management systems controlling the fishery sector.

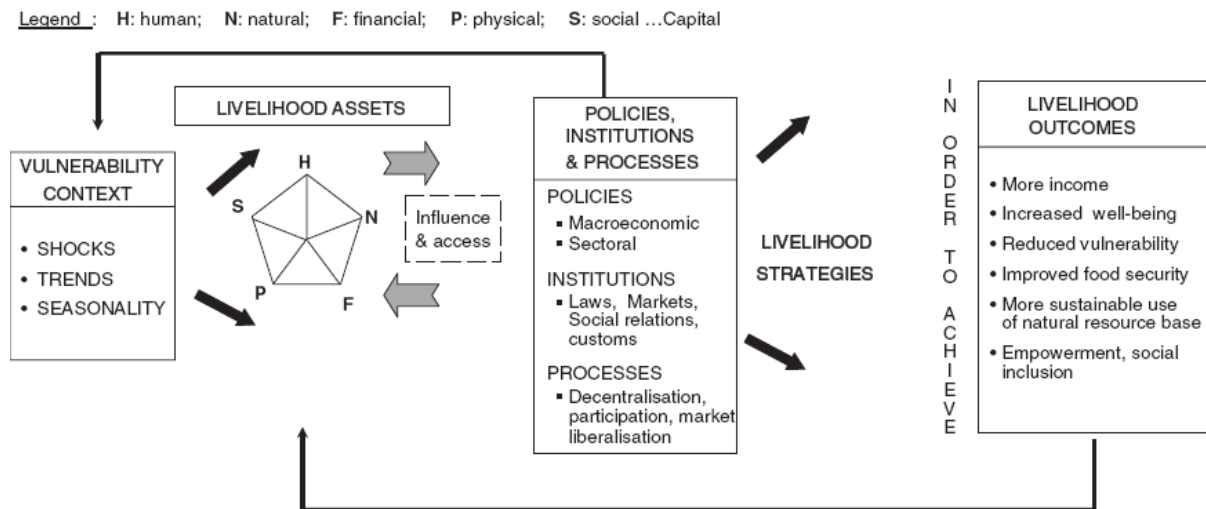


Figure 3.3: The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) framework depicting the multidimensional perceptive of poverty.

Source: (Allison et al. 2006)

The SLA diagram above shows that Policies, Institutions and Processes (PIPs) which are the management systems in the fishery sector, influence or hinder the access of the poor in the community to capital assets such as physical assets (boats, nets, fishing gears etc), natural assets (fish, land, water bodies), financial assets (credit facilities, savings, income), human assets (skilled and unskilled labour) and social assets (norms, associations, membership organization) (Allison et al. 2006). The SLA framework also incorporates the vulnerabilities faced by the fishing communities in terms of low catches caused by natural factors, as in the case of the Ghanaian fishery, which is affected by seasonal fluctuations due to the climate conditions, risks at sea, high price of fuel and formulates livelihood strategies in alleviating poverty in the small scale fishery.

In summary, poverty in small scale fisheries has also shifted its focus from the old paradigm where poverty was tied to the over exploitative nature of the resources and low opportunity income to incorporating qualitative indicators, such as entitlement failure, lack of education, social exclusion, vulnerability to shocks and including the institutions regulating the fishery resources. This has provided a multidimensional approach to poverty in the small scale fishery which has been analyzed using the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) framework which provides the meaning, causes, effects and strategies used in alleviating poverty in a small scale fishing community.

Poverty and child labour trafficking

The rise in child labour trafficking within Ghana can be analyzed with the theory of poverty. The recent definition and measurement of poverty has evolved from income based perception to include lack of basic needs such as health care, education, potable water etc. and other qualitative indicators like vulnerability, powerlessness and insecurity. These characteristics of poverty are most profound in the rural and some towns of Ghana especially in the three northern regions. Linking poverty and child labour trafficking can be done in Ghana in terms of push and pulls factors. The pull factor analyzes poverty and child labour trafficking from the fishers' perspective and the push factor explains the situation from the parents' and children's perspective.

Pull factors

The Ghanaian fishery sector is made up of both marine and inland fisheries and account for 5% of agricultural Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and fish accounts for 60% of the animal protein consumed in Ghana. The fishery sector also contributes tremendously to the economy through foreign exchange earnings of about US\$ 94 million and at the same time serves as a source of employment and livelihood for about 1.5 to 2 million people living in the coastal and fishing communities (FAO, 2004). Although the fishery sector contributes to the top three most important non traditional exports earnings for the country, most of the fishing communities of both marine and inland fisheries are deprived areas where poverty is endemic, due to lack of basic social amenities, low standard of living and low income.

Low income in the marine fishery is to a large extent attributed to the short upwelling season between July and September when much of their income is made. In the inland fisheries, especially on the Lake Volta, the decline in catches is attributed to the construction of the Akosombo dam which has caused the migration of most species. The low catches coupled with increasing costs have led to less profit for the fishers. Consequently, in their attempt to reduce cost in terms of labour, they seek the assistance of trafficked children who are regarded as cheap labour. This makes the demand for child labour trafficking high in the fishing sector.

Push factors

With lack of employment opportunities and low income coupled with lack of access to credit facilities confronting parents in rural and deprived communities in Ghana, they rely on their children to support them economically to supplement their meagre income. This they do by illegally selling their children into bonded labour for either lump sum income or regular monthly income through agents, friends or relatives, who lure them into believing that their children will be properly taken care of and will be working under good conditions which in most cases do not happen. High illiteracy rate, lack of health care and ignorance of birth control measures in rural and deprived areas facilitate parents to give birth to many children, which unfortunately their subsistence income cannot cater for. The children therefore become a burden on their parents and in order to reduce the economic burden they give out their children especially to traffickers in exchange for income.

Access to education, health care and potable water and other social amenities are nonexistent in most rural communities. In communities where there are school buildings, there are lack of school materials and qualified teachers and most often parents do not have a reliable source of income to purchase school uniforms, text books and other school materials for their wards and where there are no school buildings, children are made to walk long distances to the nearest community with access to education. This compels parents to take their wards out of school and become targets for trafficking into forced or bonded labour in the agricultural, mining and fishing sectors as well as for domestic work.

Poverty in the rural areas especially in the northern parts of Ghana drives children between the ages of eight and seventeen to migrate independently to the south for diverse reasons (Hashim, 2005). These migrant children become vulnerable and are easily lured by traffickers into child labour exploitation into various sectors of the economy such as the mining, agricultural and fishing.

Individuals who are unemployed and lack the requisite skills and access to capital assets and who are determined to survive by making subsistence income enter into the trafficking business where they can make some quick money by serving as middlemen/women or agents recruiting children from rural and deprived areas for their clients who in turn pay for their services.

In summary, child labour trafficking has both a demand and a supply side. The demand side is influenced by the desire of fishers to cut down on cost by employing children who are considered as cheap labour. On the other hand, parents and traffickers influence the supply side due to monetary poverty and lack of access to basic needs.

Summary of theory

In summary, the concept of poverty which was previously viewed only in terms of monetary indicators has evolved over the years encompassing other qualitative indicators like vulnerability, insecurity and powerlessness. The revolution of the concept of poverty has also changed the meaning of poverty in small scale fisheries from the old paradigm where poverty was linked to overexploitation of the fishery resources known as the endogenous effect and the exogenous effect which sort to explain poverty in fisheries as due to the unavailability of alternative employment opportunities to analyzing poverty in fisheries using the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA). The aim of the SLA is to focus attention on the various assets (physical, natural, financial, human and social) of the rural people in order to empower them to adapt to shocks imposed by the environment such as seasonal fluctuations in fish resources.

(Degnbol et al, 2004). The SLA also presents the influence of policies, institutions and processes on the accessibility of the poor to these assets.

Finally, the theory of poverty is essential to the study of child labour trafficking in the Ghanaian small scale fishery because it provides the diverse aspect of poverty which is endemic in both the fishery communities which are the recipient of the trafficked children and the rural or deprived areas where the children are sent from.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

According to Silverman (2005), methodology is defined as "the choices we make about cases to study, methods of data gathering, forms of data analysis, etc., in planning and executing a research study". These methods can be in the form of quantitative techniques or qualitative techniques depending on the research topic. This chapter gives an elaborate description of the field sites and the various qualitative techniques used in sampling, data collection and data analysis. It also enumerates the limitations of the study.

Description of the field sites

The Lake Volta is the largest man-made lake in the world of about 8,700km² which is located in the Volta region of Ghana with about 1,232 fishing communities along its banks. My fieldwork was done in one of the fishing communities along the Lake Volta called Ogetse which is under the Kete-Krachi west district located at the north western part of the Volta region. It took us 15.5 hours to travel from the capital, Accra to Kete-Krachi, a long and tiring journey due to the untarred nature of the road and the peninsula nature of Kete-Krachi.



Figure 4.1: The map of Ghana

Source: www.socwk.utah.edu/international/oct08ghana.html (accessed on 18.03.2009)

During my fieldwork I was based in Kete-Krachi and the only way to get to Ogetse was to travel on the lake with a canoe which took about 30 minutes.



Photo 4.1: Heading for Ogetse from Kete Krachi, source: fieldwork (July 2008)

Ogetse as a fishing community is an island made up of various ethnic groups from different parts of the country ranging from Akans, Ewes, Ga-Adangmes and Hausas. Apart from fishing, the inhabitants are also small-scale farmers. Most of their fish produce are sent to Kete-Krachi which is the nearest big market or Dambai which is about 2.5 hours drive. Ogetse is a deprived community lacking basic social amenities such as education, potable water, health care facilities, transportation system, employment opportunities and they are highly vulnerable to shocks and accidents on the lake due to various stumps in the lake.



Photo 4.2: stumps in the Lake Volta. Source: Fieldwork (July, 2008)

Despite the poverty level in the community, it is interesting to know that it serves as a destination area for trafficked children from far and near who are mostly used by the fishers in their fishing activities.

Sampling methods

Sampling can be categorized into two broad basic methods which are probability sampling and non-probability sampling. (Jupp et al. 1996). I employed the non-probability sampling in my study because my aim was to gather relevant information needed for my research within a short time considering the time available at my disposal and the inexpensive nature of this sampling method makes research easier to be conducted. According to Delpont et al (2005), the varieties of non-probability sampling are accidental, purposive/judgemental, quota, dimensional, target, snowball and spatial sampling methods. I used the purposive and snowball non probability sampling in gathering my primary data for my study.

Purposive /Judgemental sampling

In connection with the personal interview, this method was used for the selection of persons to be interviewed. This was used because the information required could be obtained by virtue of their involvement and their in-depth knowledge concerning my research topic. Those interviewed using this method were the children (victims), the representatives of the NGOs (Village of Hope and Partners in Community Development Programme (PACODEP) and the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWC).

Snowball sampling

This method is also known as network, chain referral or reputational sampling (Blaikie, 2000). With this method, the researcher gets access to respondents through contact information by other respondents. According to Noy (2008) in order to make a sample of a specific group of respondents, the researcher has to rely on the assistance of the informant to get other informants to be interviewed. I used this method in interviewing the fishermen because at the time of my fieldwork, they were aware of the consequences of using trafficked

children in their fishing activities through the sensitization and rescue operations conducted by PACODEP earlier in the year 2008. This made the fishers hesitant to open up and provide accurate information due to the fear of taking the children away from them. This problem was solved when I spoke to one of the fishers who speaks my local dialect and explained my intentions to him, after which he allowed me to interview him and later referred me to his fisher friends who constitute my respondents.

Respondents

My respondents were made of four different groups comprising of:

- The small scale fishers at Ogetse who are the perpetrators of this crime by employing these trafficked children. Small scale fishers in this study refer to those who make use of wooden canoes empowered by either a 40HP outboard motors or a sail and their livelihood is dependent on the fishery. Ten of the fishers were interviewed.
- The Public Relation Officer of the Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs who are the state authority in charge of children’s and women issues.
- The NGOs (PACODEP) which is located in Kete-Krachi and the Village of Hope located in Gomoa-Fete in the Central region of Ghana. Both NGOs work in collaboration in rescuing the children working in the fishery communities along the Lake Volta.
- The children (Victims): three different kinds of this group were interviewed.

Table 4.1: Groups of children interviewed

Group of children interviewed	Number interviewed
Those still in slavery	10
Those rescued and undergoing transformation with PACODEP	30
Those rescued and with Village of Hope	10
<i>Total</i>	<i>50</i>

The Ministry of Fisheries was supposed to be one of the respondents but unfortunately, I was told they do not deal with such issues and so I could not have an interview with their representative. I was rather redirected to go the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs.

Data collection methods

Data collection is the process of gathering information (figures, words, or responses) that describe some situation from which conclusions can be drawn²². This gathering of information takes various forms, such as participant observation, conducting interviews, focus group discussions which are mostly used in gathering primary data whilst secondary data are gathered from relevant documents such as published and unpublished literature.

Data for this study comprises of both primary and secondary sources. The source for my primary data include interviews conducted, participant observation and focus group discussion and the secondary data were derived from published books from the library, published articles in journals and on the internet, websites and policy documents and various Acts on children and human trafficking from the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in Ghana.

Interviews

Interview is defined by Kvale (1996) as "the attempt to understand the world from the participants' point of view, to unfold the meaning of people's experience and to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation". Thus an interview is a conversation between or among people with the hope of soliciting specific information from the respondents. The type of interview used in this study includes the semi structured/open-ended interview, key informant interview and the focus group discussions.

22. www.mra-net.org/resources/glossaryterms.cfm (accessed on 18/03/2009)

Semi structured/open-ended interview

This is the simplest form of conducting an interview which involves two persons, the interviewer (researcher) and the interviewee (respondent/informant) based on predetermined questions or schedule. It must be pointed out that the quality and usefulness of the information given by the respondent is dependent on the quality of the various questions asked by the interviewer. This style of interviewing was used in gathering information from the fishers, the children who were still in slavery and being exploited, and those who were rescued and were in the care of Village of Hope. All the fishers were asked the same questions and so were the children in order to provide uniformity and be able to compare responses of each group at the end of the study. The open-ended questions were used in order for me to be able to probe further, based on the responses of the interviewees and the questions were confined to the issues relating to my research objectives. Both the fishers and the children accepted to be tape recorded during the interview. I did this in order not to be disrupted by taking down notes during the interview and to have all the responses without omitting any. The questions which were originally in English had to be translated by me into our local dialect Ewe for the fishers and for the children especially those still under exploitation except the children with Village of Hope were able to give their responses in English because they were in school and they communicate at home using English.



Photo 4.3: Interviewing a fisher at Ogetse, Source: Fieldwork (July, 2008)

Key informant interview

My key informants interviewed composed of the Chief Executive Officer of PACODEP, the Social services manager of the Village of Hope, a foster parent of the children in the Village of Hope and the Public Relations Officer of the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs. Key informants according to Kumar (1989) are specific group of individuals who are supposed to possess needed information, ideas and insights on a particular subject. Their interviews were based on a semi-structured interview questions and their responses were tape recorded with the exception of the Public Relations Officer of the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, who declined to be tape recorded with the excuse of suffering from a flu and so I made notes of her responses and in addition she provided me with some secondary data comprising of policies concerning the ministry and various Acts about children and human trafficking.

Focus group discussions

A focus group is either a formal or an informal gathering of homogenous or varied persons who interact with each other by trying to respond to questions and thereby providing useful information. In this method the researcher becomes more of a moderator than an interviewer (Bell, 2005). This method was used in soliciting information from the children who were rescued and were undergoing transformation under the care of PACODEP. This was because they were many and almost all of them were willing to talk to me, but one to one interview would be time consuming. I used the same set of interview questions and this was done with the help of a research assistant from the Village of Hope who was also on a visit to Kete-Krachi to interact with the children and arranged for them to be taken to Village of Hope. As Bell (2005) acknowledges, strong personalities within the group tend to make it difficult for the less assertive to speak. I experienced this during my focus group discussion with a few of the children who were shy to speak and sometimes were shut down by others. In order to allow and encourage such people to speak, I specifically asked them questions. Another demerit of this method I realized, was that everybody wanted to speak at the same time which made listening to them very difficult.

Observation

Observation can be done through participating or merely observing others, their acts or their environment and the latter is termed direct observation. I employed the direct observation method during my fieldwork at Ogetse to capture the relationship between the fishers and the children, the behavior of the children towards each other, their physical appearances and the type of work they do. I also used this method when I was with the rescued children at both PACODEP and Village of Hope in order to compare their physical appearances, their behaviour and emotions with the ones still being exploited.

Data analysis

The data gathered will be analyzed qualitatively giving a vivid description of child labour trafficking and its adverse effect on children involved based on my theory. The analysis of data will also bring to the fore the efforts made by the state institutions, NGOs and individuals in curbing this menace. Unfortunately, quantitative data is not available on such issues due to the secret nature of this crime. This would have enriched the knowledge on how the various institutions are fairing in tackling this issue by comparing quantitative data over time.

Limitations of the study

There are some limitations pertaining to this study which should be taken into account whilst reading this piece. Notable among them is the fact that the study is based on only one fishing community (Ogetse) located along the Lake Volta which is surrounded according to Braimah (2001) by 1232 fishing communities. Apart from the various fishing communities along the Lake Volta, Ghana is also endowed with a long stretch of coastline of about 540km from the capital Accra, to the central region (Cape Coast) and to the western region (Sekondi-Takoradi) where there are many fishing communities. I therefore urge that my findings in this one fishing community, is an explorative study coupled with the use of a nonprobability sampling is not enough in making a general conclusion of the situation in the other fishing communities in Ghana.

Secondly, trafficked children are also used as labour in the mining and agricultural sectors of the economy. This study takes no cognizance of the mining and agricultural sectors and therefore its findings should not be linked to these sectors.

Finally, the study may be limited by time constraints and the lack of quantitative data. With time as a limiting factor, it is difficult to carry out a detailed research within a semester. In respect to quantitative data, lack of reliable statistics about child labour trafficking in the Ghanaian fishing industry may not help to appreciate the endemic nature of this situation. Despite all these limitations the quality of this particular study should not be affected.

Chapter 5: Child labour in Lake Volta fishery

Introduction

Having discussed the theories underpinning this study and the methodology used in collecting the data for the research in the previous two chapters, the subsequent two chapters focus on the research findings from my fieldwork in Ogetse which is one of the fishing communities along the Lake Volta. This chapter discusses the causes of child labour trafficking, recruitment processes, jobs performed by the trafficked children, the way they are treated by their masters and the kind of benefits parents derived or received from giving out their children to the fishers who use them for labour.

Causes of child labour trafficking

There were several factors enumerated by my respondents (fishers and key informants) as the causes of child labour trafficking. These factors range from low source of income, lack of sustainable and alternative employment opportunities, single parenting, large family size, lack of education which leads to high illiteracy rate among rural parents and lack of basic needs which were mentioned to be the factors behind parents' decision of giving out their children; this I termed to be the *supply side* of child labour trafficking. From the fishers' point of view, my respondents made mention of low income due to overexploitation of the Lake Volta fishery resources, the need for assistance, children considered as cheap labour that can easily be exploited or cheated due to their obedient nature as some of the causes contributing to child labour trafficking and this I consider to be the *demand side* of child labour trafficking.

In relation to low and unreliable source of income coupled with lack of sustainable and alternative employment opportunities facing parents, especially in the rural areas, an informant explained that this situation makes parents highly vulnerable to the various enticing promises made by agents, relatives or friends who help in trafficking the children to the fishermen.

Single parenting occurs when a mother or a woman assumes the role of a bread winner due to the death of a husband, through divorce or separation, or the denial of responsibility by fathers towards their children. This situation as one informant puts it contributes immensely to child labour trafficking because most of these single mothers, especially in the rural areas, are jobless, illiterate, ignorant, poor and vulnerable and are prepared to do anything, even selling their children to survive. This he stressed by giving an example of a child who had been rescued three times due to the inability of the mother to cater for him. According to Adjasi et al. (2007), female headed households are poorer than the male headed households and this is reiterated by the IFAD report on rural poverty in Ghana which stated that “more than half of women who are heads of households in rural areas are among the poorest 20% of the population – the poorest of the poor”.²³ This is what one of the children had to say when I asked about where he comes from and how he got to Ogetse. *“I lived with my mother at Abutia and because my father is not taking care of me, my uncle came for me from my mother to stay with him and work for 3 years in order to pay my mother”*.

The respondent who cited large family size as a cause of child labour trafficking explained that parents mostly living in rural and deprived areas bring forth to many children because of the lack of basic amenities like electricity, which encourages them to go to bed early, ignorance about birth control measures and the notion of having many children in order to use them as work force on their farms and to use them as a proof of their potency without considering their upbringing, wellbeing and education. This large family size she says, becomes so much of a financial burden on parents in that they try to seek other alternatives in relinquishing their responsibilities of caring for their numerous children to other people who offer to employ them in exchange for some money or just to take care of them. These children are finally used as labours and exploited by people they stay with. One of the children I interviewed said that *“they were ten children and two died and I am the sixth born who was asked to come and work for my master by my parents”*.

23. www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/home/tags/ghana (accessed on 02.03.2009)

In terms of analyzing the causes of child labour trafficking from the fishers' perspective, some of the fishers interviewed indicated that they use children because they need people to help them in the fishing activities. This is what one of the fisher's had to say *"I used to work with my children but now they are all grown up and living on their own and I was the only one doing the job so I needed someone to help me and that is why I employed those two boys"*. When asked why they employ children rather than adults, he said *"it is easy to get the children and they are obedient and trustworthy"* and he further went on to illustrate how trustworthy his boys are by telling me *"they catch the fish and sell and bring the money to me"*. When I asked how easy it is to get the children, he had this to say: *"when you go to places like Sogakope, Ada and other communities around here you will get children, you just have to talk to their parents or you can talk to a friend about it and he will get you one"*.

Other fishers interviewed also made mention of the decline nature of their catches due to overexploitation of the fishery resources in the Lake Volta and the need to seek for alternative sources of income in order to survive. This they said calls for more hands and that is why they employ children to be doing the fishing whilst they attend to other businesses. This is one of the responses from a fisher: *"now we do not catch fish as we used to in the past and we really depend on the fishery for our source of income and because of the low catches we do not get enough income so I have employed the children to be doing the fishing whilst most of the times I do my carpentry work which I used to do some years ago"*.

Finally, one of my key informants made a point that fishers use the children because they are considered as cheap labour compared to adults and can easily be cheated and exploited to the fishers' own benefits.

Recruitment process

The term "Recruitment" is used in this study to refer to the channel through which the children are acquired from the "sending" communities to the "receiving" communities. The outcome of my interview revealed four main ways used in recruiting the children to Ogetse to work on the Lake Volta as child labourers. These recruitment channels include family

members or relatives, parents, direct recruitment by the fishers themselves and lastly through an agent/middlemen. Among the four channels of recruitment, I observed that agent is the least used in Ogetse since only one of my respondent made mention of it.

Family members / relatives

Respondents who used this recruitment channel indicated that these family members or relatives are uncles, aunts or grandparents of the children who are mostly staying in Ogetse and other fishing communities along the Lake Volta who upon request made to them go to their relatives in other parts of the country and bring the children to them in Ogetse. One of the children who were recruited through this channel had this to say *“I was staying in Alabonu with my parents when my grandpa came for me and brought me to my master in Ogetse”*. When I enquired about the reward given to these relatives upon the delivery of the children, some of respondents made mention of giving some monies to these relatives as tokens for their transportation and others claim they do not give anything to them because they are their friends.

Parents

Parents also play active role in recruiting their children for the fishing communities mainly due to the desperate situations they find themselves. The key informants made the assertion that some of these parents are deceived by people or agents who go for these children with the promise of taking good care of them and providing them with good jobs which will add to their meager income. Some of these parents are friends of the fishers as confessed by one of the respondents who said *“he contacted the father of the child who is a friend and once stayed in Ogetse for the assistance of his son who was then living with the mother at Manfi”*.

Direct recruitment by the fishers

The fishers themselves participate in the recruitment of these children by going to near and far communities such as Dzemeni, Adidome, Sogakope which are located in the Volta region and also to some communities in the Northern, Ashanti, Greater Accra and Central regions of

Ghana. Some respondents claim they usually go in for relatives' children or friends' children and others said they just go in search of the children especially in areas noted to be "sending" communities of trafficked children such as Sogakope, Ada, and Old Ningo. They look for the children themselves to avoid paying commission to agents whom the respondents claim charge exorbitant fees.

Agents

These are people who have taken child trafficking as a business through which they derive their source of income. Most of these agents are working on behalf of fishers who recruit the children upon request made to them by fishers. The fishers in turn pay the agents their commission when the recruitment process is done. Throughout the responses given by the informants, only one made mention of using this channel of recruitment and indicated that these agents are either members of the community where they recruit or from other places whose job is to search and recruit these children.

Work done by the children

There are several jobs performed by these children and it was established from my interview with the three groups of children that the basic work they all do in the morning is the casting of nets. They wake up very early in the morning from 3am, 4am or 5am to cast the nets and come back to shore around 11am. According to most of them, they are not able to eat early in the morning so they preferred eating later when they are ashore. Whilst at shore, others stay there to mend their fishing net as shown in the photo below.



Photo 5.1: children mending nets, source: fieldwork (July, 2008)

Other respondents said they go home to help in the house by performing various house chores such as fetching of water, searching and gathering fire woods, washing dishes, cleaning the compounds and running other errands for their masters and mistresses.

Later in the day around 2pm or 3pm, they go back to haul the fishing nets they cast in the morning. In the process of hauling the nets, some get entangled with the stumps in the Lake Volta and in this case, some of these children are made to dive into the Lake to disentangle the nets to avoid the destruction of them and the escapement of the fishes from the nets. The children are taught how to dive by their masters and other experienced children. They are taught how to dive and their ability to stay under water until a bottle is full qualifies the child to be diving into the Lake Volta to disentangle nets when fishing.*

*The diving technique is learnt by the children based on the assumption that if the child jumps into the lake, a bottle is also dipped into the water concurrently. The child should be able to stay under the water until the bottle is full with water. That qualifies the child to be diving to disentangle net. If the child is not able to achieve this objective, he is made to practice until he succeeds.

Until this is achieved, the child is not allowed to dive into the Lake to disentangle nets. At the time of my fieldwork, one of my key informant revealed that four children had died through diving into the lake by hitting their heads and their stomachs against some of the hidden stumps in the Lake Volta.

Whilst fishing, some trafficked young children claimed that they usually scoop water from the wooden canoe to avoid it from sinking while others are engaged in paddling the canoe as shown in the photo below.



Photo 5.2: children sailing the canoe whilst their master cast the net. Source: fieldwork (July, 2008)

Another activity that the children are made to do is the selling of fish either to market women who purchase them at the banks of the Lake or through door to door sales in their fishing communities.

How the children are treated

On the issue of how they are treated by their masters (the fishers), the respondents (the children) talked about lack of sufficient food, lack of education, working the whole week and lack of good rest, and of being beaten by their masters.

Lack of sufficient food

According to most of the children, they do not eat in the morning before going to work due to the early hours they wake up in order to cast their nets. Some respondents stated that they normally eat in the afternoons and late in the evenings. In relation to how they eat in the afternoons, some respondents stated that they sometimes go home to eat especially if there are few things to do at the shore in terms of mending nets or the food is brought to them at the shore when they are very busy mending nets by one of the children they usually send. Others also mentioned that they purchase food at the shore from the food sellers to eat. When asked how they get money to buy the food, this is what one had to say: *“my master gives me some fish so I give the fish to the food seller and she gives me food in return”*. This trading practice is termed “bartering” or “barter trade” in which trading for goods and services do not involve the use of money. This was the trading system commonly in use before the advent of money based system as a means of exchange and it is interesting to know that these young children still use this trading system in order to satisfy their nutritional needs.

From the responses gathered from interviewing the children, it came to light that the children are fed at most twice in a day. This point was buttressed by a response made by one of the key informants who indicated that the children are made to starve by feeding them once or twice a day, described in a funny way as *“zero, zero, one”* or *“zero, one, zero”* or *“zero, one, one”*. This means no food in the mornings and afternoons but they get to eat in the evenings or they get to eat only in the afternoons with no food in the mornings and evenings or they eat both in the afternoons and evenings without eating in the mornings. (The “zero” means no food and “one” means there is food).

From my observation, due to the lack of sufficient food, most of these children are malnourished as shown in the photo below.



Photo 5.3: Malnourished children, source: fieldwork (July, 2008)

Lack of education

Throughout their responses, the children made it clear that they do not go to school whilst they are with their masters because they are made to work throughout their stay with them. Some of the children said they used to attend school when they were with their parents but unfortunately they were not able to continue whilst with their masters. Others also indicated that they were promised to go to school when their parents had given them out to their masters, but regrettably they end up not going to school but rather working throughout the week. This makes it very difficult for the children to read and write thus making them illiterate for life if they are not rescued by an NGO or government agency. They are also deprived of acquiring any vocational training or skills which put them in a disadvantaged position on the job market as in the case of one of my respondents who would be around 25years and still working for his master by catching fish and mending nets and had never gone back to his parents. This kind of situation helps the poverty cycle in our society to continue unabated.

Working throughout the week without adequate rest

Most children are made to work for the whole day throughout the week without a resting day under the scorching sun. Some of them said they do not work on Sundays because they go to church. Due to their busy schedule of working everyday coupled with waking up very early at 3am and 4am and going to bed late at 11pm or 12am, the children are deprived of good and adequate rest which they need for their developmental growth.

Beaten by their masters

Some of the children claimed that they are sometimes beaten by their masters, especially when they disobey their orders. Due to the abusive nature of their masters, the children also tend to be abusive towards each other at the least offence, using vulgar words and hitting each other. This attitude I observed with the children still under slavery and the ones rescued by PACODEP and were undergoing treatment and counselling. My key informant from PACODEP narrated a sad incident which happened to one of the rescued children 3years ago who is currently under the care of Village of Hope. He said this child was tied to a tree by his master to prevent him from being rescued.

The rewards of parents

On this issue, I gathered from my respondents (the fishers and key informants) that some parents are supposed to be given cattle at the expiration of their children's term of service and below is an agreement between a fishers and one of the children's parents.

1/2 Juv Sec Sch
P. O. Box 24
Ajalorun - Akoka.
19th Feb 2005.

TEXT OF AN AGREEMENT.

I Mr. Obichika Isahlor from Ajalorun
Lapuse came to an agreement with Jegbe
Jegbe Siame of Ajalorun in favour of his
son by name Kwasi Siame to be
helping him in fishing work at Ketebechi
for a time of three and a half years
(3 1/2). After the three years he Obichika
will pay on the cow in exchange of
money.

They will depart on 16th Feb 2005
and be back on 16th June 2008.

Witness

Witness

Obichika Isahlor

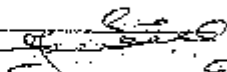
Jegbe Siame

Kwasi Kadoza

Kwasi Siame

Victor Asiteu

Eso Olofe

Sup 

Aples Siame

Christian
Aspore

The agreement above spells out the number of years the child is supposed to work for his master which is three and a half years and what the parent receives in exchange for their son's service at the end of the entire three and half year is a cow instead of money. This agreement points to the fact that parents are really involved in child labour trafficking. In this regard one of my respondents (a fisher) had this to say *"the child is my uncle's son and I give my uncle cattle annually and so the number of cattle I give him increases as the number of years my uncle's son works for me"*.

Some parents according to the agreement made are entitled to monetary benefits after their children's term of service expires whilst others prefer to receive part of the agreed amount on the inception of the agreement and the rest paid later after the expiration of the agreement, that is, when the child is returned to the parents. When asked how much the parents are given, one of the fishers said *"he pays the child's parent 100 new Ghana Cedis or 71.05 US Dollar annually"*. Generally, the amount of money promised by the fishers greatly varies with every agreement and I learnt from a respondent that it depends on the bargaining power of the parents involved. However, a key informant indicated that in circumstances where agents are involved in the recruitment of the children, the money is usually given to the agent to be delivered to the parents. The risk associated with this is the dishonesty and refusal on the part of the agent to deliver the money to the parents and in certain situations only part of the money is delivered by the agents. He also mentioned that parents do not even know the agents nor have their personal information to make follow ups for their monies.

Despite the promise of payment in terms of money or the giving of cattle to parents which are usually contained in the agreements, these promises are hardly fulfilled by the fishers unless parents seek for payment upfront which is generally not the case as mentioned by my key informants. This was made evident from the responses of some fishers I interviewed who confirmed that they have not fulfilled their part of the bargain due to the inability of some children to serve the full term when they are rescued. (That is removed from the master by an NGO or a government agency).

Other important findings

I gathered from my interviews with my key informants that the general age of these children ranges from six to seventeen years but some may be younger or older. Most of the children interviewed do not know their age and some even do not seem to know where they come from and the names of their parents. Though parents are not prevented from visiting their children as claimed by the fishers, my interaction with most of the children revealed that their parents do not visit them whilst a few of them made mention of their parents visiting them on one or two occasions. During my fieldwork, I observed that most of the trafficked children in the fishing community (Ogetse) I interviewed were boys and only two girls were among the rescued children in the care of PACODEP. This is not to imply that girls are not victims of labour trafficking in Ghana. It is simply due to the fact that most jobs in the informal sectors in Ghana are gender bias as revealed by a DANIDA report in 2002, which list the type of work engaged in by trafficked girls to include commercial sex work, domestic work and selling whilst the boys are usually engaged in mining, fishing, agricultural work, vehicle mates and truck pushing. I also gathered from the fishers and my key informant from PACODEP that the chief of Ogetse has three trafficked children in his custody, who are fishing for him and he is reluctant to release these children. Chiefs in the Ghanaian traditional settings are reverend and seen as role models and mouth piece for their communities so the involvement of the chief of Ogetse in child labour trafficking and his unwillingness sends a bad signal to his subjects and people. His behaviour will rather motivate his subjects and people to engage in such activities because he will not have the morale rights to advice them against it or sanction them.

Discussion on findings

The responses gathered from the various interviews on the causes of child labour trafficking, recruitment channels, work done by children, the treatment of the children and the rewards derived by parents revealed the endemic nature of poverty in rural Ghana. Poverty, which was discussed as a theoretical framework in chapter three, delved into its multidimensional nature encompassing lack of monetary resources, access to basic needs (health care, potable water, education, shelter, etc.) and other qualitative indicators like vulnerability, powerlessness and insecurity.

In this regard, it is evident to certain degree from the various responses that due to low or lack of sufficient and reliable sources of income coupled with the lack of access to the numerous basic needs such as potable water, education, health care, most parents in the rural areas (sending communities) tend to be vulnerable and powerless to the several sweet promises made by traffickers thereby ignoring the vulnerability and insecurity confronting their children when they are being trafficked into forced labour. At that very instance, parents are just concentrating on finding ways and means of satisfying their biological or physiological needs here and now no matter how it is achieved. This can be demonstrated by drawing on the Maslow hierarchy of needs as shown below.

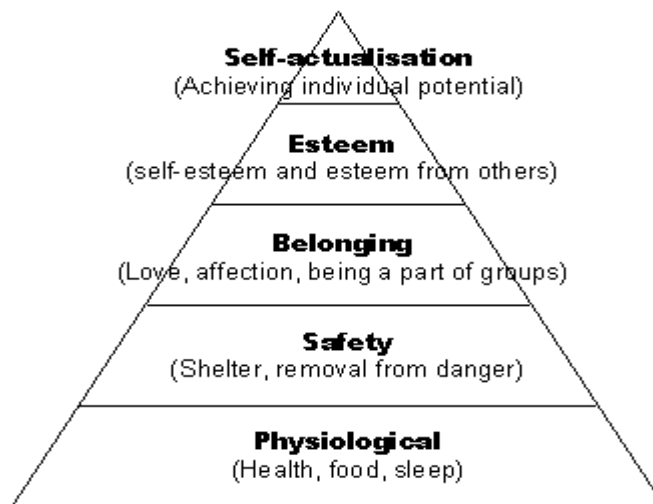


Fig. 1: Maslow hierarchy of needs.

Source: <http://changingminds.org/explanations/needs/maslow.htm> (accessed on 17.04.2009)

The Maslow hierarchy of needs explains that a human being will only think about safety, belongingness, esteem, self actualization needs if only he or she is able to satisfy his or her physiological needs which include basic necessities such as potable water, food, clothing, health, sleep, etc for human survival. Until these basic needs are fulfilled some parents will never consider either the safety/comfort or the psychological needs (belongingness) of their children in such circumstances.

Though poverty is a major supply or push factor in child labour trafficking, it does not explain the phenomenon and prevalence of child labour trafficking in its entirety. This is due to the

fact that not all poor parents in a community will be willing to push their children into forced labour for economic purposes in order to satisfy their survival needs. Traditionally, in our society some parents send their children to relatives and friends in towns and cities with the motive of searching for formal education, vocational training or to learn a trade rather than the search for work due to the inaccessible or insufficient educational avenues available in most rural communities. This is a cultural practice which has evolved through the extended family system we have in Ghana where relatives who are assumed to be doing pretty well in terms of monetary resources and job security are supposed to help other family members who are less privileged and unfortunately in recent times traffickers who are sometimes relatives of the victims are taking advantage of this culture practice for their economic gain and children who are considered as labour are transformed into a commodity for sale. This point is buttressed by a response from one of the children who said *“he was sent to the uncle by his mother to go school and the uncle brought him to his master in Ogeste”*.

Another push factor I think worth considering which was not made mention in my responses is the migration of children from the three northern regions of Ghana to the urban areas especially to Accra the capital. According to Hashim (2005) in his report stated that parents attribute the migration of their children to urban communities in search for job, to assist relatives and for formal and informal education. These migrants' children who are mostly found on the streets of Accra easily fall prey to traffickers who promise the children trade and job opportunities. The lack of job opportunities and lack of educational facilities which forces children to migrate to the urban areas and become victims of trafficking can be attributed to the failure of the government to fulfill their social responsibilities towards their citizens.

In terms of the supply or pull factors contributing to child labour trafficking, the findings revealed that fishers employ children because they are considered as cheap labour which helps in reducing their cost of labour. The intriguing question in relation to this claim is that if really the children are cheap labour and in this case most of them are not been paid and neither are their parents, then why is it that the fisher employs only one, two or three of them instead of may be employing twenty or more based on the assumption that more employees bring in more harvest and thereby increasing profits. In my view, though the children are cheap labours and easily accessible, a fisher is unable to employ a sizeable number of them

because the fishers are themselves poor and mostly living in rural and deprived communities where they are also struggling to make ends meet. So, employing many children rather puts a burden on the fisher in terms of providing food, clothing and shelter for them. That is why most of them even do not pay or provide the reward stated in most of the agreement entered into with the parents after the expiration of the agreements. In order to provide for his family survival the fisher employs one, two or three children for the purpose of delegating his fishing activities to the children so that he attends to other business ventures as indicated by a respondent.

Poverty which characterizes the small scale fishers of Ogetse along the Lake Volta is attributed to a decline in the fishery resources due to the construction of the Akosombo dam, which changed the fishing from river fishing to lake fishing and more importantly the increase in effort in terms of the number of canoes and fishermen because of the open access nature of the lake fishery over the years. This has caused decline in catches and subsequently loss of resource rent leading to the impoverishment of fishers and the community as a whole which is referred to as the exogenous origin of poverty in fisheries which was discussed in chapter three. Another aspect of poverty in the Ogetse fishery can be explained by the safety valve mechanism where people enter the fishery when other opportunities or resources are limited or closed to them due to the open nature of the fishery. The fishery is really the last resort in Ogetse because Ogetse is an island where there are limited job opportunities like farming, carpentry and cattle rearing so most of the men enter the fishery in order to fend for their families and make some income.

Other factors contributing to the poverty of the fishers along the Lake Volta is their vulnerability due to seasonal fluctuations in the availability of fish without a pragmatic response to this problem and the danger posed to the life of the fishers by the stumps in the lake which has caused numerous accidents leading to the death of breadwinners of many families. Lack of adequate and cost effective transport system in transporting their produce to the market is another major factor contributing to the poverty in the fishing community.

Another reason why fishers employ children is their obedient and trustworthy nature and this makes them vulnerable to be exploited by their masters. This is also driven by our cultural norms where children are expected to obey orders from the elderly without complaining whether it is in the best interest of the child or not.

In summary, poverty is not the only push factor explaining the prevalence of child labour trafficking. Other push factors are cultural practices, migration and failures of government to provide basic amenities for its citizenry, especially those living in the rural areas. The pull factors are: the high demand for cheap and submissive child labour and the need to search for alternative sources of livelihood by the fishers in order to augment their income.

Chapter 6: Measures and strategies

Introduction

This chapter dwells on the second aspect of my findings which has to do with the measures and strategies initiated by the Ghana government, organizations and various NGOs to mitigate child labour trafficking within the country. My findings concerning the activities of the NGOs affect on only two of the lots which I contacted during my fieldwork that is Partners in Community Development Programme (PACODEP) and Village of Hope. First and foremost I will discuss the measures put in place by government and later describe what the NGOs are doing to help curb this menace.

Measures of government

In an attempt to protect the rights, freedom and development of children in the country, the government of Ghana in 1998 passed a bill through Parliament which brought into being The Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560). This Act has various provisions dealing with a number of important issues concerning children but for the purpose of this study I will concentrate on the ones relating to my research topic such as the following:

Right of the child and parental duty

This sub part of the Act spells out the various rights of the child regarding education, adequate diet, clothing, shelter, leisure activities and the right to live with parents and family in a caring and peaceful environment. The child also has the right to express an opinion, to be listened to and to participate in decisions which affect his or her well being which is contrary in the case of child labour trafficking agreements where parents makes the decision for the child. Section 13 (1) of the Act further makes a provision for the protection of children against torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment including any cultural practice which dehumanizes or is injurious to the physical and mental well-being of a child.

Section 6 (2) of the Act also behooves on parents not to deny their children dignity, respect, liberty, health, education and shelter for their children. It also states the responsibilities of the parents to protect the child from neglect, discrimination, violence, abuse, exposure to physical and moral hazards and oppression. Parents are also to provide good guidance, care, assistance and maintenance for the child and assurance of the child's survival and development.

Care and protection

According to Section 18 (1) in the Act, a child in need of care and protection are orphans, children who are neglected or ill treated by person who are in custody of them, a child wandering and has no home or settled place of abode, a destitute and children who are not having proper guardianship from parent or guardian.

Section 16 (1) of the children Act,1998 also mandates the District Assembly to protect the welfare and promote the rights of children within its purview and ensure that government agencies within the district liaise with each other on matters regarding children. The Social Welfare and Community Development Department of a District Assembly known as "the Department" according to the Act investigates cases of contravention of children's rights.

Employment of children

This aspect of the Act focuses on the employment of the child and Section 87 (1) prohibits the engagement of the child in exploitative labour. Section 87 (2) defines exploitative labour as one which deprives the child of its health, education or development. It further prohibits the engagement of a child in night work and it defines "night work" according to section 88 (2) as the work done between the hours of eight o' clock in the evening and six o' clock in the morning. It also states the minimum age for employing a child at fifteen years and the minimum age for engaging a child in light work is thirteen years. Section 90 (2) defines Light work to constitute work which is not likely to be harmful to the health or development of the child and does not interfere in the child's attendance at school or the capacity of the child to benefit from school work. The minimum age for engaging a person in hazardous work is eighteen years and Section 91(2) explains "hazardous work" as work which poses danger to

the health, safety or morals of a person. Section 91 (3) of the Act list examples of hazardous work which includes: going to sea (fishing); mining and quarrying; portering of heavy loads; manufacturing industries where chemicals are produced or used; work in places where machines are used and work in places such as bars, hotels and places of entertainment where a person may be exposed to immoral behaviour. Any person who contravenes these provisions commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ten million Cedis or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or both according to section 94 (1) of the Children Act, 1998.

The Act also mandates employers in industrial undertaking to keep a register of the children and young persons employed by him and their dates of birth if known or their apparent ages if their dates of birth are not known and any contravention to this provision according section 94 (2) is an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred thousand Cedis.

The enforcement of these provisions in the Act relating to employment of children is carried out by the district labour officer and the Social Services Sub-Committee of a District Assembly and the Department in the formal and informal sectors respectively. When these officers and the Department are not satisfied with the compliance to the provision, they make a report to the police for investigation and appropriate steps taken to prosecute the offender.

In regard to apprenticeship in the informal sector, the Act states a minimum age of fifteen years or completion of basic education for a child to start apprenticeship with a craftsman. The craftsman has the responsibilities of training and instructing the apprentice to the best of his ability, providing food for the apprentice unless otherwise agreed upon, provide a safe and healthy environment for the apprentice, protect the best interest of the apprentice and responsible for any harm caused to the apprentice in the course of his training. Upon completion of the apprenticeship training, section 102 (2) mandates the craftsman to issue a certificate to the apprentice and failure to do so according to section 102 (3) amount to an offence and his liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding two million Cedis or six months imprisonment or both.

Despite all these relevant provisions in the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560), and the existence of the Criminal Code, 1960 (Act 29) which addresses offences relating to crimes such as abduction, kidnapping, child stealing, procurement of slave and provision for dealing with prosecuting traffickers in Ghana, child labour trafficking was gaining fast ground in the country. This may be attributed to the absence of a legal framework purposely addressing human trafficking issues and the lack of an institution solely responsible for children matters.

Realizing these problems the government of Ghana in 2001 created a Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) to provide prominence to children and women issues. In December 2005, the legal framework addressing human trafficking was passed into law giving birth to the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) which deals with prevention, reduction and punishment of human traffickers establishment of victims funds for protection as well as rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficked persons and other related matters. MOWAC is primarily mandated to coordinate the implementation process of the provisions contained in the Human Trafficking Act, 2005(Act 694). The various activities undertaken by MOWAC to combat child labour trafficking in the fishery industry as provided by my key informant at the Ministry includes the following:

- The Ministry in collaboration with International Organization for Migration has helped in the passage of by-laws to control the movement of children to places like Yeji, Kete-Krachi, etc. for labour.
- The dissemination of Human Trafficking Act to “sending” and “receiving” communities within the country such as Ekumfi Akra, Emmuna, Srafa, Ekumpoana all in the Central region and Dzemeni, New Bakpa, Adidome and Avatime located in the Volta Region. The “receiving” communities along the Lake Volta are Adakofe, Kpegai No. 1 & 2 as well as Yeji and Atebubu in the Brong Ahafo Region.
- Meeting with implementing partners undertaking prevention, rescuing and rehabilitation of child victims of trafficking in the Volta, Northern and Central regions.
- Rehabilitation of individuals especially children in the communities in a holistic process that involves addressing children health, psycho-social and educational needs.

- Provision of financial support through micro credit and skills training for women in the “sending” and “receiving” communities and to strengthen community activities to address human trafficking. Micro credit facilities have been made available to women in Ekumfi Akra, Ekumpoano in the Central Region, New Bakpa, Adakope, Yeji (Pru District) and Dzemeni in the Volta Region.
- The establishment of a sub regional taskforce to handle child trafficking and other related matters affecting children in the Northern region, Greater Accra (Bortianor, Oshiyie and Kokrobite) in collaboration with Mother and Child Foundation and Association of Gods Relief and Development Service (AGREDS) and supported by International Labour Organization (ILO).
- The strengthening of community support activities in addressing child trafficking, building capacities of watchdog committees and the formation of child protection committees in Ekumfi Asra, Srafa, Emmuna, and Dzemeni.
- Increased documentation on children through advocacy on the importance of Birth Registration to assist in the identity, age, and parental information on trafficked children in order to identify them.
- Enhancing the activities of the District Assemblies and decentralized authorities in order to enforce Bye-laws protecting children in Pru, Mfantseman, Adidome and Ga districts.
- Capacity building and training of Law enforcement agencies, Media, Religious Bodies prosecutors, security agencies MMDAs and MDAs for positive collaboration and networking towards combating trafficking.
- The organization of community puppetry sensitization programmes on Human Trafficking Act in the Upper West, Upper East, Northern, Brong Ahafo , Ashanti and Volta regions.
- Sensitization of over 10,000 members of communities, traditional authorities, children, MMDAs and Civil Society Organizations in “sending” and “receiving” regions in the Human Trafficking Act.
- Training staff of MOWAC and its two Departments on issues of Human Trafficking and the law.
- The development of draft National Plan of Action by core Government stakeholders and Civil Society Organizations.

The Ministry is supported by various Governmental institutions and Agencies, NGOs and Civil Society Organization in combating child labour trafficking and these institutions are:

The Ghana Police Services (GPS)

The police service assists in combating child labour trafficking by arresting persons involved in trafficking upon receiving complaints from the public, helps in rescuing trafficked children and assist the Ministry in tracing the families of trafficked children.

Department of Social Welfare (DSW)

This department helps in rescuing and running of two governmental shelters for rescued children. These two shelters are located in the Greater Accra region and the Northern region. The rescued children spent approximately three to four months in comprehensive rehabilitation programmes such as psycho-social counselling, providing medical care and basic educational instructions. Whilst the children (victims) are undergoing rehabilitation, the Social Welfare Officers of the Department of Social Welfare traces the family members of the children in order to reunite the victims with their family members and reintegrate them into the local communities. They also make follow ups after reuniting and reintegrating the children into their local communities to assess their living conditions.

Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

There are numerous NGOs both locally and internationally involved in combating child labour trafficking. Some of these local NGOs are ARK Foundation, Rescue Foundation, APPLE Foundation, African Centre for Human Development (ACHD), Women's Initiative and Self Employment (WISE) and Civil Society Organization like the Christian Council of Ghana. Examples of international NGOs are IOM , UNICEF, ILO etc. These organizations assist MOWAC by rescuing trafficked children, providing shelters for rescued children, offering counselling and vocational training to the victims, tracing of family members, offering medical treatment and providing some capital support or micro credit to some parents. Some of the NGOs also provide basic formal education to the children who are in

their care. Some of the international organizations also provide funding for the Ministry to be able to carry out their activities.

Media

The media in Ghana such as the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, private television stations and some private radio stations like Joy Fm assist by covering stories on trafficked children who are abused and working in the fishing communities along the Lake Volta and in the fishing industry as a whole. Through this the government, Ministries and NGOs are made aware of the fate of these children and they go to their rescue. The media also participate in educating the general public about the effect of this menace on the development of the children and on society in general through documentaries, adverts and posters.

Ministries

The government through the Ministry of Education tried to tackle the root cause of this problem which is poverty faced by parents especially in the rural communities by lessening the burden of educational cost through free feeding programmes in schools, capitation grants, free transportation of school children by the state transport and is currently proposing to provide free uniforms to school children in order for parents to be able to send their children to school. The Ministry of Health provides counselling and treatment to the rescued children.

What the NGOs are doing

During my fieldwork, I contacted PACODEP, an NGO located in Kete-Krachi in the Volta region. PACODEP is an advocate in human rights issues concerning trafficked children, child labour, child abuse and discrimination against women. PACODEP is involved in rescuing of trafficked children in the fishing communities along the Lake Volta, reuniting them with family members and reintegrating them into their local communities. My key informant who is the Executive Director of PACODEP stated that “during their rescue missions they realized that children who they had previously rescued and taken to the governmental shelters run by DSW and later reunited with family members were still resold by their parents to other fishing

communities along the Lake Volta which goes to indicate that their effort in rescuing children and reuniting them with their families was becoming fruitless". In order to solve this problem, PACODEP collaborated with another NGO (Village of Hope) based in Gomoa-Fetteh in the Central region to cater for the rescued children whilst PACODEP put up their own accommodation and school structure to house and educate the rescued children which was still an ongoing project during my fieldwork.

According to my key informant of PACODEP before embarking on any rescue mission, they carry out several visits to the fishing communities to identify trafficked children, gather the necessary information about the children and sensitize the fishers and the community about the effect of child labour trafficking and the implications of their actions in terms of the law. This he says makes it easier for the fishers to be willing to free the children in order for them to be rescued. After rescuing the children, they are taken to Kete-Krachi where PACODEP is based and are provided medical treatment for several illnesses like bilharzias, skin infections guinea worm infections which are normally water borne diseases and psychological counselling. The rescued children are also provided with some basic formal education at home whilst they wait to be transported to Village of Hope.

Village of Hope started operating as an NGO in 1995 with the purpose of housing and providing education for orphans, destitute, needy children living mostly on the streets and recently they have included children who have been rescued from trafficking. At their new site in Gomoa-Fetteh where they are based currently, they have a clinic that provides quality health care for the children and good school structures with qualified teachers that provides quality basic education for the children to the Junior High level. The children are also accommodated on the same vicinity.

In their quest to provide a conducive home atmosphere and parental guidance for these children, the seven homes are headed by couples who have at least twenty children each under their care. In the various homes I visited, the children are protected from neglect violence and abuse, and are provided with good guidance, care, assistance, maintenance and assurance of survival and development as stipulated in the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) Section 6 (3). I

observed that the children were happy and living in freedom in their respective new homes. They have access to various games like football, basket ball and other local games like ludo, oware etc which they use in entertaining themselves during their leisure hours. After housing the rescued children, the Social Officers of Village of Hope and PACODEP trace the family members of the children based on the information gathered from the fishers and children in order for their biological parents to be in touch with their children whilst at the homes of Village of Hope. The children are also made to visit their parents during vacations if they so wish and vice versa. I was also informed by my key informant that, the children are given the option to go back to their parents or continue to be under their care after their completion of the Junior High School. Those who opt to go home to their biological parents still have their education financed by the Village of Hope if they qualify for the Senior High School if not they are provided with vocational training and skills in beads making, sculpture, tie and die making and batik in order for them to start their own businesses.

They also provide parents, especially women, some income generating ventures such as baking, sewing, trading, making of batiks and tie and die under their Parent Assistance Programme which is a source of empowerment to the rural women.

Achievements

With the creation of MOWAC and the passage of the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) into law, child labour trafficking issues are gaining fast prominence which used not to be case and the Ghanaian public is gradually made aware of the magnitude of the problem.

Through the sensitization programmes embarked upon by MOWAC, Civil Society Organizations and various NGOs in the country, the fishers are increasingly made aware of the negative effects of child labour trafficking which I noticed through my interviews with the fishers and the willingness of most of them to allow the children who were working for them to be rescued by the NGOs.

With the introduction of free feeding programmes and provision of capitation grant by the government which affords fee free policy at the basic school level, parents are able and willing to send their wards to school which has made a remarkable increase in the enrollment of school going children by about 40% as revealed by the Ministry of Education.

Currently there is no available collated data on the number of children rescue, however the IOM has rescued 684 children since 2002 and an additional 22 children in mid February this year.²⁴ According to my key informant from PACODEP, they have been able to rescued 150 children so far.

Despite the above measures put in place to combat this menace, MOWAC which is the government institution is not having any readily available data relating to the number of children labourers involved in the Lake Volta fishery and neither do they have data on the number of rescued children. This makes it difficult to evaluate the success or impact of the various programmes initiated to curb this problem. The Ministry of Fisheries at the time of my fieldwork which was the Institution responsible for fishers do not have any policy and programmes focusing on the fight against child labour trafficking in the fishing industry.

Secondly, although the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) and the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) makes provision for the prosecution of offenders in relation to child employment and trafficking matters no one has been prosecuted so far at the time of my fieldwork. The law enforcement agencies have also not been effective in implementing the provision concerning the minimum age of employing children in the informal sectors of the economy

24. www.iom.int/jahia/jahia/media/feature-stories/featureArticleAF/cache/offonce?entryId=24264 (accessed on 22/04/2009)

Chapter 7: Conclusions and recommendations

Introduction

The previous two chapters dealt with my research findings and this final chapter gives a brief summary of the relevant issues and findings condensed in this thesis. As contained in my initial chapter (Introduction), my research questions seeks to focus on the causes of child labour trafficking, the kind of work the children do, for how long and the effort being made to curb this problem. This research mainly concentrates on child labour trafficking in the small scale fishery in Ogeste, which is one of the fishing communities located along the banks of the Lake Volta in the Volta region of Ghana. I will first present my conclusion after which I make some recommendations.

Conclusions

Causes of child labour trafficking

Based on the findings of my study, the root cause of child labour trafficking can be linked to the theories of poverty which was extensively discussed in chapter three. Parents especially those living in rural communities of Ghana are faced with extreme poverty which make them vulnerable and powerless to fall prey to the numerous vague promises of traffickers. The trafficked children who are minors are also vulnerable to abuses, violent and exploitations against their rights. The study also reveals that fishers use children in their fishing activities because they are considered as cheap labour that are easily accessible whenever needed and they also serve as a support mechanism for the fishers in terms of delegating their fishing activities to the children whilst they are away taking care of other businesses which helps in supplementing their income. This has become necessary as the fishers put it because of the overexploited nature of the fishery resources in the Lake Volta. Children are also preferred to adults due to their obedient and trustworthy nature.

Recruitment channels

On the issue concerning channels used in recruiting the children from the “sending” communities to the “receiving” communities, four main ways were identified. These recruitment channels comprise of family members/relatives, parents of the children, the fishers themselves (direct recruitment) and agents/middlemen. Among these groups, the agents/middlemen were the least group used in recruiting the children to Ogetse. The parents and direct recruitment by the fishers were the two most used channels which I identified through my interactions with my respondents. The involvement of parents in this child labour trafficking business reveals the magnitude of the problem at hand which poses threat to the survival and developmental growth of the children. With regard to the “sending” community, the study shows that these communities are located in the Central region, the three Northern regions (Upper East, Upper West and Northern), Ashanti, Volta and Greater Accra regions. Some of these communities are Ekumpoano, Ekumfi Akra, Sogakope, Ada, New Ningo, Adidome, and Dzemeni. Most of the “receiving” communities are located along the banks of the Lake Volta such as Ogetse, Alavanyo, Sofoline, Lala and Atigagome.

Work done by trafficked children and how they are treated

The work carried out by these trafficked children involved the catching of fishes through casting and hauling of nets, mending nets, diving into the lake to disentangle nets, scooping of water from the canoe and paddling of the canoe whilst on the Lake, selling of fish and performing house chores such as fetching water, searching for firewood and cleaning of compounds. These trafficked children are physically and verbally abused by their masters, prevented from going to school by working throughout the week, not having enough rest by waking up early in the mornings around four o’ clock and sleeping very late around ten o’ clock in the evenings, not properly provided for in terms of food and clothing by their masters and most of them are neglected by their parents who do not visit them.

What parents received

With respect to the benefits derived by parents for giving out their children into child labour through trafficking, they are either given cattle or some monetary benefits. These rewards are

mostly given out to parents after the child's term of service expires according to several of the agreement they enter into with the fishers but unfortunately the parents hardly receive these benefits when their children's term of service ends. Parents who have their children taken away by agents/middlemen do not receive anything because most of the agents do not get back to them and the parents also do not know or have any personal information about the agent to make a follow up.

Measures in combating child labour trafficking

On measures put in place to curb child labour trafficking, there had been the passage of the Children's bill into law known as the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) which stipulates the various rights of the child, responsibilities of parents towards their children, provisions concerning the employment of a child and other important related matters concerning children. In order to effectively and efficiently enforce the implementation of the provisions contained in the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) and give prominence to issues associated with the minority group (i.e. Children and Women) in the country, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MOWAC) was established in 2001. With child labour trafficking and human trafficking issues on the rise and the determination of the government to nip this problem in the bud, the Human Trafficking bill was passed by parliament into law in 2005 which is known as the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694).

The Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) mandates MOWAC to be the primary implementation body of the Act with support from various institutions, organizations, NGOs, and the media. Examples of such institutions and NGOs are GPS, DSW, APPLE, WISE, ARK Foundation, and Christian Council of Ghana etc. MOWAC has been able to undertake a series of activities in an attempt to combat this problem which involves the sensitization of "sending" and "receiving" communities, support of parents (especially women) and fishers through micro-credit facilities and skills training, rehabilitation of rescued children, establishment of a sub-regional taskforce to handle child trafficking and other related matters and strengthening of community support activities in addressing child trafficking and capacity building of watchdog committees.

The various NGOs, especially PACODEP and Village of Hope, which I contacted during my fieldwork, assist in combating this problem by embarking on sensitization programmes especially in the fishing communities and to the parents of the trafficked children, rescuing of trafficked children and providing them with health care and psycho-social counselling, providing them with good accommodation, granting them formal education and vocational training and skills. The Social workers of the NGOs also trace the family members of these rescued children and make follow-ups when the rescued child has been reunited with family members and reintegrated into their local communities.

In conclusion, this study on child labour is not in any way condemning all forms of work performed by children, tasks such as helping in household chores and helping parents out in the garden or in the stores selling after school does not fall under child labour. Work paid or unpaid which are appropriate for the children's age, maturity and will not interfere with their education and development must be allowed in order for them to gain the requisite skills, knowledge and experience needed for their future well being. Through this they become more responsible beings and at the same time provide some income for themselves. The kind of work that prevents children from pursuing their education, takes them away from their parental care, makes them to be treated like slaves, depriving them of good nutrition, adequate rest and being flogged by their employers should be the kind of child labour which should be abhorred and eliminated.

Recommendations

Though there are series of sensitization programmes conducted by the various institutions, organizations and NGOs in addressing this menace, I recommend the inclusion of providing free birth control materials to parents and educating them on the use and advantages of these measures. This will help in addressing some of the root causes of child labour trafficking, such as large family size which becomes a burden on parents.

The Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs should set up a research department to periodically conduct an in-depth study into this problem in order to gather some reliable

quantitative data on the number of children involved and develop a National plan of action to effectively deal with this problem. There should also be an effective and efficient collaboration between MOWAC and the various NGOs involved in child labour trafficking issues in order to develop a database for collating data regarding the number of children rescued periodically or annually to be able to assess or evaluate the impact of the various activities undertaken in combating this menace.

The government should also focus its attention on eliminating the root cause of this problem which is poverty by providing basic amenities to rural and deprived communities, creating jobs to provide reliable sources of income for parents and the youth in those areas thus reducing the migration of children from rural areas to urban centres which makes them fall prey to traffickers. Those parents who cannot be employed in the formal sectors should be provided with vocational training and skills and some capital to start business ventures on their own.

The law enforcement agencies and institutions that are responsible for implementing the various provisions of the Children's Act and the Human Trafficking Act should be adequately resourced and empowered to carry out their mandate effectively in order to address this serious issue. After

Finally, I will suggest that further research needs to be carried out relating to this topic in the marine fisheries in other regions of the country.

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Annex: Interview questions

Children

- How old are you?
- Where do you come from?
- Do you go to school?
- If yes, where?
- Can you read and write?
- What work do you do and for how long?
- Are you being paid for the work you do?
- If yes, how much? If no, why?
- How long have you been working for your master?
- Do your master provide for your needs (food, clothing and health care)?
- Do your parents visit you?

Fisher

- Have you employed a child for your fishing activities?
- If yes, why?
- Are your children included?
- Do the children you have employed go to school?
- How did you get the children?
- Where do the children come from?
- What tasks do you assign these children?
- How long do they work and how many days in the week?
- Do you pay the children?
- If yes, how much? If no, why?
- Do you pay the parents of the children?
- If yes, how much? If no, why?
- Do you allow parents to visit their children?

Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs and NGOs

- Is child labour trafficking a problem in the fishing sector?
- If yes, how huge is the problem?
- How many children are involved and how old are they?
- Where are they taken from and where are they sent to?
- Do you have a record of the places where this practice is going on?
- What in your opinion are the causes of this problem?
- Do you have any policy concerning child labour trafficking?
- If yes, what are the interventions contained in the policy to combat this problem?
- How are the interventions and provisions in the policy enforced?
- Has your outfit been able to rescue the children involved in this practice?
- If yes, how many of them, how were they rescued and what is your outfit doing for them? If no, why?
- What plans do you have for parents who are involved in this practice?
- What do you do for the fishers whom you rescued the children from?