

TACKLING CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA: CHALLENGES FACED BY GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES

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AUTHORS DECLARATION

I, the undersigned **Cindy Osei Agyemang**, hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or any other language.

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ABSTRACT

Child labour is a global problem that has drawn the attention of researchers and world leaders. Irrespective of measures taken by the Government, ILO, UNICEF, and others towards the elimination of this problem in Ghana, this issue is still widespread. A 2020 report from UNICEF indicates that about 21% of children between the ages of 5-17 are involved in child labour with 14% of the children involved in hazardous activities in Ghana. This study considers the challenges faced by the ministries responsible for improving the welfare of children towards the eradication of child labour considering some of the leading underlying causes of child labour. Findings from the study showed that poverty, socialization, and cultural norms, were the underlying causes of child labour with funding and resource difficulties as the main challenges of the ministries towards the eradication of child labour. These findings highlight the importance of exploring avenues for its prevention in the context of international policy recommendations on tackling child labour. Based on these findings, this study recommends that policymakers provide adequate funds to support poor households and increase resources to these ministries to help minimize the problem.

Keywords: Child Labour, Ghana, Hazardous work, Poverty, Socialization, Cash transfer.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CRO	Community Relations Officer
DoC	Department of Children
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
GoG	Government of Ghana
GLSS	Ghana Living Statistical Survey
GSS	Ghana Statistical Survey
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEAP	Livelihood Enhancement Against Poverty
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
МоЕ	Ministry of Employment
NPA	National Plan of Action
SWOs	Social Welfare Officers
CRC	Convention on the Right of the Child
UNICEF	United Nation Children's Emergency Fund

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Sustainable Development Goal 8.7 aims to eliminate child labour in all its forms by the year 2025. Eradicating child labour has proven to be a daunting task, regardless of the persistent efforts employed globally. An estimate by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2017 found that out of the total (1.58 billion) children worldwide, 152 million children are involved in child labour.

The international community defines child labour as work that can harm the education, health, dignity, safety, mental and physical development of a child (ILO-IPEC, 2019). The minimum required age for children to engage in hazardous child labour is above 18 years, and the minimum required age for non-hazardous activities is below 12 years according to the international legal framework (ILO Convention No. 138 and 182, 2017)

Child labour is rampant in most developing countries, especially countries with a high rate of poverty (ILO, 2012 and Krauss, 2013). In Africa, child labour accounts for 32% of the workforce, 22% in Asia, and 17% in Latin America (Afriyie, 2018, 211). A report from the International Labour Organization - International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) in 2014 suggests that sub-Saharan Africa has the highest rate of children aged 5-17 in child labour. Ghana is one of such sub-Saharan African countries with an estimate of 13.6 million children. In 2017 an estimate from the Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 7 showed that 28.8% of children aged 5-14 years are presently employed. Most of these children are engaged in hazardous work, with the proportion of males 84.6% being higher than females 71.2% (GLSS 7, 2017). Child labour is a significant problem affecting almost two million children in Ghana. A 2020 report from

UNICEF indicates that about 21% of children between the ages of 5-17 are involved in child labour with 14% of the children involved in hazardous activities (UNICEF, 2020).

There have been some national and international interventions towards the eradicating of child labour in Ghana. These interventions are to grant more extensive and enhanced schooling, targeted for parents, as well as procedures to boost parental incomes aimed at increasing the demand for schooling and decrease the supply of child labour. The United Nations, UNICEF, and ILO are some of the key international organizations that have made attempts to control the prevalence of child labour through legislative instruments, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Convention on Worst Forms of Child Labour and Slavery Convention in Ghana.

As of 2020, issues of child labour are still prevalent in Ghana, irrespective of government and partners' efforts to strengthen child protection systems, which have led to a comprehensive response to children's issues.

There is some research conducted on child neglect and child abuse in Ghana. Evidence from the Ghanaian national Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the Department of Social Welfare indicate that studies conducted on children are mostly on child neglect and child maintenance (Golo, 2018). Several studies have been conducted on child labour in Ghana; usually, these studies are conducted on the economic repercussions of child labour such as child fishing, child farming, child trafficking and child mining (Sam, 2016), some studies also focus on the impact of child labour on the health and education of children (Hamenoo et al., 2018). Others look at causes and effects of child labour on the development of the country (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018), some researchers also focus on the correlation between child labour and poverty, and the correlation between child labour and cultural norms (Krauss 2013 and Takyi, 2014). These

studies usually concentrate on the causes of child labour and its implication on parents, families, and society. However, studies have not paid much attention to how various state institutions work to combat the child labour problem.

Some state actors face some challenges that need to be addressed to prevent the causes, effects, and consequences of child labour in the country. There are two leading government departments relevant here: the Department of Children and Department of Social Welfare under the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP) that is responsible for protecting and promoting the rights, health, and development of children in Ghana. This study examines and argues that existing interventions by state agencies in Ghana may not adequately address the high incidence of child labour in the country. Therefore, this study will consider interventions by the ministries and institutions responsible for combating child labour in the country in recent years. It will identify some of the challenges faced by these ministries and suggest possible policy recommendations. This study is both timely and relevant because it will contribute to literature and expand the understanding of readers, policymakers, and researchers on why child labour remains a human rights challenge in Ghana.

1.1.1 Research Questions

Regarding the aim of the study, this study was guided by the following primary research questions:

- 1. What are some of the primary underlying causes of child labour in Ghana?
- 2. What are the key challenges facing the ministries towards the prevention of child labour in Ghana?

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter one discusses the background, which elaborates on the research problem, the study's objectives, the significance of the study, and the research questions. Chapter two presents the review of related literature on the definition of child labour, the underlying causes of child labour, national and international legislation on child labour, national and international programs, and campaigns towards the elimination of child labour. Chapter three of the thesis presents the methodology which focused on the research design, research population, research sample, data collection instruments and procedures, ethical considerations, and data analysis techniques. Chapter four of the thesis examines and analyzes the findings from the data collected from both primary and secondary sources. Chapter five is the final chapter of the thesis, which presents the conclusion and possible policy recommendation toward the minimization of child labour in Ghana.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Reviewing literature helps researchers understand similar related research on a specific topic of interest and provides the foundation to structure further research (Saunders et al., 2009). This literature review will engage with the critical concepts of this phenomenon of child labour. It will situate this within the field of research on child labour by focusing on the definitions of child labour, the underlying causes of child labour, international and national legislation against child labour and some organizational interventions towards the eradicating of the problem.

2.2 Definition of Child Labour

This section considers the definition of child labour according to international standards and scholars. The CRC defines a child as a human being below the age of eighteen years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier (CRC, 1989; Article 1). However, there is little clarity on the definition of child labour. There is no universally accepted definition for child labour Pawar (2011). According to Berlan (2013), the definitions of child labour differ by actors, history, context, and purpose. ILO defines child labour as "work that deprives children of their schooling, childhood, their potential, their dignity and that is harmful to their physical and mental development" (ILO, 2006, 16). ILO Convention No. 138 explains that the work children do become undesirable when the child is forced to work under conditions that are harmful to the child's future and welfare.

Children working in contravention of ILO standards contained in Conventions 138 and 182 is defined as child labour (UNICEF, 2019). This means that children below the ages of 12 and children between the ages of 12 to 17 working in any economic activities that interfere with their welfare and development can be considered as child labourers.

Some scholars defined child labour as follows; any activity that is likely to have negative impacts on a child can be defined as child labour (Grimsrud, 2003). Employing children in any activity that denies them of their ability to go to school, or that is mentally, physically, socially hazardous and unsafe can be defined as child labour (Edmond and Thévenon 2019). Quadjie (2016) believes that any child below 15 years who engages in any income-generating activity and work at the expense of academic and social development can be called a child labourer. Child labour is defined as any economic or non-economic (household chores) activity performed by a child between the ages of 5-14 years that is hazardous and can hinder the physical condition, schooling, and healthy development of the child (Abdul-Mumuni et al., 2019).

Based on an analysis of the definitions and literature on child labour, child labour can be defined as a problem if only the child's work will interfere with the health, education, growth, and development of the child.

To further understand the definitions of child labour there is a need to understand the difference between hazardous work and non-hazardous work. Hazardous work is defined by IPEC (2020) as any work that can harm the safety and development of children based on its nature when carried out by the child. Some examples of hazardous work can be heavy lifting, working with machinery, and the exposure to hazardous conditions such as dust, heat, and noise. Non-hazardous work, on the other hand, is defined by ILO as any work that does not hinder the education, health, and morals of a child (ILO, 2017). The ILO Convention No. 138 states that children can engage in nonhazardous work at the age of 13, except for the general minimum age. Examples of non-hazardous work are simple household chores and farm activities.

2.3 Underlying Causes of Child Labour

2.3.1 Poverty

The literature shows that poverty is one of the significant causes of child labour. Poverty is widespread in Ghana and has affected many households' ability to send their children to school and other relevant activities for their survival and development.

A 2020 report by the National Development Planning Commission, Ghana Statistical Survey and UNICEF suggested that about 73.4% of children in Ghana are recognized as multi-dimensionally poor, facing at least three deprivations at the same time (UNICEF, 2020). Thus, many children in Ghana are faced with deprivations such as access to education, quality healthcare, and food since they belong to poor households. Several studies and research conducted on child labour have found that poverty is a cause of child labour in Ghana. A 2013 study by the United Nations Food Agricultural Organization and ILO suggests that one main cause of child labour is poverty, which in turn leads to social inequalities, structural unemployment, vulnerability to shock, and demographic and migratory developments. A subsequent study by the ILO in 2020 found that children engage in work since their survival and that of their families depends on them working to make a living and, in many cases, because dishonest adults take advantage of their helplessness.

Hilson (2010) is of the view that sub-Saharan Africa has long been known as having the globe's highest rate of child labour with poverty being the cause of the problem. Hilson further explains that child labour is prevalent in Ghana, especially in rural areas, where over 70% of the population resides. 90% of the work in rural areas is tied to agricultural activities, which create job opportunities that need simple skills and under supervision for younger children. Quadjie (2016) suggests that children engage in hazardous work, mainly in rural areas, to generate income to assist their impoverished families. On the other hand, Togunde and Carter (2006) posit that the involvement of children in the workforce contributes to family income, alleviates economic pressure, and meets the family's consumption requirements.

Research conducted by Rehman, Khan, and Shah on the socio-economic dimensions of child labour was analyzed with both primary and secondary data; the research found that poverty is the main factor playing a negative role in child labour, routinely leading to exploitation (Rehman et al., 2019). Similar findings were reported by Odonkor, who utilized a qualitative approach to explore factors that contribute to children's engagement in labour in eight cocoa-growing communities in Ghana. The study also found that poverty was the primary reason most children were engaged in hawking in Ghana (Odonkor, 2007).

Bhaskar and Gupta (2012) pointed out that most parents send their children to work instead of taking them to school due to poverty. Edmonds and Schady (2012) and Ayifah (2015) found that vital factors that have been linked to child labour are household poverty. A 2017 report published by the MoGCSP, stated that children from poor households are exposed to hazards, hunger, neglect, verbal and physical abuse by caregivers and employers (Adjei, 2017).

Rural-urban migration is a cause of poverty in Ghana. Siddiqi and Patrinos (2002) are of the view that rural-urban migration causes child labour in urban areas of developing countries. Yiadom (2017) suggests that rural-urban migration is one of the causes of poverty in Ghana, which later results in child labour. Poverty leads some families in the villages to migrate into the urban areas in search of greener pastures, children that travel with their families to the urban cities turn to engage in hazardous work such as carrying heavy loads to generate income to support themselves and their families. An empirical study conducted by Adonteng-Kissi in 2018 pointed out that children that travel from rural areas to urban cities engage in hazardous work instead of non-hazardous work because they find non-hazardous work "futureless" but hazardous work helps them make enough income to support themselves and their families.

2.3.2 Socialization and Cultural Norms

A 2019 report on the causes of child labour by Edmond and Thévenon suggest that socialization is one of the causes of child labour in some African countries such as Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau Ghana, Niger and Malawi (Edmond and Thévenon, 2019). Asuming-Brempong, Sarpong, Asenso-Okyere, and Amoo, (2007) argue that child labour in Ghana is not only attributed to poverty, but also socio-cultural practices which include socialization. Socialization can be defined as "the process through which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and society" (Takyi, 2014, 38). Socialization can be explained as any kind of training that is given to a child by their parents from childhood to adulthood. Kuczynski (2015) suggested that socialization is a process by which culture is transmitted in each new generation with the hope to instill cultural continuity and competence in children. During the process of training children towards adulthood, some children end up working on family farms and other hazardous work with family enterprises (AsumingBrempong et al., 2007, 6). Socialization tends to sustain child labour in Ghana and is one of the underlying causes of child labour irrespective of interventions towards the curbing of child labour.

Pieces of research on child labour have found that a larger section of the child workers in Ghana is engaged in agricultural activities (GSS and UNICEF, 2008). Takyi (2014) is of the view that parents try to inculcate in their children the significance of hard work; due to this, children are made to participate in almost all occupational and domestic activities carried out by their parents. Morrow and Boyden (2016) argue that socialization practices in some communities encourage children to contribute in different forms due to circumstances; children from wealthy homes are socialized to study in school so that they get better jobs in the future whereas children from poor homes are socialized to contribute to household maintenance, attending school only when feasible economically. Cultural values and norms encourage parents to train their children on how to work to fend for themselves and the family. In Ghana, most children are trained to be hardworking and productive in everything they do. A cultural norm in Ghana on socialization suggests that any successful adult in life was once very hardworking during their childhood and adolescence.

2.3.3 "Irresponsible Parenting"

"Irresponsible parenting" can be one of the causes of child labour. Ballet et al. 2010 contend that some parents manipulate their children psychologically to engage in hazardous work, which in the long run, undermines their mental health, education, safety, and wellbeing. A study conducted by Fuseini and Marguerite on child begging as a manifestation of child labour in the Northern Region of Ghana found that children cannot decide to beg, hawk, or engage in any hazardous work without the consent of their parents. Parents are sometimes to be blamed for allowing their children to engage in hazardous work since they can stop them from doing any form of hazardous work if they so desire (Fuseini and Marguerite, 2020). A similar study conducted by Alolo on the sexual exploitation of female children in Northern Ghana found that "irresponsible parenting" is the primary cause of sexual exploitation among female children in the country. The study interviewed 35 Ghanaian stakeholders in education; all the respondents in the study blamed parents for neglecting parental responsibilities and inspiring their children to engage in sexual relations. (Alolo, 2016, 117).

Parent's inability to cater for their children contributes to the rising spate of child labour in Ghana. Some parents are unable to cater for their children due to circumstances such as divorce, single parenting, and laziness (Adu-Gyamfi, 2018). Parents have the responsibility to ensure that an undesirable phenomenon like child labour is prevented, but circumstances such as single parenting, divorce, and separation cause parents to encourage their children to engage in hazardous activities to support the families economically (Al-hassan and Abubakari 2015).

Parental irresponsibility or the misunderstanding of parent's responsibility towards their children can be a cause of child labour. Some parents are not aware of their parents' significant responsibilities because they became parents in their teens (Alenoma, 2012). Parents sometimes influence their children to engage in sexual relations with older men to support themselves and the family (Alolo, 2016). This scholarly work is evidence of why "irresponsible parenting" can be a cause of child labour.

2.4 Legislation and Policies Implemented to Eradicate Child Labour in Ghana

Successive governments in Ghana from 1990 to date have put in place numerous legislation, policies, and initiatives in place to eradicate child labour in Ghana. Some of these implemented policies and legislation are set out in this section.

2.4.1 National Legislation and Policies

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana prohibits forced labour in section 16 and aims at protecting children's rights against any form of work that may affect the health, development, and growth of the child in section 24. The Children's Act of Ghana was designed to meet ILO and United Nations standards. It brought together all the laws in the previous national legislation that was child-related to ensure child labour can be eliminated or minimized in Ghana. The Criminal Code, 1960 (Act 29) and the Criminal Code (Amendment) Act, 1998 (Act 554), the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694), the Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (732) are some legislation in Ghana purposefully for eliminating child labour and improve the welfare of children in the country. Irrespective of all this legislation, child labour issues persist and are endemic to many deprived communities in the country. The National Plan of Action (NPA1) on the Elimination Worst Forms of Child Labour (2009-2015) was approved in 2010 towards the elimination of child labour. There was some significant progress towards its implementation; local communities were empowered, some affected children received support and awareness was enhanced, but child labour was still prevalent in most of the country's communities in 2016. The NPA2 on the Elimination Worst Forms of Child Labour (2017-2022) was then designed based on the recommendations of reviews

from the NPA1 and an extensive report on child labour conducted by the GLSS 6 (GoG and NPA2, 2018). There have been no assessments on the NPA2, but child labour is still rampant.

There are state-sponsored institutional structures aimed at addressing the problem. These comprise of the Child Labour Unit of the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, which oversees some relevant programs toward eliminating child labour in the country. The National Steering Committee on Child Labour is the overall coordinating body for child labour elimination programs in Ghana. There are also some policies such as Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy, School Feeding Programme, and the Capitation Grant to encourage schooling and increase retention. Currently, Ghana is also running the Free Senior High School education, which started in 2017, intending to end household poverty and increase to quality education among all children in the country (GoG, 2020).

2.4.2 International Treaties and Policies

Ghana is one of the first countries to have ratified the CRC in 1990. The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the involvement of children in armed conflicts was ratified in Ghana in 2003. Ghana has made positive efforts specifically towards eradicating child labour with the ratification of ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour in 2000. The IPEC is currently the largest program globally established by the ILO, Ghana is a member of IPEC. IPEC has worked to achieve its aim of eliminating child labour in several ways in Ghana: through country-based programs, capacity building, awareness-raising, and mobilization intended to promote the effective implementation of ILO child labour Conventions (ILO-IPEC, 2017).

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) was developed to accentuate the specific issues, cultural values, and an experience impacting the African Child.

Ghana adopted the Children's Charter in 1990 and came into effect in 1999 with the sole aim of protecting children's rights against any form of hazardous activity (GoG, 2000).

2.4.3 International and National Organizations, NGOs Campaigns and Programmes

The government has implemented several international and national campaigns and programs for eradicating child labour.

ILO established the West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Programme (WACAP) which was specifically designed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in selected cocoa and rice growing communities, it effectively started in Ghana in 2006 with supports from IPEC and United States Department of Labour (WACAP, 2002).

Child Labour Monitoring Systems (CLMS) was established 2007 in Ghana under the Ministry of Labour and Employment to gather and analyze data on children that engage in child labour and to monitor further children that have withdrawn from all forms of hazardous work. CLMS is also responsible for providing crucial statistical data for development planning purposes (CLMS, 2012). In 2017, Ghana launched a campaign called the 'Chance for change campaign for children' where the Employment and Labour Relations Minister reiterated the commitment of the President and the government towards the elimination of child labour in Ghana in all its forms (GoG, 2017).

In response to poverty as one of the primary causes of some social problems in Ghana, including child labour, the government introduced the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) program in 2008. LEAP works together with the MoGCSP. LEAP helps citizens by providing cash to impoverished households in Ghana to alleviate short term poverty and improve on the human development of citizens in the country. LEAP is a form of cash transfer scheme where the child

labour participation rates are considered in the selection of beneficiary communities (LEAP, 2020). Over ten years of introducing LEAP, child labour is still prevalent, as poverty is the primary cause of this problem.

NGOs, including UNICEF and Challenging Heights, are working to control and prevent child labour in Ghana. UNICEF supports the MoGCSP in implementing the NPA to reduce the number of children involved in child labour. UNICEF also works with partners such as NGOs, IGOs, and other institutions to ensure children do not engage in hazardous work for survival in Ghana (UNICEF, 2020). Challenging Heights is aimed at preventing child labour by directly protecting children's rights by providing holistic rehabilitation and reintegration to children after rescuing children from child labourers. In collaboration with UNICEF, they work with communities to assist survivors and the vulnerable live in freedom; by building resistance to trafficking through education and sensitization for at-risk children and by advocating for their human rights (Annan, 2017). A 2018 annual report from Challenging Heights suggests that over 800 children were rescued to their rehabilitation centres. However, funding, political interference, and persecutions such as obstruction of justice, smear campaign, and threats of arrest, were obstacles to supporting all their rescued victims (Annan, 2019).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter of the thesis elaborated on relevant literature on child labour by reviewing related literature on the definition of child labour, the underlying causes of child labour and further explained and analyzed the national and international instruments, policies and programs on child labour with reference from scholarly work, international and national reports. The next chapter will consider the research methodology with much emphasis on how data was sourced, interpreted, and analyzed in the study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section describes how data was collected and analyzed in the study. In line with this, the research design, research population, research sample, data collection instruments and procedures, ethical considerations, and data analysis techniques are covered.

3.2 Research design

Qualitative research method was the main source of research design used in this study. Yin, Ding, Xie, and Luo (2014) suggest that the research question's nature is significant in choosing a research design. To answer questions such as why? What? and with what impacts? qualitative methods are considered one of the best approaches (Green and Thorogood, 2018). Qualitative research methodology provides enough and comprehensive data to help researchers study specific issues in its actual environment and its right context (Creswell, 2014). The importance of this method is to allow the researcher to understand the issue from its actual framework. Kothari (2004) is of the view that qualitative methods help researchers to portray how people feel as well as their motives and desire for a phenomenon. Qualitative research is especially useful in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of populations (Mack et al., 2005). This methodology was selected since qualitative research design seeks to explore and understand the meaning individuals attribute to a social or public problem. Therefore, using this method helped the researcher get an in-depth understanding of child labour, the role of state institutions in preventing child labour, and the challenges these institutions face.

3.3 Research Population

Green and Thorogood (2018) suggest that studies conducted with fewer than twenty participants help researchers manage complex and analytic tasks. To prevent the repetitiveness of the same information from participants, researchers should choose smaller population in a study (Vasileiou et al., 2018) However; the scope of the interviewees meant that the six participants are a good sample size since they had relevant information to assist in answering the research questions. The population in this study was government officials, a total sample of six government officials was interviewed, a representative from the Ministry of Employment, two representatives from the Department of Children, two from the Department of Social Welfare, and a representative from LEAP.

3.4 Research Sampling

The method of sampling in this study was purposive sampling. Battaglia (2011) suggests that a purposive sample aims to construct a sample that can be rationally assumed to be representative of the population. Creswell (2007, 125) stated that "purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest". One of the critical objectives of purposive sampling is to concentrate on a feature of a population that is of interest, which will best enable a researcher to answer all relevant research questions. Purposive sampling also provides researchers with the justification to make generalizations from the sample that is being studied. Using this method of sampling was very relevant to the study since the selected participants in the study were knowledgeable and had expertise on the issues. The selected participants in the study were experienced child labour experts who had more than five years' work experience in their various

departments in the selected ministries. The main aim of selecting these participants was to get some inside information and expert knowledge about child labour in the country.

3.5 Data Collection

Data for this study was obtained from primary sources. Interviews are one of the most basic social research methods and can be everything from a casual conversation to a structured and formal set of questions (Johansson, 2009). For this study, primary data collection was collected using online and VOIP communication (emails, audio, and video calls) due to the outbreak of COVID-19 meaning that the researcher could not conduct interviews in person. Data collection was conducted through interviews with the six participants in the study and many pieces of research. Creswell (2014) explains that research interviews are one of the primary methods for conducting qualitative research; they are inexpensive, ask questions with specific data, and analyze the data quickly. The main data collection instrument that was used during this study was an interview guide with ten constructed questions from the research questions stated above. Passer et al., (2013) suggest that a research interview has advantages of being cost-efficient, scalable, and delivering speedy results.

Secondary sources of articles, journals, books and similar studies were conducted. Some of the sources also comprise research and literature instigated by the national legislation and several initiatives and programmes from the Ghanaian government. Other sources for the secondary data were from International organizations such as UNICEF and ILO. The information taken from UNICEF and ILO had recent and accurate information and their knowledge and data collections were extremely pertinent for this study.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

One of the critical guidelines considered in research activities is ethics. Research ethics are very significant in conducting any research activity (Rehman et al, 2019). The researcher followed ethical considerations. This topic is susceptible, and the participants involved in the study are elites in the country. To ensure voluntary participation, all respondents were given the option to participate in the research. The researcher obtained informed consent from all participants involved in the study. Shahnazarian (2009) states that informed consent is a voluntary agreement to participate in research. On the other hand, Trochim and Arora (2015) believe that the participant's consent is critical since it helps participants understand the research subject and the risks involved in the study before participating in the study. Passer et al. (2013) suggest that participants are likely to give positive and honest answers to researchers, provided their identity is unknown in the study. Therefore, confidentiality and anonymity were offered in the study by explaining further to participants in the study that all the information collected from them was going to be kept confidential.

3.7 Data Analysis

Qualitative thematic analysis was used as the method of data analysis in the study. Thematic analysis is one of the significant methods of qualitative analysis in several disciplines. Thematic analysis is defined as a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79). Data collected from the study were transcribed and analyzed by using a six-phased process employed under thematic analysis (Nowell et al., 2017, 4). Phase 1: Familiarizing with the data- the transcribed data were read repeatedly to be familiarized with the data. Phase 2 and 3: Generating themes from transcribed data, themes such as the definition of child labour, underlying causes of child labour, and challenges the ministries face towards the eradicating child labour were generated. Phase 4: Reviewing the themes, the generated themes were reviewed. Phase 5: Defining and naming the themes, the themes were further defined based on the literature and findings from the participants. Phase 6: Weaving together the analytic narrative and data extracts and contextualizing the analysis with existing literature.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

Conducting a study on child labour can be very difficult since it sometimes poses a threat to the people benefiting from it (Johansson, 2009). Researching into issues related to children sometimes challenges governments that are unwilling to pass judgment on their policies (Rubensen, 2005). Researchers are likely to be exposed to suspicious and unpleasant local government officials, managers in conducting studies related to child labour (Boyden et al. 1998, 167). The study interviewed one respondent, each from the MoE and LEAP, which served as a limitation. Despite these limitations, the respondents were child labour experts who had relevant information and answers to the research questions, which helped the researcher analyze their opinions with the support of empirical studies, scholarly work, and international reports. The timeframe for this study was unfortunately short, which did not help the researcher in getting all relevant information or data for the study. The consistency of a study depends on the honesty of the collected data and its processing (Holme and Solvang 1997, 163). Irrespective of the timeframe given for this study, the study was effective since the participants and research provided enough information to address the research questions.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION 4.1 Introduction

This section presents findings derived from the research questions and the analysis of data collected from the literature from the previous chapters. These findings are presented and analyzed under the following themes; definition of child labour, the underlying causes of child labour and the challenges the ministries face towards eradicating the problem.

4.2 Definition of Child Labour

The previous chapter examined the definitions of child labour, which showed that while there is no consensus on a precise definition, it is generally regarded as child labour' where the child's physical, mental and educational development is negatively impacted. This section considers that definition within the Ghanaian context.

4.2.1 Hazardous Work

Defining child labour is sometimes complex since there are various meanings and explanations on what can be considered as child labour and what is not child labour. The definition of child labour in this section will be explained by first understanding the differences between hazardous and non-hazardous work. Article 3 of the ILO Convention No. 182 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour defines hazardous child labour as any work that can harm the health, morals, and safety when carried out by children (ILO, 2006). The Children's Act (560) of Ghana Section 91 states that hazardous work is any work that poses a danger on the safety, health, and morals of children. Hazardous work includes going to sea, mining, quarrying, porterage 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 (Children's Act of Ghana, 1998). According to a 2014 World Bank report, hazardous work among children accounts for 40% of total employed children between the ages of 15-17 globally. Hazardous work among adolescents, that is, children between the ages of 15-17, is very high in Ghana. Almost 24% of all children in this age range, 412,000 in absolute terms, are engaged in hazardous work. 55% of adolescents with jobs in Ghana are in hazardous work (World Bank, 2014).

4.2.2 Non-Hazardous Work

Non-hazardous work refers to a positive contribution of children in an economic activity, which is not harmful to their health or mental and physical development. This type of work is beneficial since it strengthens or encourages the development of a child. Some examples of non-hazardous work are farm work and domestic activities such as housekeeping, helping with family businesses or earning pocket money on weekends or during school activities (ILO, 2017, Summers et al., 2018 and Adonteng-Kissi, 2020)

An interview with the senior leadership in the Ministry of Employment (MoE), Department of Children (DoC) and the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) identified that non-hazardous work could not be classified as child labour in Ghana because those kinds of activities do not interfere with the development and education of children. The District Director of the DoC and two SWOs from the DSW also stated in their interviews that hazardous work is considered as child labour. This is because hazardous work has a direct negative impact on the education, development, safety and mental health of children in Ghana. They further stated that children that engage in hazardous activities in the country such as brick-laying, machinery work, mining and hawking on the street

are usually school dropouts and have some health conditions due to the dust, chemicals and noise they are exposed to at the workplace when they engage in hazardous activities which affect the growth and development of most of these children.

Hazardous work and non-hazardous work among children in Ghana can be further examined based on their ages. The minimum age for non-hazardous work is 13 years for developed countries and 12 years for developing countries (ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 No. 138) The Children's Act of Ghana, also permit children to do non-hazardous work at the age of 12 years. An interview with the District Director from the DSW suggests that children below the age of 12 in the rural areas engage in non-hazardous work, with the notion that children in the rural farming settings mature faster than children in the urban cites in Ghana. She attributed the reasons to socialization since children in rural areas receive early socialization into the family business and farming activities and responsibilities.

The minimum age for hazardous work is above 18 years (ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 No. 138). Section 91(1) of the Children's Act permits children to start hazardous work at the age of 18 and above. Children below the ages of 18 should not engage in hazardous activities such as going to sea, quarrying, mining, carry heavy loads, and engaging in machinery or manufacturing industries where chemicals are produced in Ghana (Children's Act of Ghana, 1998).

The two senior leaders in the DoC suggested that most of the children in Ghana that engage in hazardous activities do so due to inadequate awareness of the international and national legislation on the minimum age to engage and not engage in hazardous activities. Other senior leadership in the DSW and the MoE also stated that most of the citizens in Ghana have a low-level of knowledge on the minimum age required to engage in both hazardous and non-hazardous work, which serves

as a challenge to the ministries since it makes their work difficult in preventing issues related to child labour.

Article 3 of the CRC and Section 2(1) of the Children's Act (560) suggests that the best interest of the child should be paramount in any matter concerning a child. From the definitions above on hazardous and non-hazardous work, the best interest of children should be taken into consideration before allowing children to engage in hazardous work since the definition of this type of work can harm the safety, health, and education of a child if the best interest of the child is not taken into consideration.

4.3 Underlying Causes of Child Labour in Ghana

4.3.1 Poverty

Poverty is widespread in Ghana and affects households' ability to send their children to school, access proper health care, sanitation, good drinking water, housing, and other relevant activities for their survival. Poverty is the major cause of child labour in Ghana (Togunde and Carter, 2006, Odonkor, 2007, Hilson, 2010, Ayifah, 2015, Quadjie, 2016, Yiadom, 2017, Adjei, 2017, Rehman et al., 2019, Edmond and Thévenon 2019). Suggestions and explanations on poverty as the cause of child labour are discussed below with reference from the participants in the study.

The Community Relations Officer (CRO) of LEAP stated that poverty is one of the major causes of child labour in Ghana. The CRO explained that most families send their children to the streets to hawk and earn income to support themselves and the family. The CRO gave an example of a young girl he met on the street hawking instead of going to school on a sunny afternoon. After further investigation, he later found out that the child was hawking because she lives with her sick mother, who is unable to support the family and so that is what she must do to support the family. The CRO also shared some other reasons why children are engaged in hazardous work, resulting in poverty.

The two SWOs interviewed also stated that poor households are considered as one of the major causes of child labour in Ghana. This is because poverty leads children to engage in hazardous work in the country. One SWO was of the view that poverty is one of the causes of child labour in Ghana since most of the children that engage in child labour come from poor homes. These Officers suggest that their department conducted a survey in 2016 on the number of children that engage in child labour in Ghana with much emphasis on children from poor, middle income and children from wealthy homes. From the survey, it was observed that 75% of the children that engage in child labour are from poor homes, whereas 20% come from middle-income homes and just 5% from wealthy homes. Further investigation on the 5% of children from wealthy homes explained that they live with their stepparents and they are forced to hawk and engage in hazardous work before they eat.

The Regional Director and Districts Director of the DoC and the Director of the MoE also stated in their interview that poverty plays a significant role, as children in poorer household tend to be engaged in child labour for economic survival or earn money to complement that of their parents.

Most of the literature discussed earlier found that poverty was the major cause of child labour in Ghana. Form the discussed literature and primary data in this study, it can be examined that poverty is the major cause of child labour in Ghana.

4.3.2 Socialization and Cultural Norms

As stated above, many studies (Asuming-Brempong, et al., 2007, Die, 2011, Takyi, 2014, Summers, 2018, Adonteng-Kissi, 2018, Botchway, 2019, Edmond and Thévenon 2019) have found that socio-cultural practices such as socialization and cultural norms are the causes of child labour. This study also found socialization and cultural norms as a cause of child labour in Ghana.

The CRO of LEAP, one SWO, the District Director, and Regional Director of the DoC suggested that socialization and cultural norms can be considered as the causes of child labour in Ghana because a majority of the citizens believes their socialization in society has to influence the way they nurture their children. The beliefs of parents punishing their children physically through hazardous activities usually result in children becoming child labourers since they were trained with hazardous activities as a form of punishment from their parents. These children grow up to be adults and parents who also train their children through hazardous work making socialization one of the underlying causes of child labour in Ghana.

One SWO, on the other hand, stated that cultural norms cannot be considered one of the causes of child labour because the role of culture in the country is to inculcate good behaviour and training for children. Cultural norms and socialization among some ethnic groups such as Akans, Ewes, Fantes, and Krobos do not train their children to do hazardous work since hazardous work is meant for just the adults in society. The SWO explained that children that engage in hazardous work do that based on circumstances such as belonging to poor families, supporting their single parents, and their desire to make more income for themselves than spending several years in school and being unemployed after graduating.

From the above explanations, it can be determined that socialization is a cause of child labour in Ghana but cannot be the ultimate cause of child labour. Children in Ghana are socialized on how to work in domestic and farm work based on their age differences (Dei, 2011). Ethnic groups such as the Akans, Krobos, Ewes, and Fantes encourage their children to engage in non-hazardous activities. Some ethnic groups such as the Nzema, Dagomba and Mamprusi also train their children with different kinds of hazardous and non-hazardous activities based on their cultural norms (Botchway et al., 2019). Some parents believe that Ghana's socialization and cultural norms are of the best interest of a child (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018). Several cultures and ethnic groups define children's welfare differently, which makes it difficult to find the best explanation for socialization as a cause of child labour in Ghana.

4.3.3 "Irresponsible Parenting"

"Irresponsible parenting" was considered as a cause of child labour with reference from (Ballet et al. 2010, Alenoma, 2012, Al-hassan and Abubakari 2015, Alolo, 2016, Adu-Gyamfi, 2018, Fuseini and Marguerite, 2020). All the participants in this study stated that "irresponsible parenting" can be considered one of the underlying causes of child labour in Ghana. "Irresponsible parenting" can be explained based on parents manipulating their children to engage in hazardous activities and encouraging them to work under bad conditions to generate income to support the family.

The CRO from LEAP argued that some parents have a low-level of knowledge on the minimum required age to allow their children to engage in any form of hazardous activity which means they cannot be blamed as being 'irresponsible' parents but should at least know the best work that will not interfere with the health, education and development of their children as responsible and caring parents.

The SWOs also suggest that irresponsible parenting can be a cause of child labour in Ghana since parents are the caregivers of the children and should be responsible for any kind of activity their children engage in. They further explained their observations that; they sometimes meet children engaging in hazardous activities, when they ask them who sent them to be doing these work the children usually response that their parents say they should be working to support their siblings since they are the elder children. Some children also responded that they came with their parents to work together.

From the above explanations, it can be somehow possible parents have the consent on the type of work their children are doing, but they might also be unaware of the laws against child labour, the minimum required age for their children to engage in hazardous activities and what is and not hazardous work.

4.4 Challenges Faced by Ministries

4.4.1 Funding and Resource difficulties

The 2004 ILO evaluation on the National Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour in Ghana stated that some of the constraints faced during the execution of this programme were the "delays in the release of funds by United Nations Development Programme for planned activities; staff attrition; inadequacy and lack of requisite skills of staff of the implementing agencies for certain professional activities" (ILO, 2004). Findings on the worst form of child labour report by the ILO in 2018 also suggested that the inability for labour inspectorates to enforce child labour laws in Ghana is a result of inadequate resources such as transportation, office space, and office supplies.

The interviewees in this study stated some challenges the ministries faced towards eradicating child labour, but the most repeated among the identified challenges was inadequate funding and resource difficulties. This section is grouped according to each department and their explanations on their challenges.

4.4.2 Department of Livelihood Enhancement against Poverty

LEAP helps citizens by providing cash to the extremely poor households in Ghana to alleviate short term poverty and improve on the human development of citizens in the country through monthly cash transfers. According to the CRO, the government of Ghana, the World Bank and the UK Department for International Development are the major sources of funding to LEAP. Insufficient funds from these major sources affect their support to poor households against poverty in the country.

The CRO of LEAP stated that;

Whenever I visit the regional offices for supervision, I always use my laptop to work in the office this is not the right thing to do since I am likely to lose all data provided something happens to my laptop (CRO, 2020).

Resource difficulties were stated as a challenge faced by LEAP in connection with inadequate funds since they need funds to provide all necessary resources. The CRO suggested in the interview that the offices at the national headquarters (Accra) of LEAP are comfortable in terms of staff strength and resource, but they have inadequate staff in the regional offices and inadequate resource such as office space, computers, desks and motorcycles in the regional offices in the country.

4.4.3 Department of Children

The DoC is responsible for formulating policies that support the development and institutionalization of issues related to children in Ghana. The Regional Director and District Director suggested that the budget allocation to the DoC from the national budget is insufficient to complete their departmental tasks.

The Directors stated that their department recently developed an Intersectoral Standard Operational Procedure with several pathways to address child protection issues including child labour, from identification to reporting and prosecution. Moreover, the department has a current program running called Ghana Against Child Abuse, which is aimed at creating awareness and sensitizing citizens on this problem. In terms of resources, they also made mention of inadequate vehicles in the national, regional, and district offices. They further explained that most of the vehicles in the DoC are broken down, leaving the department with few vehicles for follow-up on programs and projects that are being implemented by the department in various regional offices to reduce child labour in the country.

4.4.4 Department of Social Welfare

The DSW promotes standards and policy guidelines for the efficient and effective delivery of developmental services to the disadvantaged and less privileged in Ghana in collaboration with stakeholders and policymakers. According to the SWOs interviewed, budget allocation to the department from the government is insufficient to support programs and projects on child labour. The department gets most of its funds from donors. They also stated that inadequate resources in the regional offices, such as vehicles for inspections of children in child labour and computers that would be used by the staff to input data on children that engage in child labour in the country's various regions.

4.4.5 Ministry of Employment

The Child Labour Unit in the MoE is responsible for protecting children against all forms of hazardous, exploitative, and worst forms of child labour in Ghana. The Director from the Child Labour Unit at the MoE also stated resource difficulties, funding, and inadequate skill expertise as the challenges faced by the ministry towards the eradicating of child labour in Ghana with similar explanations regarding the views of the departments above.

4.4.6 Lack of Awareness

The interviewees also suggested that most parents allow their children to engage in hazardous work due to a low level of knowledge of parents and children on the minimum age required to work and not to work. According to the interviewees, most of the citizens, especially those in the rural areas in Ghana, have a low-level of knowledge on the laws against child labour in Ghana. The Regional Director of the DoC stated that a sensation program and survey was done in 2016 in

their department on issues related to child labour in Ghana in the four cities (Northern, Eastern, Volta, and Greater Accra Regions) with higher rates of child labour, with 200 participants from each region. However, most of the study participants stated that they were not aware of the laws against child labour in Ghana. The Director from MoE pointed out that those in the urban areas in the country has a higher level of knowledge on the laws against child labour but do not apply these laws due to socialization and cultural norms since they believe they were trained during their childhood to train their children so that they become responsible parents in future, therefore, engaging in hazardous work is a form of training.

4.5 Conclusion

From the above findings on the challenges faced by ministries toward the eradicating child labour, it can be observed that institutions in charge of child labour activities are unable to achieve their mandates due to inadequate funding and resource difficulties in the various departments in these institutions. These institutions are responsible for ensuring the wellbeing of children is protected in Ghana, but in instances where they are unable to function, this means the wellbeing of the children that engage in child labour is at risk. The findings from these institutions are noted as challenges faced by some African countries such as Nigeria, Guinea-Bissau, Somalia, Malawi, Kenya and Benin towards eradicating child labour (Nnaemeka, 2011, Edmond and Thévenon, 2019, Adua et al., 2020). However, the above-suggested challenges should not stop these institutions towards the eradicating of child labour since there are some means of minimizing this problem regardless of resource difficulties and funding. Having examined these causes and challenges, the next chapter will discuss the study's conclusions and suggest possible policy recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview

This study aimed at identifying some of the main underlying causes of child labour and the challenges faced by some government ministries in their work towards the eradication of child labour in Ghana. This study's aim was achieved since the study found out the major causes of child labour and the significant challenges the ministries faced in eliminating this problem. Child labour from the international community was defined as any work that can negatively affect the health, development, and wellbeing of anyone below the age of 18, this definition is applicable in the Ghanaian context with references from international, national legislation and scholarly work.

Globally, the ILO, World Bank, and others identify poverty as the major cause of child labour. Interviewees in this study supported the finding that poverty is also the major cause of child labour in Ghana since children in poorer households engage in child labour for economic survival or earn money to complement that of their parents. In addition to poverty, socialization and cultural norms were identified as underlying causes, based on empirical analysis from scholars and the interviewees in the study as a cause of child labour in Ghana. Ghanaians cherish hard work and always want to train their children with both hazardous and non-hazardous activities as part of their cultural norms and ethnicity. "Irresponsible parenting" was also identified by some scholars and the interviewees as another cause of child labour, this is because most parents have the knowledge and consent of the type of work their children engage in, whether it is hazardous or non-hazardous, and can stop them from engaging in any work that can interfere with the health, education, and development of their children as responsible caregivers. Moreover, lack of awareness of the minimum age for children to engage in hazardous and non-hazardous work was also suggested by the interviewees as another cause of child labour.

More than 3.5 million, equivalent to 28.2% of all children in Ghana live in poverty (UNICEF, 2020). Resource challenges such as technological gadgets and vehicles are some relevant resource problems faced by ministries in Ghana (Alston, 2018 and Adonteng-Kissi, 2018). Regarding challenges faced by ministries in the country in working toward the elimination of child labour; funding and resource difficulties were identified as the challenges faced by the ministries. All interviewees in this study settled with these scholars' view on resource problems. It is clear that poverty and resource difficulties are the major challenges the ministries face towards the prevention of child labour, which needs to be addressed to help minimize the problem. Based on these findings, recommendations are made here to enhance the role of government to improve on previous policies on social protection and provide adequate supports to ensure ministries function effectively in achieving their mandates.

5.2 Policy Recommendations

The eradication of child labour is a continuing objective. The government of Ghana has been effective regarding its efforts towards the elimination of child labour by implementing significant policies, laws, and programs that directly or indirectly affect children's wellbeing in tackling child labour as discussed in the previous chapters. However, child labour is still prevalent irrespective of several efforts towards its eradication. Children should not engage in hazardous work as part of their struggle for survival, especially when there are knowledge and means to avoid this. This section of the thesis elaborates on two policy recommendations towards the minimization of the problem.

5.2.1 Unconditional Cash Transfer

The government should provide poor households most at risk of having children in labour adequate cash transfers to help children get access to quality education, good sanitation, proper healthcare, and physical development. This will help in reducing poverty as the major cause of child labour. Lack of financial aid in low-income countries is considered as the reason for widespread child labour (ILO, 2017). According to the World Bank, the existing budget spending on social protection in Ghana is extremely low because only 1.4% of GDP is spent on social protection (World Bank, 2016). Empirical evidence on cash transfer schemes in the middle and low-income countries indicates that cash transfer programs help to minimize the intensity of child labour and eliminate circumstance that pushes children into work (ILO, 2018). Cash transfer programs have been successful in several Latin American nations and other countries such as Mexico, Turkey, and Brazil (Sackey and Remoaldo 2019).

LEAP is responsible for providing cash transfer to poor households in Ghana. However, the amount of money allocated to poor households on the program is not enough to support most families living in poverty. In 2015, the monthly cash transfer for families was GH¢106, which was equivalent to US\$27.80 (LEAP, 2015). In 2020, beneficiaries on the LEAP program still receive GH¢106 (now equivalent to US\$18.70) monthly (LEAP, 2020). Extensive evidence on cash transfer schemes in some African countries indicates that this amount is too small as compared to similar cash transfer schemes aimed at tackling poverty in countries like Kenya, Zambia, and Malawi (Ayifah, 2015).

This policy has been effective in reducing poverty in some communities in the country. However, a survey of 40 beneficiaries in 8 out of the 14 beneficiary communities in 2014 in the Central Region of Ghana found that beneficiaries suggested the government improve the amount of money given to them (Agyemang et al., 2014). After ten years of implementing this policy, research indicates there has been some improvement in some areas of Ghana, but the monthly cash transfer to these families is not enough (Sackey and Remoaldo 2019).

The government of Ghana should increase the amount of money given to these poor households from GH¢106 (US\$18.70) to a required amount based on the needs of poor households in the country. This increment will help minimize the rate of poverty as a major cause of the problem. One limitation of this policy option might be the inability of policymakers to get sustainable funds to support the LEAP program, but they can reduce this limitation by changing their emphasis or balancing their allocation of funds by investing more in the welfare of children and human development. They can also minimize this limitation by sourcing for external funding from some international organizations such as the World Bank, USAID, and IMF.

5.2.2 Adequate Resource Support

There is a need for the government to provide additional resources required to make sure all regulatory agencies responsible for improving the welfare of children are equipped to carry out their mandates effectively. Data on actual expenditure and resource allocation from the ministries and departments have been difficult to collect for this study.

A national report in 2010 by UNICEF stated that "Government's commitment to the cause of women and children as proclaimed per the establishment of the ministries and announced on political platforms is not supported by adequate funding" (UNICEF, 2010, 30). Alston stated that

the ministries and departments on social protection and social assistance programs in Ghana receive 90% of goods and services spending from donor partners (Alston, 2018). Adonteng-Kissi found out in his study that insufficient resources such as vehicles and technological gadgets were mentioned as the challenges faced by some ministries in Ghana (Adonteng-Kissi, 2018). Interviewees in this study stated that resource difficulties such as vehicles to follow-up on child welfare projects and computers to input relevant data on child labour issues were the cause of their inability to function effectively in the eradication of child labour.

The government should equally distribute enough resources to all relevant ministries responsible for improving the welfare of children in the country to help minimize the challenges these ministries face in achieving their mandates to accommodate the strategic and operational requirements of the ministries and to make their work flexible.

The inability of ministries to develop a needs-based formula for the distribution of resources despite acknowledging the need for such a formula is considered as a factor for inadequate reforms to improve equity in some ministries in Ghana (Asante and Zwi, 2009). Also, ministries should be able to provide empirical evidence on their needs-based formula to the government to ensure the government assists them in providing all relevant resources needed towards the achievement of their mandates to help minimize child labour in the country.

The limitation towards the achievement of this policy option might be inadequate trained personnel and funds to purchase these resources. The government can minimize this limitation by sourcing resources and capacity building assistance from international organizations to help minimize this problem.

5.3 Conclusion

The population of children in Ghana is 13.6 million; out of this, over 21% are child labourers. Child labour is still widespread irrespective of numerous efforts from the government and other institutions towards the elimination of this problem. There are some important gaps regarding the approaches used by the government in eliminating this issue. 28.2% of all children in Ghana live in poverty. The government's inability to tackle poverty as the main cause of child labour and to provide adequate resources to ensure the functioning of these ministries can be a reason for the widespread child labour. To ensure child labour is eliminated in Ghana, the government must improve upon policies on social protection and resource all relevant ministries to encourage, motivate and strengthen their efforts towards the elimination of poverty as the cause of child labour in Ghana.

5.4 Directives for Future Studies

The interviewees suggested some challenges (inadequate staff and expertise) and causes (divorce and peer pressure) of child labour. These suggestions were quite relevant regarding the study's aim, but the researcher could not elaborate on these suggestions due to time constraints. Despite these restrictions, the above findings are highly significant and valuable because it will contribute to the knowledge of this issue in the country. These suggestions can serve as directives for future researchers who wish to conduct an in-depth study on child labour in Ghana.

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APPENDIX 1

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- From your experience, what have you found to be the primary causes of child labour in Ghana?
- 2. What role does poverty play in child labour in Ghana?
- 3. What role do socialization and cultural norms play in child labour in Ghana?
- 4. What level of knowledge do
 - (a) citizens generally and
 - (b) citizens in rural areas have about the laws against child labour in Ghana?
- 5. What role do your departments have in the elimination of child labour in Ghana?
- 6. Which districts in the country do your departments supervise?
- 7. What is your staff strength?
- 8. Do you know of any current projects working on child labour in Ghana?
- 9. What challenges does your department face in the elimination of child labour in Ghana?
- 10. Any recommendation or advice to policymakers towards the eradication of child labour in Ghana?

APPENDIX 2

QUANTITY OF PARTICIPANTS	POSITION	MINISTRY	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	CRO	LEAP	12 TH MAY 2020
2	DISTRICT & REGIONAL DIRECTORS	DoC	13 th MAY 2020
1	DIRECTOR OF THE CHILD LABOUR UNIT	MoE	14 th MAY 2020
2	SWOs	DSW	16 TH MAY 2020 20 TH MAY, 2020