

GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM

**PRESS COVERAGE OF CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE DAILY GRAPHIC NEWSPAPER (2010-2014)**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that except for reference to other people's work, which I have duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own effort and has neither in part nor in whole been submitted to any institution for the award of any certificate. It was carried out at the Ghana Institute of Journalism under the supervision of Dr. James Dzisah.

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my dear parents, DCOP. (Rtd) E.B. Ansong and DSP. (Rtd) Mrs Mary Ansong and to my loving brothers John, Frank, Ernest, Emmanuel Benjamin, Seth and George. I also dedicate this work to my Guardian and Pastor, Elder Stephen Okyere. I would have been lost without your prayers, love and support.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------|--|
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| WFCL | Worst Form of Child Labour |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| NPA | National Plan of Action |
| GCGL | Graphic Communications Group Ltd |

ABSTRACT

The study assessed press coverage of Child Labour in the *Daily Graphic* from January 2010 to December 2014, with focus on the following; the amount of coverage, nature of story, type of child labour, and prominence of stories in terms of placement of stories and use of photographs. Using Content analysis the study utilized a sample size of 40 articles on child labour from a total of about 1,862 newspapers published by Daily Graphic within the time frame. The data collected and analysed indicated that minimal attention is given to child labour stories in the Daily Graphic. Only one front page article out of the 40 articles published on Child Labour was found. The rests of the stories were buried within the inside pages of the newspapers. Also the study disclosed that majority of the articles on child labour published were report-based; where journalists were invited to cover an event. The study indicated that there is the need for the *Daily Graphic* to give more prominence to the coverage of child labour issues by publishing more articles with the view to raising awareness and prioritizing child labour issues.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

It is normal to see children involved in various domestic chores such as sweeping, cooking and washing especially in Africa as it is considered “training” to make the child a responsible person. Though children are allowed to perform certain domestic work, it comes with specific conditions and/or limits usually etched in the constitution of every country. However the limit has been perceived to be overlooked by some parents and guardians who probably see “all work to be work”. Engaging children in work that is harmful to them is termed Child labour.

Child labour, according to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), can be defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development. The term “child labour” does not encompass all economic activity undertaken by children. Rather, it refers to employment or work carried out by children that does not conform to the provisions of national legislation, such as the Children’s Act, 1998 (Act 560), nor provisions of international instruments such as ILO Convention Nos. 138 and 182, which define the boundaries of work undertaken by children that must be targeted for abolition (Ghana National Plan of Action, 2009).

The worst forms of child labour as captured in Article 3 of ILO Convention No.182 include:

1. all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;

2. the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
3. the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
4. work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

A child is a person below the age of 18 years (UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and Ghana's 1992 Constitution). Afenyadu describes childhood as:

the early formative part of a person's life after birth; the period when the individual learns fundamental values and basic skills of life; and when the foundations of physical, mental, emotional and cultural growth and development of the child are laid. Childhood experiences therefore influence and determine the adulthood of the individual (2010:2).

Children's Act of 1998 (ILO Convention 138) sets the minimum age for admission to employment at 15 years for general employment, 13 years for light work, that is work, that does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training and 18 years for hazardous work. The Children's Act of 1998 defines hazardous work as work posing "a danger to the health, safety or morals of a person", and provides an inexhaustible list including seagoing, mining and quarrying, portage of heavy loads, work involving the production or use of chemicals, and work in places where there is a risk of exposure to immoral behaviour (National Plan of Action, 2009: 14).

1.2 CATEGORIES OF CHILD LABOUR

As indicated by Pearsah (2014), child labour takes many different exploitative forms. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) that provides long-term humanitarian and developmental assistance to children and mothers in developing countries has classified child work into three categories as:

- a. **Within the Family:** This refers to children who are engaged without pay in domestic household tasks, agriculture and pastoral work, handicraft and cottage industries.
- b. **Within the Family but outside the Home:** This involves children who do agricultural/pastoral work which consists of (seasonal/ full-time) migrant labour, local agricultural work, domestic service, construction work and informal occupation, such as recycling of waste.
- c. **Outside the Family:** Here children are employed by others in bonded work, apprenticeship, skilled trades (carpet, embroidery, and brass/copper work), industrial unskilled occupations/ mines, domestic work, commercial work in shops and restaurants, begging, prostitution and even pornography. (www.unicef.org).

In a similar development, Devi and Roy (2008) also categorized child work into seven main groups as detailed as follows:

- i. **Child Labour:** Those children who are doing paid or unpaid work in factories, workshops, establishments, mines and in the service sector such as domestic labour.
- ii. **Street Children:** Children living on and off the streets, such as shoeshine boys, rag pickers, newspaper-vendors, beggars, head porters, bus conductors and the like.
- iii. **Bonded Children:** Children who have either been pledged by their parents for paltry sums of money or those working to pay off the inherited debts of their fathers.

- iv. **Working Children:** Children who are working as part of family labour in agriculture and in home-based work.
- v. **Children used for sexual exploitation:** Many thousands of young girls and boys serve the sexual appetites of men from all social and economic backgrounds.
- vi. **Migrant children:** Children who are forced to leave their homes and villages for several months and years in search of livelihoods.
- vii. **Children engaged in household activities:** Children (especially girls) who are working in their own houses, engaged in what is not normally seen as “economic activity”.

The 2013 annual world report on child labour identifies poverty as the primary determinant of child labour. The issue of child labour is guided by international conventions which frame the concept of child labour and form the basis for child labour legislation in countries such as Ghana that are signatories. It is within the context of these conventions that Agbefu (2010) asserts that Ghana is generally perceived to be one of the countries that struggles most with child labour. Ghana seems to have developed legislation as well as policy aimed at combating child labour for some time now. In spite of this initiative by the government, child labour continues to exist to a large extent. One of such policies is the National Plan of Action (NPA) developed in 2009. The overall goal of the NPA is to reduce Worst Form of Child Labour (WFCL) to the barest minimum by 2016, while laying strong social, policy and institutional foundations for the elimination and prevention of all other forms of child labour in the longer term. The WFCL prioritized under the NPA include: Child Trafficking, Fishing, Mining and Quarrying (Galamsey), Ritual Servitude (Trokosi), Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, Child Domestic Servitude, Porterage of heavy loads (Kayayei), and Agriculture (Cocoa, cattle herding,

oil palm, cotton, crop and vegetable farming), Street hawking, including begging (Labour Department, 2013).

1.3 HISTORY OF CHILD LABOUR

Child labour remains one of the major social issues and has rightly been of topical concern to researchers the world over. Children have historically been part of the labour force; especially, with the advent of the industrial revolution and its attendant urbanization. There are many instances throughout history in which children have been indentured or forced into child labour within the labour market. Children were viewed as cheap, manageable and renewable labour resources by individuals and businesses at the time, but this have since not changed as the situation of child labour continues to exist among us.

Child labour in fact exists even before the advent of industrialization. However, during that period, it was not considered exploitative and abusive. It was instead seen as part of a long-lasting tradition in which it was culturally demanded that children assisted their parents in diverse fields of agriculture, coal mining, weaving and other related works. As Ampomah (2012) notes, the practice had a positive and/or neutral connotation at the time.

The practice emerged as an attention-seeking social problem during the era of rapid industrialization and capitalism; the industrial revolution which occurred within the periods of the 18th and 19th centuries. Power-driven implements and equipment replaced hand and sometimes human labour for the manufacture of goods and services by the late 1700s and early 1800s. This led to the rise of several factories particularly in England, Canada, Germany, France, United States and the West Indies. A new source of child labour emerged and was used by factory owners to run their power-driven implements and equipment. Using children was

beneficial to them as they worked more but were paid less as compared to the adults engaged to render the same services over the same periods of time or even less. The rate of Child Labour subsequently skyrocketed throughout the world especially in countries that were experiencing rapid industrialization and capitalism and thus became a major societal problem by the mid 1800's. Children doing factory work had to work for long hours between 12 and 18 hours daily, six days a week, to earn a dollar with some of the children working before age seven. Approximately, about two million children of school-going age in the year 1810 were working for an estimated 50 to 70 hours in a week for little or no wage (Cunningham and Viazzo, 1996).

With time, many countries began enacting and passing laws to regulate the social problem of child labour with Britain pioneering the campaign and was the first to pass such a law. Other developed countries which followed suit were the United States, Canada, France and Germany. Even though some forms of child labour continue to prevail in other parts of the world, studies have shown that it is prominent in Third World Countries particularly in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Cunningham and Viazzo, 1996).

Ghana is situated within the sub-Saharan African region which has over the years recorded high numbers of child labour. It is unclear exactly when Child labour began in Ghana, but the 2001 Ghana Child Labour Survey revealed that child labour was prevalent in all the 10 administrative regions, and that 2.47 million children aged between ages 5-17 years, representing 40% of the estimated 6.36 million children, in that age group were economically active with some engaged in the worst forms of child labour. The survey further revealed that 1.59 million children, representing (25%), were economically active while in school (International Labour Organisation, 2007).

The International Labour Organization in its 2013 global report on Child Labour, entitled “Marking progress against child labour: Global estimates and trends 2000-2012”, provides the most recent and wide-ranging assessment on the extent of child labour, internationally and regionally, and efforts to stop it. According to the report, child labourers are found in Asia-Pacific region but this region also registered the largest decline during 2008-2012 (from 114 million to 78 million for the 5-17 years age group). Child labourers in other regions in 2012 numbered 59.0 million in sub-Saharan Africa, 12.5 million in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and 9.2 million in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). These figures are symptomatic of a people gradually fighting Child labour across the world; however it still stands that the fight has not reduced the problem to its barest minimum.

1.4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF GHANAIS

Ghana covers an area of 238, 540 square km and is blessed with four agro-ecological zones which shape the development of agriculture in the country. These are: savannah zone (Sudan savannah and Guinea savannah in the northern part of the country), transitional zone (forest-savannah transition), forest zone (semi-deciduous forest and rain forest) and coastal savannah zone (Child Labour Survey 2007-2008:9). Agriculture is the backbone of the Ghanaian economy accounting, on the average, for about 40 percent of GDP and generating about 55 percent of foreign exchange earnings. It employs about 51 percent of the labour force and serves as the major source of income and employment for about 70 percent of the rural work force. The year-on-year quarterly gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate for the first quarter of 2015 was 4.1% with agriculture sector recording the highest growth of 7.4%. The major activities

constituting the sector include cocoa, crops, livestock and fishing. The sector thus demands labour in order to produce effectively (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015).

The socio-cultural milieu and practices within which children find themselves has an influence in their engagement in child labour. Afenyadu (2010) indicated in a study on the Volta Lake that fishing formed an integral part of the cultural identity of the communities around the lake making children in such an environment having to assimilate into this core socio-cultural and economic practice no matter the circumstances. This makes it extremely difficult to totally eradicate child labour since it has some socio-cultural undertones.

1.5 HISTORY AND PROFILE OF DAILY GRAPHIC

In combating child labour, the role of the media cannot be underestimated. The media—consisting of traditional and new media including different kinds of mass communications ranging from, print, electronic to online media—have over the centuries served the very important tool of communication and information relay through various forms. Shrestha (2002) posits that media plays a very important role in generating awareness among the general public and putting pressure on policymakers regarding pertinent national development issues. Ghana's press history can be traced back to the 19th century where the first two newspapers, "*The Gold Coast Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer*", were published between 1822-1825 in the Gold Coast as a semi-official mouthpiece of the colonial government under the stewardship of the then governor Sir Charles MacCarthy. While the immediate task was to provide information to the European merchants and civil servants in the colony, the general objective was to promote literacy and encourages rural development among the growing number of mission-educated

Africans in the Gold Coast. As such, the papers were exclusively African edited (Barton 1979).

Subsequently, radio and later television were also introduced.

In 1950s West African Graphic Company Ltd (WAGCL) was established in the then Gold Coast by the Daily Mirror Group of the United Kingdom headed by Cecil King. Its first newspaper *Daily Graphic* was published on October 2, 1950. After Independence, the company changed its name to Ghana Graphic Company Ltd (GCGL), the leading and largest newspaper publishing and printing company in Ghana. The company through its newspapers aims at improving lives through information and knowledge.

The *Daily Graphic*, the flagship newspaper of the GCGL, was chosen for the study because it has survived for decades as one of Ghana's leading newspapers with significant brand recognition since 1950. The paper was adjudged the newspaper of the year for 2014 for its outstanding quality print and nationwide circulation at the second edition of the Ghana Made awards (<http://graphic.com.gh>). The *Daily Graphic* has the widest circulation in the country with about 800,000 copies per day.

This study assesses the press coverage of child labour by the *Daily Graphic*.

1.6 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The issue of child labour has been an age-long global problem and continues to exist despite efforts to eliminate it. Various studies conducted in Ghana revealed not only the continuing presence of the child labour menace, but points to the complexity of the problem due to socio-cultural, and economic undertones of having children assimilate work passed on by the older generation in addition to the influence of other environmental factors. Although the 2013 Global report on child labour released by ILO saw a massive decline in the number of child labourers

globally, Sub-Saharan Africa, as a region, still has the highest incidence rate, despite a decline from about 25.3 per cent in 2008 to 21.4 per cent in 2012. The implication of this is that the risk of child labour is highest for children in sub-Saharan Africa. Child labour threatens and abuses the rights of children and constitutes blight on their development and on society as a whole.

The media plays a role in the development of any society by bringing the needs of society to the attention of the right authorities and holding them accountable. The advocacy role of the media in championing a particular cause cannot be underestimated. Therefore, the media can be very effective tool for the overall development of children through advocacy for children's right. When the media gives such a societal problem the needed attention in its coverage, it is bound to raise awareness of the problem and put pressure on the government in their effort to totally curb it. Hence the media has a role to play in fighting child labour.

In Ghana, the media currently operate in a liberalised environment. However, issues relating to Child Labour are among those perceived but segments of the media who are looking at their bottom line as having less economic value and so are not likely to be given any priority. Against this background, this study seeks to explore the widely circulated national newspaper, the *Daily Graphic's* coverage of child labour related news to ascertain the level of attention that it gives to such a societal problem as child labour.

1.7 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this research is to assess the extent of press coverage of Child Labour related news items using the *Daily Graphic* from January 1010 to December 2014.

Specifically, the study aimed:

1. To establish the extent of coverage *Daily Graphic* gives to Child Labour. ✓
2. To establish the nature of coverage of Child Labour by *Daily Graphic*. ✓
3. To establish the level of prominence assigned to Child Labour by *Daily Graphic*. ✓

1.8 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions guide the study in exploring both the general and the specific objectives that it sets itself.

1. How often does *Daily Graphic* publish stories on Child Labour? ✓
2. How does the *Daily Graphic* cover Child Labour stories? ✓
3. What was the focus of stories on Child Labour? ✓
4. How did *Daily Graphic* highlight stories on Child Labour in terms of placement? ✓

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

First of all the study exposes the level of attention *Daily Graphic* gives to child labour and indicates the need to raise awareness in order to bring both attitudinal and social change through advocacy.

Secondly the study hopes to encourage decision making within the policy community and the media to devote significant space and time to issues relating to child labour so as to contribute to policy debates and education across the country.

Finally, the study contributes to knowledge, both in academia and civil society circles, as future researchers can use the findings of this research as reference points for their own future academic works and research.

1.10 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focuses on press coverage on child labour in the *Daily Graphic* spanning from 2010 to 2014 because that was the year the National Plan of Action was developed in Ghana to fight the worst forms of child labour. *Daily Graphic* was chosen because of its wider coverage area and reports on a daily basis except on Sundays.

1.11 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The first chapter of this study touched on the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions; the significance of the study, scope of the study and organization of the study. The second chapter presented a review of related studies as well as the history and forms of child labour. Chapter three discussed the methodology of the study in terms of the research design, population, sample and sampling technique, data sources and data collection procedures. The fourth chapter focused on the analysis and interpretation of the data using both frequency tables and textual analyses. Each frequency table was interpreted according to its distribution. The analysis and interpretation were geared towards answering the research questions. Chapter five summarized the key findings, discussed the conclusions and provided some recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Child Labour, no matter how appealing it may be, is a fundamental violation of children's right. The issue of Child Labour has been given worldwide attention with an optimistic motive of eradicating it. Although several countries have joined the fight to eliminate it through various interventions, child labour practices continue to bedevil countries and remain a challenging societal problem.

The chapter is in two parts; first a review of related studies and second, the theoretical framework underlying this study is outlined. In the section that follows, a review of works done by other researchers that are related to this study and will undoubtedly contribute to the better appreciation of the entire subject of child labour and its reportage is undertaken.

2.1.2 CHILD WORK AND LABOUR

Golo (2005) posits that there is always a problem when it comes to differentiating child work which is 'good' from child labour which is 'bad'. Parents find it difficult to distinguish where child training ends and where child exploitation begins in bringing up their children (Agordzo, 2010). Tengey and Oguaah (2002) (cited in Golo, 2005) argue that in Africa, household chores or helping with a family business or on a farm cannot be considered as child labour rather it contributes to the development, training and socialization of a child. It helps to instill discipline and hard work in children. Many parents are of the view that work helps to train children to be responsible and successful in future and are therefore unable to draw the line between the onset of child exploitation and the end of child service (Agordzo, 2010: 74).

It is thus not surprising to read the argument by Bourdillon (2006) that it is only when work affects the health, education and development of children, that it can be considered child labour. Similarly, Halim (2010) hints that there is a thin line separating child labour from child work and this must be clarified for child labour to be effectively eradicated. Agordzo suggests a child who works as a means to survive and for family survival is a child labourer. But when a child renders service towards the home maintenance, it can be regarded as child work.

However, in his study among working children, Liebel (2004) indicated that working children are proud to contribute to their own livelihoods and family. Kachalom (2006), Kembe (2004) and Chigbu and Souzey (2002) drew a distinction between children who work within a family framework and those who operate outside of it. They suggest that though children working at home in their father's farm may be doing strenuous work, they are not engaged in child labour because they are seen as contributing to the family, as an economic unit (cited in Shailong et al., 2011).

2.1.3 DETERMINANTS OF CHILD LABOUR

Several studies have been conducted on the causes of child labour. Schalkwijk and Van den Berghe (2003) identify poverty as the most important factor in explaining the occurrence of child labour in general. In addition, the statistical analysis of Van den Berghe's study with reference to mining, revealed the following causal factors at the micro level:

- a) Poverty in the household;
- b) Composition of the household, whereby multifocal households have a greater chance to produce child labour;

c) Urbanization, whereby children have to work during the period of transition when parents are seeking employment;

d) Attitude of parents towards education; and

e) Cultural factors, (e.g., in some cultures children have to work as part of their upbringing).

In addition, several macro factors play a role, including— Limited supply of labor at the job market, which triggers children to offer their labor; and Friction unemployment, which caused children to work in order to supplement the family income (In Heemskerk and Duijves, 2012: 25). A more recent report by Human Right Watch in 2015 confirms the above identified causes of child labour. Caldwell (2007) argues some major causes of hawking among children include poverty, ignorance of child right, and their developmental stages by their guardians. Also large family size leading to lack of attention to children is a contributory factor. Ampomah (2012) also explored the causes of hawking among children and indicates that low socio-economic status of parents; gender and culture play a significant role.

Similarly, in a study on the determinants and implication of street hawking on the development of a child in Ife Local government, Ogun state, Shukurat (2012) argues children indulge in street hawking largely due to poverty and the need to boost the household income. The findings of this study are not different from the ones reviewed above except the fact that according to Shukurat children also get involved in the hawking business to finance their own education. Shukurat (2012) also indicates that the level of illiteracy among household heads, the low level of child's education and parental job history (parents that hawked during their youth also want their children to equally hawk as they see absolutely nothing wrong with that) influence economic activities. Boadu (2013) also supports the larger contours of the poverty and lack of education arguments postulating that the primary factors that push children them into the street hawking business were poverty, low educational attainment and the need to augment family income.

2.1.4 TYPES OF WORK PERFORMED

The type of work carried out by children involved in child labour activities varies. Children in small scale mining for instance perform a range set of tasks. Heemskerk and Duijves (2012) suggests that most of these children pan for gold, remove stones and cut tree roots in the mining pit, operate the hydraulic hose in the mining pit and working with small sluice box in the tailings (Bakadaal), carry water, sand or stones. A 2007 report by International Labour Organization (ILO) stated that girls mine for gemstones and precious stones, transport rubble from pits and sort mineralized rocks and stone crushing. Other works include carrying heavy loads of ore and crushing it (Human Rights Watch, 2015).

In the cocoa industry, tasks performed by children include clearing underbrush with a machete, transporting excessively heavy loads, and using a machete to open cocoa pods (The International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, 2002). The pervasive nature of children's involvement in work pushes Owusuaa (2010:66) to argue that work can never be excluded from the lives of street children because it is one of the major activities that occupy the bulk of children's daily lives on the street and sustains them. In exploring 'the lived experiences of unaccompanied migrant children', she observes the following as types of work, street children engage in:

- a) head porter (a person hired to carry goods)
- b) sweeping of the market,
- c) shoe shining,
- d) hawking,
- e) fetching of water for clients
- f) drivers mate and
- g) Packing and loading things for shop owners in the market.

Children found along the coast are involved in various types of working activities. Afenyadu (2010) suggests that boys from both marine and Volta Lake fisheries are engaged in activities such as pulling fishing nets, diving into deep waters to remove entangled fishing nets, paddling canoe, draining the canoe of water when the boat leaks and carrying loads. Girls on the other hand engage in fish picking, sorting, packing, transporting and smoking. Some girls just like the boys on the Volta Lake also go on fishing expeditions and dive into deep waters to remove entangled nets. In addition, they performed such tasks as emptying water from the boats while fishing, pulling fish out of water, offloading goods from the boat and scaling fish are carried out by children (IMC Macro, 2011). Kukwaw (2013) argues that most children are engaged in the production and sales of bait. The average working hours is 7 to 9 hours.

2.1.5 MEDIA AND CHILD LABOUR

Strestha (2002) monitored child rights issues in eight different newspapers in Nepal. The study revealed that out of the 999 articles, 23% were published on Organizational activities of children, 21% on education, 9% on effect of Maoist activities, 9% on child labour and 7% on health (Strestha, 2002: 32). This exposes how minimum attention is given to child labour issues in Nepal. The study also revealed that only in exceptional cases do newspapers cover children related news on the front pages. These news items are mostly buried in the inside pages of the newspapers. Strestha (2002) further noted that some other aspects of child labour such as: child trafficking, child prostitution, pornography and other worst forms of child labour need to be published frequently as these aspects are also emerging as problematic situations in society.

In a related development, Mang'anda (2012) focused on highlighting the extent of child labour in the Malawi agricultural sector and the strategies employed to reduce the practice. Within a

period of 11 years from 2000 to 2012 Mang'anda explored the extent to which one major daily Newspaper in Malawi the "Nation" prioritized Child labour stories. Mang'anda intimated that Child labour issues receive news media coverage only when their issues arise in the country. He however adds that for child labour issues to be prioritized in the media landscape, journalist need to establish a dedicated media association to address the issue. Mang'anda suggests the media can work with government in implementing specific strategies to get children out of labour activities.

Kankam-Boadu (2013) highlighted in *Begging for the Blind; the Story of a Street Child* that girls leaving on the street in the capital of Ghana, had to sleep with men for security. She added most children are contracted as 'business partners' on the street to help the blind in begging for money, which is later shared at the end of the day. Kankam-Boadu (2013) suggested that the Social Welfare Department of the Government of Ghana must put more effort into taking care of children living on the streets. Similarly, Ghansah (2014) also indicated that Child labour had become a canker in Ghana and more attention is needed to tackle the problem. He suggested that government must see to the rigid implementation of free and compulsory basic education for all children especially in rural communities. Ghansah (2014) further added that parents and guardians who allow their children to drop out of school to work must be prosecuted to serve as deterrent for others to stop the practice.

2.1.6 CHILD LABOUR AND FISHING

Golo (2005) highlighted practices of child trafficking in the fishing sector of Ghana, specifically on the Volta Lake. He explored the structural changes in resource management that could have led to an intensification of the use of child labour. His study revealed that poverty together with

the failure of structural reforms and resources management contributed immensely to child exploitation in the fishing sector. Golo (2005: 48) further argued that the 'socio-cultural practice of child placement for training and socialization in the country', a situation which is taken advantage of by intermediaries and employers who move children for the purpose of labour exploitation is at the heart of the child labour problem.

Agbenya (2009) agrees with Golo (2005) that poverty plays a major role in fueling child labour and trafficking in the fishing industry. He suggests that government must concentrate on dealing with poverty by providing basic amenities to rural and deprived communities, creating jobs to provide reliable income for parents, providing vocational training skills and some capital so that they can start business ventures on their own. Agbenya equally cited cultural norms and institutional failures as contributing factors. He nonetheless posits that parents, family members, the fishermen and agents are all complicit in child labour trafficking.

Discussing the nature of child labour in the fishing communities Kufogbe, Awadey and Appenteng (2003) argued that most children found themselves in the fishing industry to sustain family tradition. They added that some parents place their children in debt bondage by offering their wards to work with boat owners in a bid to pay off their debt. Consequently, Afenyadu (2010) argues that the socio-cultural dimension of child labour in the fishing industry has proved difficult to deal with for fear that fishery livelihoods would soon disappear if younger generations do not acquire the skills. Providing formal vocational education and training in fishing to improve the traditional techniques, technologies, ethics and safety practices in fishing is needed to sustain the fishing industry in Ghana (Afenyadu, 2010).

In a related work, Agordzo (2010) posits that family history of child labour, lack of parental support; peer pressure and desire to acquire material things push children into work at an early

age. Single parenting or broken home is a “push- pull” factor in what ultimately results in severe forms of child labour in the fishing industry. Agordzo suggests that regardless of their history, parents must take their children out of work that poses danger to them. In Uganda, many children engaged in fishing along Lake Victoria region could not leave their jobs because they were convinced that their leaving would result in undesirable consequences to themselves and/or their family members (ICF Macro, 2011).

2.1.7 CHILD LABOUR AND MINING

The International Labour Organization (2007) carried out a study into the lives of girls in small-scale mining zones from four different countries: Ghana, Niger, Peru and Tanzania. Adopting a mixed method approach, it was established that girls worked longer hours and carried out more activities compared to their male counterparts. These girls were preoccupied with both household responsibilities as well as working in the mines. This gave them very little time to rest, making it almost impossible to attend school. Unlike the ILO study, Okyere’s (2012) study indicates that most child miners were in full time education and about 80% of them cited funding their education and supporting their homes as reasons for working. Okyere (2012) argues the state is unable to offer meaningful support to children when parents are unable to do so in developing countries and this compels children to work in the mining industry to support their education.

The Human Rights Watch in 2015 documented the use of child labour in artisanal and small-scale mines in Ghana’s Western, Central and Ashanti regions with focus on unlicensed sites. This study was based on field research in 2013 and 2014 in Southwestern Ghana. It found that most of these children either worked on their own or work alongside family members and

relatives. To help reduce child labour in the small scale mining industry, the Human Rights Watch suggests the following:

- a) Enforce the ban on child labour in mining by ensuring that labour inspectors and district and community child protection committees have an adequate mandate and resources to conduct on-site inspections and otherwise monitor child labour.
- b) Formalize artisanal and small-scale gold mining by developing a comprehensive strategy to permit a simpler and quicker procedure to obtain a mining license, and provide technical support to such miners to help increase household income.
- c) Prevent, test, and treat mercury exposure by introducing mercury-free gold processing methods to mining communities, and boosting health system capacity to address mercury exposure. (Human Rights Watch, 2015:13)

Heemskerk and Duijves (2012) explored child labour in the small-scale gold mining industry in Suriname. All child gold miners were found to be engaged in hazardous aspects of mining. Also, worksites and living conditions of children who mine were not conducive and lacked the most basic services and amenities, such as electricity, toilets, or even clean potable water. Child miners were mostly boys, who got involved in the mining activity through the influence of a matrilineal uncle who acted as a father (ICF Macrom, 2012). Heemskerk and Duijves's study revealed children working in the industry often work with sharp tools such as a machete, shovel, hoe, and pickaxe and suffer cuts as a result. These children often work with the large hydraulic machines which is dangerous because the hydraulic force is enormous. The authors argue the children are exposed to chemicals such as mercury which is used to isolate gold from gold ore posing danger to their health.

In addition, children are also exposed to collapsing sand wall burying them alive sometimes. Other works such as lifting of heavy loads of ore cause pain in the neck, back, head and arms which could lead to long term spinal damage (Heemskerk and Duijves, 2012; Human Right Watch, 2015). The dusty nature of artisanal and small-scale gold mines cause long term health problems, such as coughs, tuberculosis, silicosis, or other lung conditions. Accidents at small scale mining sites are common. “Accidents such as cave-ins and pit collapses occur regularly in Ghana’s artisanal and small-scale mines and are estimated to have killed over 300 people in 2011 and 2012 alone, according to a government estimate” (Human Right Watch, 2015: 27).

2.1.8 CHILD LABOUR AND QUARRYING

Birabwa (2006) conducted a study at Kasenge Parish in Uganda to investigate the constraints and vulnerabilities associated with small scale quarrying activities. The study also explored the different livelihood outcomes realized by the stone workers. Birabwa suggests that small scale stone quarrying was both poverty and market driven activity and that it was motivated by political stability and rural-urban population increase. She further argued that informal stone extraction was prone to human and economic shocks that affect the workers, quarrying activities and the outcomes as well. Birabwa intimates that small scale quarrying activities were not affected by the law that governs mineral extraction. Rather, the mineral policy enhances small scale mining for national, socio-economic development.

Seddiky (2014) argued that stone workers occupied a large scale of professional communities due to the increasing number of stone quarries in Bangladesh. Seddiky investigated how stone quarry workers are marginalized in terms of work opportunity, income and social amenities and

why they continue to stay long in that business. The study depicts the miserable and precarious socio-economic conditions of the quarry workers. Seddiky also observes that apart from the risky and unhygienic environment, workers were exploited and harassed by the owners and local authorities. Though both studies do not focus primarily on children, the findings indicate that children formed part of the labour force.

2.1.9 CHILD LABOUR IN THE COCOA INDUSTRY

Anti-Slavery International conducted a research in 2009/10 on the dynamics of child trafficking into the Ivorian cocoa Industry. The report noted that the initiatives in the region to improve conditions on farm and reduce trafficking have succeeded in creating new laws against child labour, violence and trafficking. Nonetheless poverty continues to be a key factor that lures young people from both Burkina Faso and Mali, along with the prevailing perception of Ivory Coast being a rich country. The report also pointed out that government indicators were low in the region meaning that legislation is poorly resourced and Implemented.

Similarly, the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (2002) conducted a study on child labour in the cocoa sector of West Africa from Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria. The quantitative surveys revealed that the recruitment and employment of both children and adults from outside the family as permanent salaried workers was relatively uncommon. The International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (2002) hints probably the most dangerous task from the standpoint of the health and safety of cocoa workers is the application of noxious pesticides and agro chemicals.

Again, Thorsen (2012) analyzed children's work in cocoa and cotton and explored the consequences that the dynamics surrounding children's work in these crops may have for them in commercial agriculture in general. Thorsen argued that the majority of cocoa farmers are smallholders whose cocoa farms are 2-4 hectares. Smallholders regularly rely on family labour for both food and cocoa cultivation but do hire more labour during peak labour demands, thus making child exploitation necessary. He intimated most farmers could not pay older, physically stronger and skilled workers and so had to largely rely on child workers who receive low wages. Thorsen argues that decent wages must be given to children for their work. Thorsen suggests children working on cocoa farms are exposed to physical dangers such as consistent complaints of neck, back, and shoulder and arm pains. Thorsen (2012) argues children working on farms experience fingernail pricks, thorn pricks and small objects entering the eyes, skin rashes and itchy backs.

In a related development, The International Labour Rights Forum (ILRF), a human right advocacy (2014) suggests that most cocoa farmers in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire depend largely on their farm income which is very low. The low wages also make it difficult to hire the required labour thereby resulting in child labour especially in Cote d'Ivoire where trafficking of children from neighbouring Mali and Burkina Faso is prevalent.

2.1.10 CHILDREN IN HAWKING

Kamunyori explains street vending as "an income-generating activity where individuals sell their wares along streets and sidewalks to passing pedestrians and motorists. It is one of several activities within the informal economy, which refers to the section of a country's economy that operates outside the regulation and protection of the state" (2007 cited in Boadu, 2013: 13).

Several studies on children parading the street as hawkers have been carried out by different researchers at different times. One of such works was conducted by Kwankye et al (2007). They observed that sexual and reproductive health problems appear high with particular reference to the substantial proportion of the hawkers who engage in early sex and the large number of them who experience unwanted pregnancies. The authors intimated that public health interventions concentrate on reproductive health issues of victims to address health risks such as unwanted pregnancies. Although their study was on the reproductive health implications of street hawking in Accra, they also indicated that out of the 80 hawkers they interviewed 86% of them were below 30 years an indication that most of them were young. However they failed to clearly indicate how many of the 86% were below 19 years at the time of the study.

In a similar study, Shailong et al (2011) examined why children below 15 years hawk on the highways at the Lafia metropolis of Nasarawa State, Nigeria. The authors suggested that large family size is the main reason why parents push their wards into the street hawking business to support the family. They intimated that education on family planning measures must be undertaken among urban-rural women so that they can cater for the few children they have. Ampomah (2012) posits that child labour affects the education of child hawkers. According to Kielland and Tovo (2006) child hawkers who try to combine school with work have problems such as late enrolment, low grades, repetition and early drop out.

Boadu (2012) nonetheless evaluated the extent to which existing and non-existing laws of hawking in and around the country influence this situation and intimated the municipal assembly

of the Nsawam-Adoagyiri area in particular has no structures in place or existing bye- laws that control or govern street hawking activities resulting in hawkers invading the pedestrian sidewalks. Boadu suggests that government must come out with policies that must be binding on the country as a whole on street hawking especially in relation to children. Shukarat (2012) intimated that there will be a reduction in Child Street hawking if there is an increase in heads of households income. Street hawking as a form of child labour displaces children's education and hinders economic development. Shukarat (2012) hints that tackling child labour can be positively attained by regularizing children's working lives and conditions rather than trying to eliminate children's participation in economic activities since that would make parents choose the worst option for their children.

Boadu (2013) explored the hazards involved in the street hawking business. He indicated that many child hawkers encounter motor accidents while crossing the streets or chasing after vehicles in order to sell some of their merchandise. Majority of them endure body aches, neck pains, backache, spinal injuries, headaches, swollen feet, lung and kidney problems among others as a result of prolonged standing, inhaling fumes from vehicle and dusty roads. Ampomah (2012) agrees with Boadu on the dangers exposed to child hawkers and adds child hawkers hawk for very long hours amid unfavorable weather conditions.

2.1.11 CHILDREN AND STREETISM

The United Nations define a street child as "any girl or boy for whom the street (in the wide sense of the word, including unoccupied dwellings and wastelands, etc.) has become his other habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or

directed by responsible adults” (www.unitednations.org). Ansell (2005) suggests that, putting “street” and “child” connotes children’s presence in public space is illegitimate. Researchers have over the years studied street children phenomenon and have come out with various findings based on the nature of the study.

Beazley (2002) proposes issues of street children should be contextualized in a global discourse of child labour and children’s right. Owusua (2010) explored street children’s views on their rights in terms of their schooling, health care and economic participation. Majority of the children living on the street have no classroom education, neither do they have access to “proper” medical care. She argued that street children use their earnings to pay rent, buy food, pay for personal needs, and send some to parents back home, save, lend, buy clothes, and pay for Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) toll fees. The study indicated that all the informants were ignorant of a document that gives them the rights to participate in issues concerning their own lives. The study also revealed the informants had very limited access to “proper” health care as a result of their limited financial resources. Most of them had no medical insurance, do not go to hospitals, use herbal medicine and self-medicate or even patronize over-the-counter drugs.

Tettegah (2012) explored the survival strategies of children who spend most of their time on the streets from six major settings of street children in Accra. He suggested poverty as a key factor why children live on the street instead of their homes. Tettegah added absconding from abusive parents; irresponsible parents and chaotic families and control over own life as other reasons for children residing on the streets. In surviving on the streets, these children have to endure beatings, battery, assaults and bullying by various people and are at the mercy of the vagaries of

the weather. Tettegah suggested that girls were at the risk of sexual exploitation, sexual abuse and unintended pregnancies, and complications from unsafe abortions. Similarly, Awatey (2014) intimated that children who live on the street adopt a range of survival strategies, both legal and illegal, to confront the challenges of urban street life. Both Owusua (2010) and Tettegah (2012) argued that friendship networks among the children helped new entrants to locate resources as to how to stay away from troubles of the street. The kind of care, love and support they get from one another impacts positively on them mentally, emotionally and physically, urging them to keep on going on the streets (Boakye-Boateng, 2012). Tettegah (2012) suggests that government must establish more children's homes and take over the responsibility and welfare of children whose parents and families could not take care of them.

Alenoma (2012) argues that parents desire for their children to acquire skills in trading and other vocational skills, parental irresponsibility, divorce/separation, child fostering and preparations for marriage by teenage girls account for child streetism. Alenoma's findings in respect of her research in Tamale suggest that majority of street children are not in contact with their family. However, Alia et al (2004 as cited in Boadu 2012: 34) in their analysis of the social and nutritional status of street children in Pakistan observed that majority of children on the streets had regular family contact while minority had no family contact. Awatey (2014) argues that street children in Ghana in general and Kumasi in particular are important contributors to the sustenance of many poor urban households.

2.1.12 CHILDREN IN SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is defined as “sexual abuse by an adult with remuneration in cash or in-kind to the child or a third person or persons”. (ECPAT International, 2007:5). Many children employed as domestic workers throughout Africa regularly face sexual exploitation. Child marriage is also viewed as a form of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Africa (ECPAT International, 2007). M’Jid (2008) observes that commercial sexual exploitation of children appears to be intensifying in West and Central Africa with specific reference to trafficking for sexual purposes, child prostitution, sexual tourism and child pornography. In analysing the determining factors in the sexual abuse and exploitation of children, M’Jid (2008:5) notes the following:

- a) Certain social norms promote the persistence and intensification of particular forms of child sexual abuse and exploitation;
- b) Endemic poverty leads to worsening living conditions for children and make them more vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation;
- c) The HIV/AIDS epidemic is both a cause and consequence of sexual exploitation of children;
- d) Humanitarian crises stemming from conflicts or natural disasters increase children’s vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation;
- e) The globalization of the sex industry has a strong impact on all forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children;
- f) Trafficking networks are increasingly organized

M’Jid (2008) further suggests that the presence of a truly global integrated system of protection based on inter and multi sectoral approach is key to fighting sexual abuse and exploitation among children.

Huyen (2011) explored the predictor variables of child prostitution in 12 countries. The variables included literacy rates for women aged 15 to 24, total population literacy, per capita Gross Domestic Product, dominant religion, HIV/AIDS infection, life expectancy, and percent of young women who are economically active, total fertility rate, and age population structure. Huyen observes that as literacy rates for women, life expectancy and percentage of women who are economically active increase, the rates of child prostitution decrease. Also as fertility rates decline in women, so does child prostitution.

Akuoko et al (2012) examined the vulnerability of young female sex workers in Kumasi, Ghana. The study indicates that young female sex workers had little control as sex workers. Most of their clients did not prefer to wear condoms. Akuoko et al (2012) argue sex work provide young female workers greater stability than other works such as head porters and domestic workers. But that income comes at the cost of high risk of assault, pregnancy, STIs and HIV/AIDS. Although sex work may pay off as observed by Akuoko et al (2012), M'Jid maintains that sexual exploitation is "a fundamental violation of children's rights. It is an attack on human dignity and inhibits the social and economic development of a country: destroying a child's life through sexual exploitation also destroys his or her chances of integrating into society" (2008: 4).

2.1.13 CHILD LABOUR AND EDUCATION

As far as child labour is concerned, education plays an important role in determining if any task performed by children can be classified as child labour or not. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) notes that any work that interferes with a child's schooling contributes to child labour. Heemskerk and Duijves (2012) argue that educational achievement among children

engaged in any form of labour is low. Focusing on understanding the factors that trigger Junior High School students' decision to engage in child labour, Agordzo (2010) posits that although parents value education, they are impoverished and so children are both pulled and pushed to work at an early age. These children are engaged in economic activities to earn enough money to fund their education and fend for themselves (Fukui, 2000; Gharaibe & Hoeman, 2003 cited in Agordzo, 2010: 74).

Tettegah (2012) also argues that some children have migrated onto the street to find money to school and learn a trade. He suggests such children should be identified and equipped with appropriate tools and skills to return to their place of origin. Hislon (2010) made a similar observation in the mining sector. He examined the challenges associated with eradicating child labour in the artisanal mining sector (ASM) camps in the Talensi-Nabdam district of Northern Ghana. He suggests that most parents were supportive of the idea that their children should be in school but poverty was identified as the major reason behind children engaging in the mining activity. Agordzo (2010) however suggests that education is a basic right for all children and should be prioritized no matter the circumstances. In some instances, children had to drop out of school to be actively engaged in child labour activities. For instance, Children along Lake Victoria regions of Uganda dropped out of school to be involved in the fishing trade and had little or no prospect of returning (ICF Macro, 2011).

Kukwaw (2013) argues that in some communities where child labour is common and access to education is restricted by inadequate school buildings, inadequate school materials and lack of qualified teachers. Improving educational systems and removing those inadequacies identified is bound to have positive effects on child labour even in the short term (Kukwaw, 2013: 76).

Because of the absence of educational support facilities such as preschool and afterschool

homework assistance and difficult home situations, most children repeat one or several classes (Heemskerk and Duijves, 2012). Hilson (2010) intimates that proper array of support schemes be provided by government to make schooling attractive so as to lure children to school in communities where child labour is prevalent.

Schalkwijk and Van den Berg reported a significant gender difference for school attendance among most working children. They noted that about 98 % of girls combined schooling with working while 68% boys do likewise. These figures suggested that the great majority of child laborers, particularly girls, work primarily after school, on the weekends, or during holidays (2003 cited in Heemskerk and Duijves, 2012: 21).

Nieuwendam's study (2010 cited in Heemskerk and Duijves, 2012: 21) among commercial sex workers in small-scale gold mining areas intimates that schoolgirls, namely girls of junior high up to the university level, were engaging in commercial sex work during holidays to pay for their education. These girls are reported to have started very early with this activity. The study encountered this phenomenon only among Suriname nationals. Heemskerk and Duijves (2012) intimate that poor access to educational opportunities is a main contributor to child labour in gold mining in the Suriname interior. The failing education system in the interior is one of the reasons why children look for an alternative in the mining sector. Shukarat (2012) suggests low educational level has orchestrated high incidence of children in economic activities in developing countries.

2.1.14 CHILD LABOUR AND MIGRATION

Afenyadu (2010) argues that migration is common among children in the fishing industry when these children acquire the skills of fishing early. They then move to supposedly more thriving fishing areas to sell their skills. Kufogbe, Awadey and Appenteng (2003 cited in Afenyadu, 2010) also reported many children migrate from elsewhere in Ghana to other communities in pursuit of fishery livelihoods. Some children do not migrate on their own accord but do so with a personal or family acquaintance. The most commonly used means of moving children from their place of origin to the fishing sites is by car although resulting to boats is sometimes the best alternative to avoid being intercepted by authorities (IMF Macro, 2010). Afenyadu suggests counseling parents who traffic their children would be useful in curtailing migration.

Owusua (2010) intimates many children migrate to Accra to live on the street. She argued household chores, farm works, selling in the market, running errands for family members were some of the activities they were engaged in before migrating to Accra. Tettegah (2012) cited seeking greener pastures and having control over their own life as primary reasons for children migrating to the capital cities. This confirms Anarfi and Kwankye's (2005) study that children migrate from their place of origin as a result of poverty and desire to enhance their living standards. Similarly, a study by Tacoli and Mabala (2010 cited in Owusua, 2010: 30) "exploring mobility and migration in the contest of rural urban linkages: why gender and generation matter", observe the numbers of young people migrating, especially young women moving independently have increased substantially and this was largely due to employment opportunities away from home settlements as well as economic constraints in their home areas.

2.1.15 THE HEALTH AND SAFETY HAZARDS FOR CHILD LABOURERS

Children involved in labour work are exposed to a variety of hazards and abuses. Constantly, data from various sources reveal these children suffer both physical and verbal abuse. In the fishing industry, boys for instance are battered by their employers while girls are injured by fins of fish during handling and processing (Afenyadu 2010; Agbenya 2009). Most of the employers do not provide safety gears for the children further exposing them to harm. Kukwaw (2013) suggests the provision of gears to save lives in the fishing industry. Afenyadu (2010: 9) posits these children are not spared from vagaries of bad weather (sun, rain storms and very cold weather), mosquito bites, attack by snakes and other reptiles and the risk of drowning. Further studies indicate these children rarely receive any decent medical treatment. Halim (2010) indicated that the collection of shrimps in brackish water is hazardous because of contamination through discharges of polluted effluences from nearby aquaculture farms. This causes health problems such as irritations in eyes, skin diseases, and stomach problems and even in some cases cancer. Kukwaw (2013) cites back injury/muscle injury, broking bones, blistered hands and feet, head injuries, burns, visual impairment and borne deformities as some hazards posed to children. Against these hazards, child labourers pull resilient enough as a means to survive.

2.1.16 CHILD LABOUR AND LAW

Foua Bi (2014) argues that the role of the state in promoting, instead of inhibiting, child labour practices in the Ivory Coast favours the thriving of challenging factors to any prospect of a total abolition. He suggests the government of Ivory Coast has not done enough concerning the appropriate legal and policy response to child labour even though Ivory coast is a signatory to the

ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182), the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1999) as well as other regional and Sub-regional legal instruments.

Amponsah (2012) posits that low cooperation and coordination among implementing agencies, ambiguity of roles between government ministries, departments and agencies as well as inadequate resources as some challenges hindering the Implementation of child labour law and other related programmes in Ghana. Also, Alenoma (2012) intimated that the community level sensitizations through governmental and non-governmental collaborations and a policy on parenting and bye-laws is relevant to bringing irresponsible parents to order and curtailing the exploitation of children. Awatey (2014) adds government and other child support organizations must take advantage of available data on working children to implement more effectively the projects and programmes intended to enhance the welfare of children.

Although the reviewed studies do not exactly talked about press coverage of child labour as the present study, they are useful in helping understand the circumstances around the phenomenon of child labour. In the next section our attention is now shifted to detailing the theoretical work that shapes this study.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Child Labour can be assessed using numerous theories; however in the context of this study, two theories will be explored to appropriately contextualize the issue of child labour. A theory, first of all can be described briefly as a person's attempt to explain or understand a phenomenon. Individuals use theories to make sense of the world and their lives. An academic theory is only

different from everyday theories in the degree of rigor and research used to develop it and the depth of explanation it provides. Academic theories are more formal, with detailed explanation of parts that make up the theory and are usually tested (West & Turner, 2010).

This study makes use of Agenda Setting and Resilience theories as the underlying framework of the research.

2.2.1 AGENDA SETTING THEORY

According to the Agenda-setting theory first developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) Mass media sets the agenda for public opinion by highlighting certain issues. The theory basically states that the media has the power to set a nation's agenda for public discussion through its content. Literally, as the name suggests, there is the issue of some kind of lead role played by the media on certain themes, leading to discussion and generation of themes by the audience. Hence, a certain discourse is championed by the press for which members of the audience get drawn into.

People tend to depend on the news media for factual information and as a result, when much importance is attached to a topic on the basis of emphasis placed on it in the news, the audience does well to note that. Newspapers for instance offer a host of cues about the salience of the topic which is repeated day after day to effectively communicate the importance of each topic. This theory is based on the premise that the public is given an "agenda" of daily information consumption for discussion based on what the media wants the public to talk about.

McCombs (1997) identifies four visions of agenda-setting theory. The first vision, professional detachment states that the main focus of a journalist is to only report the news as it stands without being a part of it and to stand apart from the public. McCombs was quick to add that vision challenges the understanding of agenda-setting because most of the time the news media cannot stand apart from the community. The second vision of agenda-setting is identified as targeted involvement which moves toward the active end of the agenda-setting scale in that investigative reporting and editorial campaigns strenuously seek to move issues onto the public agenda. This agenda-setting vision attempts to set the community's agenda as well as the government's agenda. The third vision is termed 'boosterism'. This type of news coverage could seem like cheerleading yet at a certain point there should be a line drawn between publicity and newsworthy information. The last vision of agenda-setting is termed proactive agenda-setting. This reiterates the media's duty to ensuring through proactive reporting that the key issues, situations and opportunities do come to community attention.

Walter Lippmann in his 1922 classic, '**Public Opinion**', notes that the news media are a primary source of 'pictures' about the larger world. In effect what we know about the world is basically what the media feeds us with. The stories they prioritize strenuously influence the priorities of the public. Elements projected by the media agenda may become prominent in the public mind. The pattern of content coverage on public issues which could be daily, weekly, monthly or yearly sets the agenda of a news organization. The period of coverage varies, some are emphasized, others receive light coverage, and many are seldom or never mentioned, for various reasons. McCombs (1997) observes that beyond public opinion, pictures created by the media have implications for personal behavior. For instance, extensive news coverage of crime and violence, including murder and rape, on the University of Pennsylvania campus a few years ago

contributed to a significant drop in applications by potential first-year students, according to the university's dean of admissions. This decline occurred predominantly among women.

Agenda setting over time has gone beyond the classical assertion that the news tells us what to think about and to how to think about it. McCombs (1997) notes both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about the objects is powerful agenda-setting roles. Todd Gitlin (1980) is believed to have introduced the concept of framing to mass communication research in the 1960s. Gitlin (1980) posits that the way an object on the agenda is framed can have measurable behavioral consequences. The presentation style- attributes of an issue emphasized in the news coverage can directly influence the direction of public opinion. McCombs (1997) added that determining the way an issue is framed can significantly influence the ultimate outcome.

One consequence of the agenda setting theory is because the news media sets the topics for discussion, if the news media do not give a neutral position on any situation, the public would automatically be misled. However, there have been some psychological arguments on this theory insisting that people cannot pay attention to everything carried by the news media and so are quite selective in the kind of information they want to prioritize. McCombs (1997) describes it as priming of public opinion. The psychological basis of priming is the selective attention of the public.

The underlying point here still remains, that even so, the audience base its selection on a number of content provided by the news media; hence the media playing a major role in setting the agenda for public. The essence of agenda setting theory in the context of press coverage of child labour is relevant. The power the media has to set an agenda means if much emphasis is placed

on child labour, it would invariably become a major topic of discussion in the country. This would further enhance the campaign to curtail the practice, if not eliminated entirely.

The research for this study focused on newspaper articles. Newspapers can influence readers by placement of prominence content, whether the story is the lead story, front page versus inside page, or the size of the headline (Carol & McCombs, 2003 cited in Freyenberger, 2013). The amount of repeated attention to a story can have the most powerful influence on the public.

2.2.2 RESILIENCE THEORY

Resilience theory traces its root originally to the field of medicine; however research on resilience in the behavioral sciences began to emerge around 1970. In relation to development there have been three waves of research on resilience. The first emanated from scientists who based on their quest to comprehend and prevent the development of psychopathology acknowledged the importance of children who seemed to progress well under risky conditions. The second wave focused on discovering the processes and regulatory systems that accounted for protective factors associated with resilience. The third wave of resilience research concentrated on the welfare of children growing up with adversities focusing on promoting resilience through prevention, intervention, and policy (Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012).

Major voices in resilience research have included Norman Garnezy and Emmy Werner. Garnezy, Masten and Tellegen (1984), for instance, studied about 200 children from urban environments in the United States. The children sampled were found to have congenital heart defects or other physical disabilities. However they used social competence as the dependent variables including academic success, classroom behaviour, and interpersonal competence.

Based on their results, Garmezy et al. presented a three-model approach to stress resistance: compensatory, challenge, and protective factor models. Werner also conducted research on 660 children in Kauai, Hawaii to study the risks factors from birth. More than 200 were found to experience numerous risks due to perinatal problems, socioeconomic status, family instability, minimal educational stimulation, and poor emotional support within the family. Werner's four-decade-long study of high-risk infants living in poverty has assisted in laying the foundation for what is known today about resilience.

The term resilience has been given numerous definitions which have evolved from time immemorial.

As indicated in Hunter (2012:2) the definitions have changed over time with “most agreeing that it involves children displaying adaptive or competent functioning despite exposure to high levels of risk or adversity” (Vanderbilt-Adriance & Shaw, 2008). Resilience cannot occur without the presence of two factors—adaptive functioning and exposure to risk or adversity. A well-functioning child who has not faced high levels of adversity would not be considered resilient. Another definition by Masten and Coatsworth (1998), says resilience is an inferential and contextual construct necessitating two key kinds of judgments. First, there must be a significant threat to an individual's development and second, there must be dangers that have the potential to disrupt normal development (cited in Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). The theory basically outlines the ability of children to effectively cope with both internal and external stresses that are detrimental yet some individuals have the tendency to remain unscathed and bounce back developing a normal life.

Hunter (2012) observes Resilience as a heterogeneous, multilevel process that involves individual, family and community level risk and protective factors. Individual protective factors may include emotional self-regulation, self-efficacy and self-determination. 'Self-efficacy' is termed important as far as resilience in children is concerned. In his social learning theory, Bandura explains self-efficacy as a key element that refers to one's belief in one's capability to perform a specific task. This element in children enables them urge on in performing specific tasks they set out to. Self-efficacy arises from gradual acquisition of complex cognitive, social, linguistic, and physical skills through experience. Bandura (2005) notes self-efficacy has three dimensions—Magnitude, Strength and Generality. Magnitude applies to the level of task difficulty that a person believes he or she can attain. Strength refers to whether the conviction regarding magnitude is strong or weak. Generality indicates the degree to which the expectation is generalize across situations.

One interesting remark about this theory is seen in its strength which suggests people are able to lead more successful lives than expected despite being at greater risk as a result of the outcome and sense of self-efficacy. Although some children see the end result of labour as beneficial because of the money they sometimes earn, the impact of child labour has not been seen entirely as a blessing. Pearsah (2014) described the effect especially those involved in hazardous work as dreadful which could have long term health repercussions on these individuals.

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interferes with their education. Others revealed that they would stop working if they had the chance to and had enough money saved. This probably means they may not necessarily be interested in the type of work they are into but had to resort to it as a means of survival regardless the consequences associated with it.

Although these two theories are not directly related both play their independent role in helping to understand the larger dimension of child labour. Both Agenda-setting and Resilience theories provide an insight to how the media can influence their audience and how children can cope with working at early stages respectively. The chapter has reviewed the works of scholars within the area of study. It also outlined the various theoretical framework that underpins the study. In line with this, the next chapter looks at the research methodology adopted for use, to achieve the objectives of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to detailing the steps taken to collect and analyze data. Research methodology refers to the methods, procedures and techniques used in attempting to discover what one researches about. It involves specific procedures, techniques, ideas and processes followed in getting specific things done and in achieving particular research objectives. This section describes the research design, population of the study, sample and sampling techniques, data sources, data collection procedures and a brief analysis of data.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Every research has a road map that should be followed to ensure that findings it produces at the end of the day are credible. Research design is simply the detailed and overall structure or plan, framework or blueprint for a specific research. This study is based on the content analysis which allowed for both a qualitative textual analysis and quantification of the contents of each document for a systematic and replicable analysis of data. It involves the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomenon which the observations reflect (Wimmer & Dominick, 2002).

3.3 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Walizer & Wienir (1978 cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 1997:112) define content analysis as any system procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information (In). For Kerlinger (2000 in Wimmer & Dominick, 1997) it is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. As such, Wimmer & Dominick (1997) note the goal of content analysis is the accurate representation of a body of messages. They observed that content analysis, in general, is conducted in several discrete stages starting with the formulation of the research question or hypothesis; the definition of the population in question; the selection of an appropriate sample from the population; the selection and definition of the unit of analysis, the construction of the categories of content to be analysed, the establishment of a quantification system, the training of coders and conducting of a pilot study, coding the content according to established definitions; analysis of the collected data; and the drawing of conclusions and searching for indicators (Wimmer & Dominick (1997:16).

In a different context, Krippendorff (1980) explained content analysis as a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. Krippendorff argued that content analysts should not limit themselves to summarizing the surface features of messages but instead interpret the deeper meanings of messages. As such, content researchers examine artifacts of social communication. Usually these are written documents or transcriptions of recorded verbal communications. For Holsti (1968), content analysis is a technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages. This implies photographs, videotape, or any items that can be made into text are amenable to content analysis.

Analyzing content objectively is achieved by “*criteria of selection*” which must be established before the actual analysis of data. The criteria of selection must be sufficiently comprehensive to account for each variation of message content and must be reliably applied so that other researchers or readers, looking at the same messages, would obtain the same or comparable results. The categories that emerge in the course of developing these criteria should reflect all relevant aspects of the messages and retain, as much as possible the exact wording used in the statements. This may be considered a kind of reliability of the measures and a validation of eventual findings.

In content analysis, “what to count” is very crucial to coming up with a well-researched work. Some major elements in written messages that can be counted are words or terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, items, concepts and semantics. The nature of the research determines whether the researcher would use only one content analytic element or a combination of several content analytic elements.

One controversy concerning the issue of content analysis is whether the analysis should be limited to ‘manifest content’; those elements that are physically present and countable, or extended to more ‘latent content’. With the latter, the analysis is extended to an interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data. It has been suggested the best solution for clarifying this concern of whether using manifest or latent content is to use both whenever possible. In order to get the best of both worlds, that is, qualitative and quantitative analysis, content analysis of the biggest circulating daily newspaper in Ghana, the *Daily Graphic* was done to ascertain the extent of coverage on child labour issues.

3.4 POPULATION

One goal of research is to describe the nature of a population. A population also known as the universe of investigation may be considered as the total number of all units of the phenomenon to be investigated (Kumekpor, 2002). A newspaper is a publication that is issued daily or weekly and includes local and international news stories, advertisements, announcements, opinions, cartoons, sports news and television listings.

The total population for the study was made up of about 1,862 *Daily Graphic* newspapers. The *Daily Graphic* newspaper was chosen for the study because it is one of Ghana's leading newspapers since 1950 and also because of its recognition as the newspaper of the year 2014 for its outstanding quality print and nationwide circulation at the second edition of the Ghana Made awards (<http://graphic.com.gh>).

This study considered press coverage of child labour in the *Daily Graphic* newspaper from January 2010 to December 2014, a period of 5 years. As part of its efforts to eliminate child labour, a NPA for the elimination of worst forms of child labour in Ghana was developed in 2009 with the purpose to achieve its goal by 2015. Although the NPA was developed in November 2009, the duration for study started in 2010 so as to have a fair and full yearly coverage. Waiting till the end of 2015 will delay the project/ study; therefore the duration span from 2010 to 2014 where access to the yearly newspapers were available.

3.5 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Sampling is the process whereby the researcher uses a range of techniques to select a sub-group from his/her target population from which he/she collects data for the purposes of analysis and

generalization of the research results over the target population. This study employed multi-stage probability sampling method. Multi-stage sampling involves going through various steps or stages from the entire population to the final selections stage.

The researcher first scanned through all the about 1862 newspapers and selected all the articles published on child labour from January 2010 to December 2014. Out of the about 1,862 newspapers published only 40 articles on child labour were published. The 40 articles from 2010 to 2014 were used as data collected for analysis and interpretation in the next chapter. The multi-stage was used to avoid an oversight of any published article on child labour. To be able to generalize objectively, the researcher had to scan through all the newspapers so that the selected sample is a fair representation of the entire period of study.

3.6 DATA SOURCES

This study used only secondary data as the main source of data collection. A secondary source is a document created at a later time than the event being researched, by someone who did not experience the said event. Examples include Journals, Encyclopedias, biographies, monographs, textbooks and newspapers. This study used newspapers (*Daily Graphic* newspaper) as its source of data.

3.7 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Since the study involves textual data, the researcher used three weeks to visit the Ghana Institute of Journalism's library where there is a compilation of all sorts of newspapers. With no

assistance from any research assistant, the researcher scanned through all the 1,862 newspapers and note down all the articles on Child Labour with particular attention on the caption of the stories, the month and year of publication together with the amount of stories identified. After retrieving all the 40 articles on Child Labour, the researcher then critically assessed the content of the articles and coded them according to the nature of the story, type of child labour and prominence of stories in terms of placement of the stories as well as photographs. Latent content was employed as the researcher went a step further to do an in-depth analysis of the nature of the stories published to give an interpretive reading.

By the nature of the stories the researcher developed four categories namely; feature, report, special assignment or any other type of story. The researcher thoroughly went through the 40 articles and categorized them under these themes. Since both manifest and latent content were adopted for the study, the researcher went a step further to assess the writings in order to find out if the *Daily Graphic* had an agenda within which it anchors its child labour related coverage.

Also the researcher under the type of child labour grouped the articles into fishing, mining, quarrying, cocoa, hawking, streetism and sexual exploitation. Every article was independently analysed according to the type indicated, while recording. Finally, the researcher checked where all the 40 articles published were placed in newspaper and grouped them into front page, page 3, centre page, back page, gender and children and other pages.

3.8 ANALYSIS OF DATA

Analysis of data consisted of tabulation and coding of the 40 articles obtained from the *Daily Graphic* newspapers. Descriptive statistical models such as pie charts, frequency and percentages tables were utilized in data presentation and analysis. All 40 articles retrieved were recorded

under the developed themes: amount of coverage, nature of stories, type of child labour and prominence. The results were further interpreted by the researcher as presented in chapter five.

3.9 CONCLUSION

This section has discussed the research methodology employed for the study. The chapter has not only described the research design but also described the population of the study. In addition, the data sources, sample and sampling techniques, data collection procedures and a brief analysis of data were highlighted. The next chapter delves deeper into the analysis and discussion of data collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data obtained. Basic descriptive tools such as charts and percentages were used in the presentation and analysis with focus on the following; the amount of coverage, nature of story, type of child labour, and prominence of stories in terms of placement of stories and use of photographs. An in-depth analysis of the nature of the stories helped in exploring if the the *Daily Graphic* has an agenda in its coverage of child labour related stories.

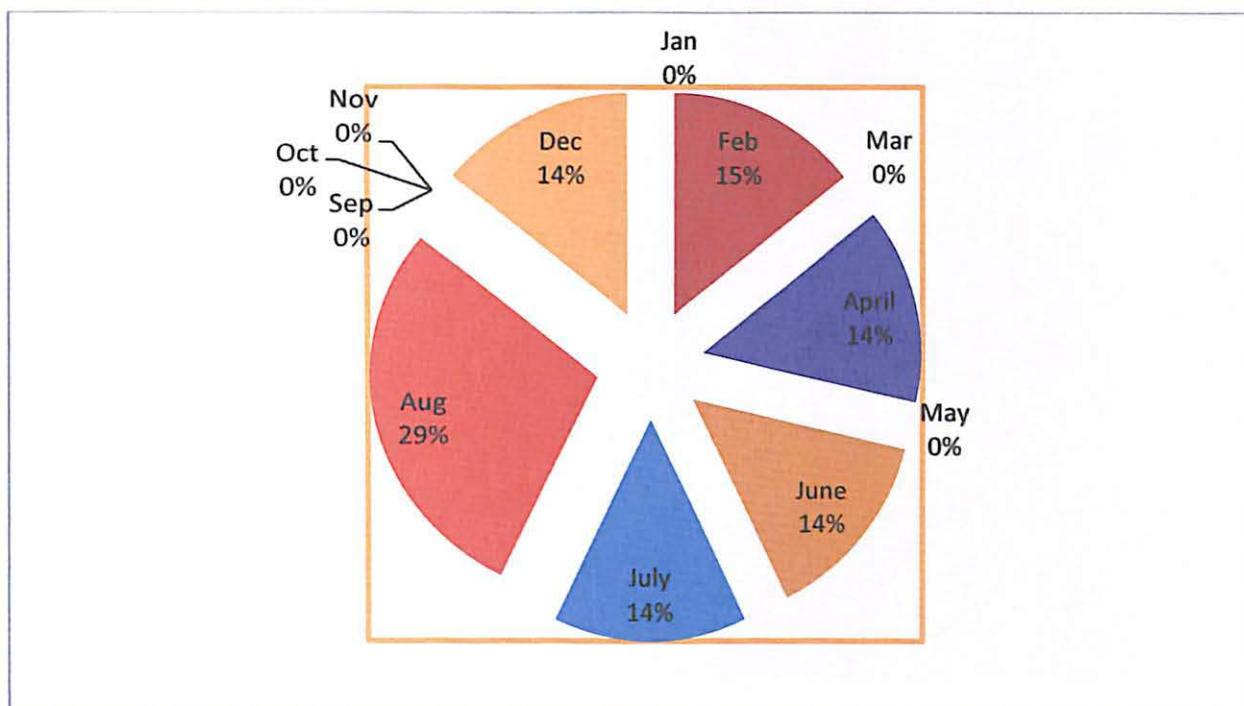
4.2 THE AMOUNT OF COVERAGE

One of the issues addressed in this study was to find out the number of stories on child labour covered by *Daily Graphic* from 2010 to 2014. In all, 40 articles on Child Labour were published out of about 1,862 daily publications made. In order to have a clear understanding of the coverage (break down of coverage), a yearly account of monthly coverage was first presented.

4.2.1 2010 Daily Graphic Coverage on Child Labour

Seven (7) articles on Child Labour were published in 2010 from January to December. The breakdown is as follows:

Figure 1: Articles published in 2010

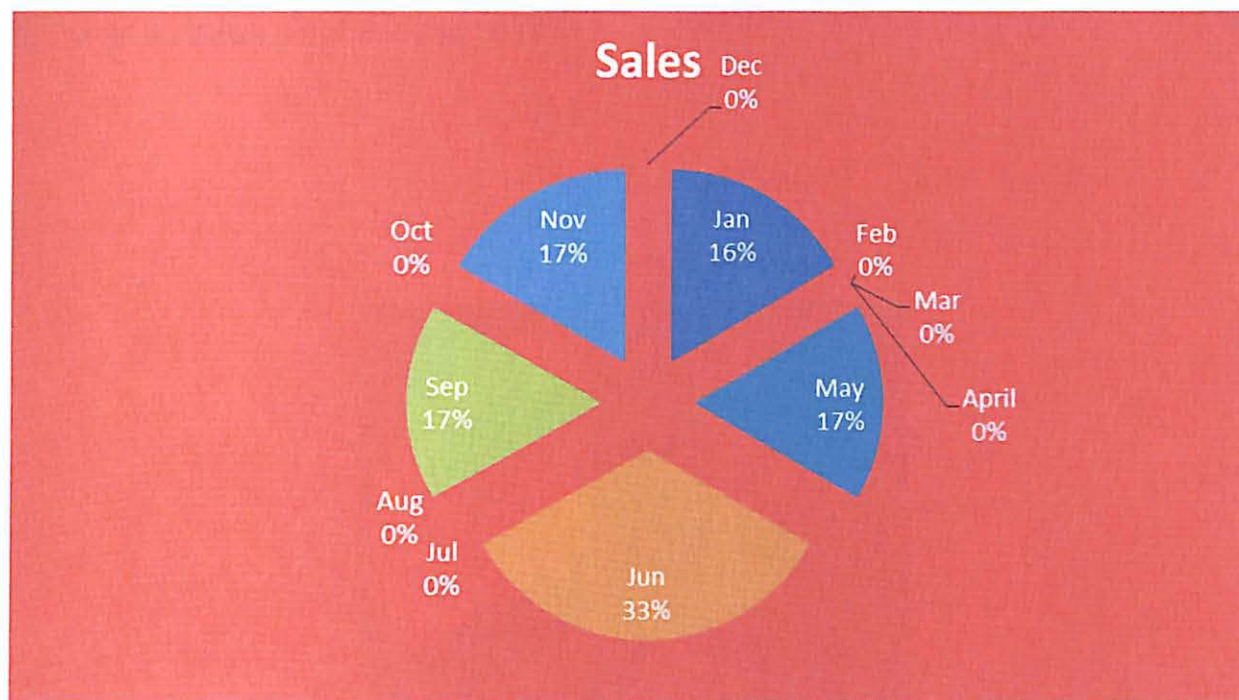


From the pie chart above, the month of August recorded the highest articles on child labour with two publications representing 29%. This was followed by February, April, June, July and December which recorded only one article on child labour representing 15%, 14%, 14%, 14% and 14% respectively. January, March, May, September, October and November recorded no article at all.

4.2.2 2011 Daily Graphic Coverage on Child Labour

6 (six) articles on Child Labour were found in 2011 from January to December. Below is the breakdown:

Figure 2: Articles published in 2011

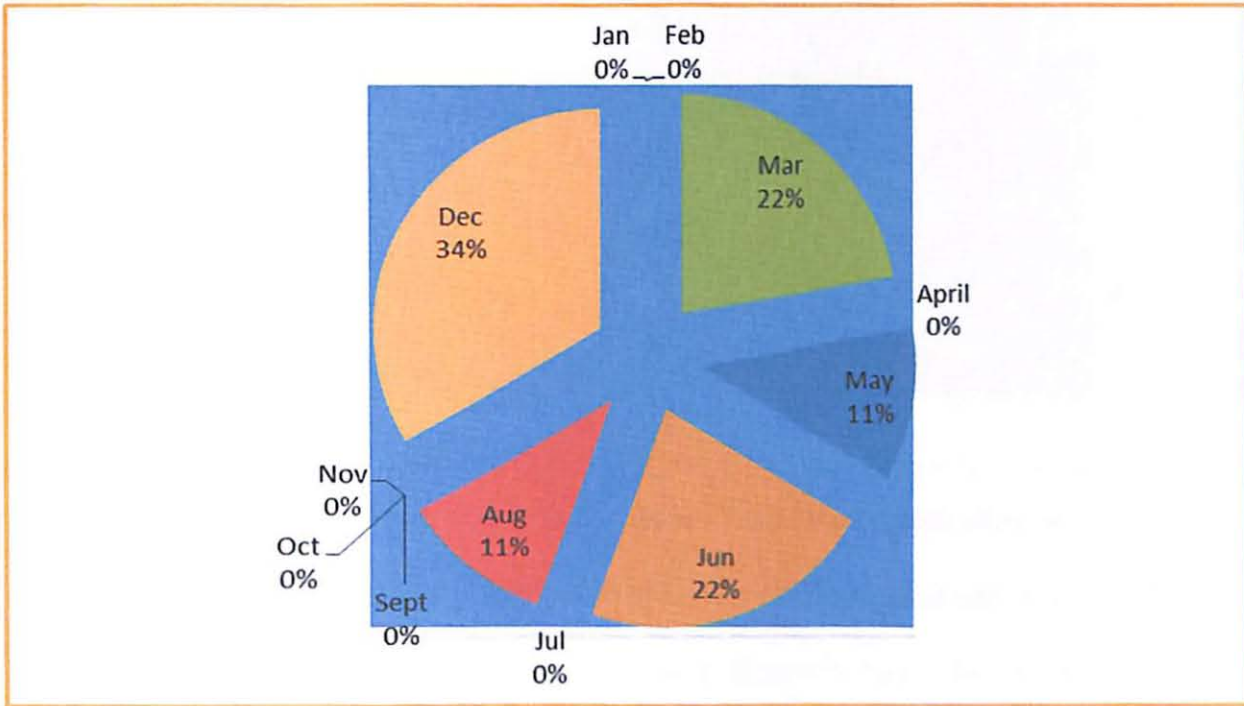


The month of June published the two articles, being the highest representing 33%. January, May, September and November recorded only one publication representing 16%, 17%, 17% and 17% respectively. No article on child labour was found in February; march, April, July, August, October and December.

4.2.3 2012 Daily Graphic Coverage on Child Labour

9 (nine) articles on Child Labour were found in 2012 from January to December. The breakdown is as follows:

Figure 3: Articles published in 2012

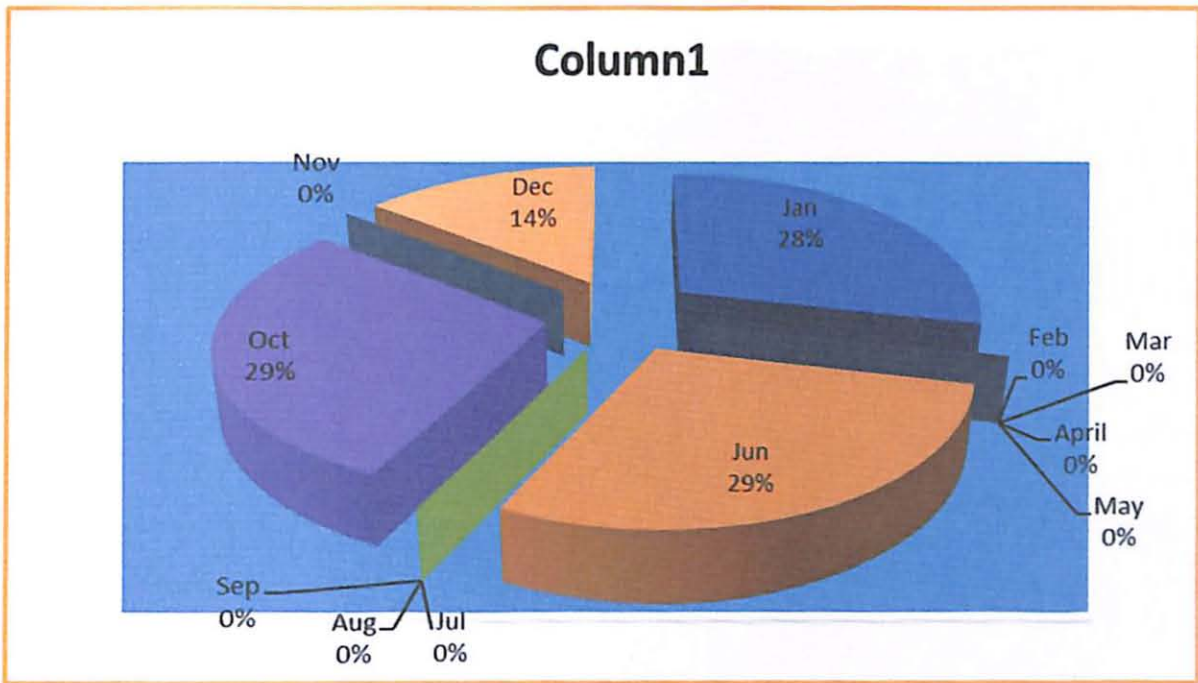


Out of the nine articles published December recorded the highest publication with three articles representing 34%. March and June came second with two publications on child labour representing 22% each. This was followed by May and August which recorded one publication representing 11% each. No article was published in January, February, April, July, September, October and November.

4.2.4 2013 Daily Graphic Coverage on Child Labour

7 (seven) articles on Child Labour were found in 2013 from January to December. The breakdown is as follows:

Figure 4: Articles published in 2013

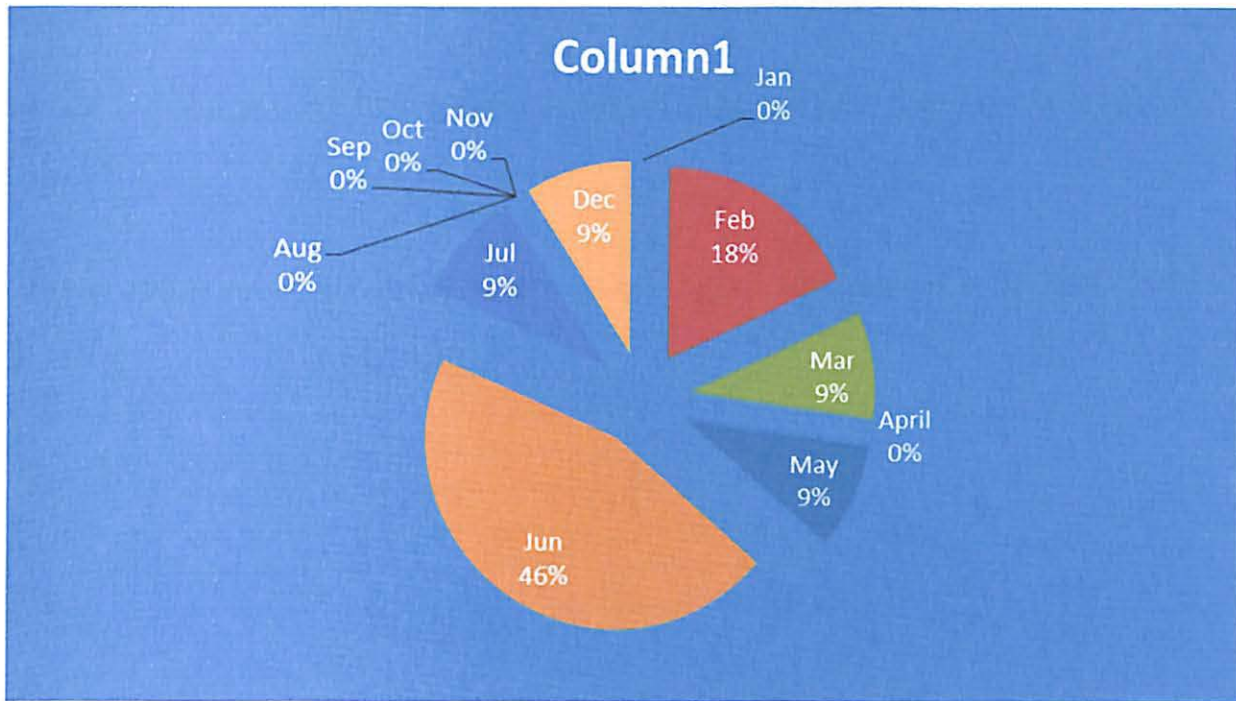


The month of January, June and October record the highest publication with two articles each representing 28%, 29% and 29% respectively. December recorded only one article representing 14%. February, March, April, May, July, August, September and November recorded no article on child labour.

4.2.5 2014 Daily Graphic Coverage on Child Labour

11 (eleven) articles on Child Labour were found in 2014 from January to December. The breakdown is as follows:

Figure 5: Articles published in 2014



Out of the eleven articles published June recorded the highest with five articles representing 46%. February came next with two publications representing 18%. March, May, July and December published only one article representing 9% each. No article was recorded in January, April, August, September, October and November.

12th June has been put aside as “World’s Day against Child Labour”. It is therefore possible to assign that as the reason why June recorded the highest articles on child labour.

The total number of articles published on child labour was 40. The distribution of stories per year is shown below in Table 6.

4.2.6 Frequency distribution of yearly coverage on child labour

This section contains the total number of articles carried on child labour for each year from 2010 to 2014.

Table 1: Frequency Distribution table for coverage on child labour from 2010 - 2014

| YEAR | FREQUENCY | % |
|-------|-----------|------|
| 2010 | 7 | 17.5 |
| 2011 | 6 | 15 |
| 2012 | 9 | 22.5 |
| 2013 | 7 | 17.5 |
| 2014 | 11 | 27.5 |
| Total | 40 | 100 |

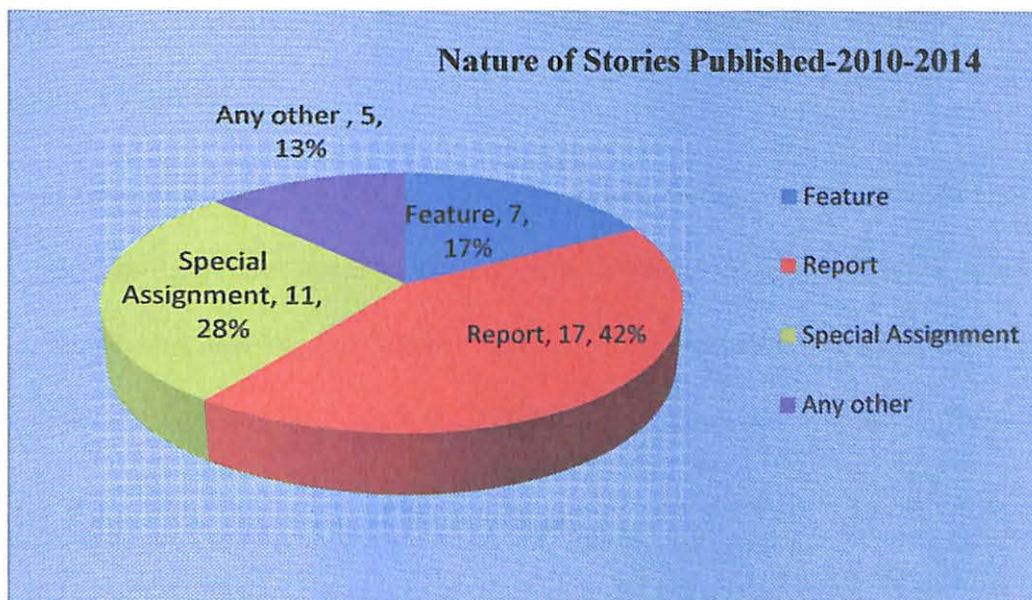
The data recorded indicated that in all 40 articles on child labour were published. 2014 recorded the highest publications on child labour with 11 articles representing 27.5%. 2012 came next with 9 articles representing 22.3%. 2010 and 2013 recorded the third highest with 7 articles representing 17.5% each. 2011 saw the lowest publication with 6 articles on child labour representing 15%.

From 2010 to 2014, a period of 5 years, only 40 articles on child labour were recorded. This intimates that minimal attention is given to coverage of child labour. Data supports the findings by Strestha (2002) in a study on 'press coverage on child right issues' that minimum attention is allotted to coverage on child labour.

4.3.1. Nature of Story

Another area of interest to the researcher was to determine the Nature of story published. The nature of story here refers to the characteristics of the stories published; whether it was a feature, a report, a special assignment or any other type of story. A feature in this context refers to any writing that provides depth and interpretation of trends, events, topics or people through interviews with numerous experts or key people involved. It involves a narration of a person's account on a chosen topic. A report is simply any account based on research conducted on the topic or an account to mark a special day. A special assignment refers to any programme or forum held on a specific topic such as durbar, programme workshops and raising awareness. Any other type of story is used to represent other stories that do not fall within the aforementioned. The pie chart below categorizes the nature of articles found.

Figure 6: Frequency distribution table for the nature of stories recorded



From the figure six, the data indicates that majority of the articles published were report-based. The article-based-reports recorded were 17 representing 42.5%. They included articles on World Day against Child Labour, African Union (AU) Day of African Child and researches conducted on child labour such as, 'The global and National estimates of child labour report', research conducted by 'International needs Ghana on sexual exploitation' and report conducted by the Department of Social Welfare on Streetism. Special assignment was the second most recorded with 11 articles representing 27.5%. Articles published here included durbar and workshops held to raise awareness and combat child labour. Feature articles came third with 7 stories representing 17.5. Articles here included a story of an 11 year old hawker, a 9 year old girl porter at the Madina market and a child prostitute narrating her ordeal. The "any other" category recorded the least with 5 articles representing 12.5%. Stories here included media practitioners being urged to expose issues of child labour, 13 child trafficking suspects on remands, Ngo donating to rescued children from small scale mining site and street children benefitting from special training.

The frequency of report-based stories supports findings by Mang'anda (2012) who intimated that Child labour issues receive news media coverage usually when their issues arise in the country. In this particular regard, most of the stories published on child labour were in connection with marking 'World's Day against Child labour'.

4.3.2 Content Analysis of the writings

A further textual analysis of the nature of articles published revealed that most of the articles published on child labour were not agenda-driven by the media. All the articles recorded under the report, special assignment and any other categories were articles that were written and

published because the media as a unit was invited for coverage. It was not based on their own initiative. A clearer elaboration is indicated below using only few samples of the 40 articles.

4.3.3 Report-Based Category

For instance, *Daily Graphic* reported in an article on a research conducted by the Christian Council of Ghana captioned “Christian Council leads mitigation efforts against child labour”. It reported that “A baseline study conducted by the Christian Council of Ghana on Child Labour and Child Trafficking in selected districts in the Greater Accra Regions has revealed that children within households are considered as cheap sources of labour and that parents and guardians give out their children-mainly below working age-to engage in menial jobs for income...”. The study also revealed that some children “had lost interest in school and preferred to assist fishermen for financial rewards” (Zaney, 2013:11). This was a survey report released to the media and *Daily Graphic* on its part published it.

Another article captioned “Taking a close look at Child Labour” reports on Ghana joining the world to observe World’s Day against Child Labour on the theme “Ghana, take action now! No to Child labour in domestic work”. It went on further to talk about the principle of ILO minimum age (Annan, 2013:11).

There was also an article on a report on the 2012 Global and National Estimates of Child Labour which suggested that child labour in Ghana had declined though very minimal. It was made known during a roundtable discussion for stakeholders (Andoh, 2013:71)

There was a report on media launch (ahead of World’s Day against child labour) where the president of the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), Mr Affail Monney, challenged the media “to make child labour issues an utmost necessity by giving it the attention needed”. He also

tasked them “to push for policies and demand for accountability to ensure that every child was free from labour (Appiah and Omaboe, 2014:13).

Again, to mark world’s day against child labour, *Daily Graphic* reported on the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) issuing a statement as a stakeholder to raise awareness of the problem. The statement included calls for stakeholders to intensify efforts to eradicate child labour.

These were some of the articles published under the report-based category. Basically the remaining articles took the same story line.

4.3.4 Any Other Category

Daily Graphic reported on “Parliamentarians call for an end to Child Labour” where parliamentarians highlighted the plight of victims of Child Labour and elicited the commitment of all stakeholders to collectively fight against the problem. (Mark-Anthony Vinorkor, 2013:24). Journalists who happen to be parliamentary correspondents published articles on this as an “issue” on the floor of parliament.

4.3.5 Special Assignment

Daily Graphic carried a story on how about 3000 children engaged in work that constituted a threat to their health, education and development have been rescued under an International Labour Organisation and Government of Ghana project to address the problem of child labour. These victims were rescued from “fishing, cocoa, mining and quarrying areas”. This was made known at the “Sixth annual human rights lectures organised by the Commission on Human Rights and administrative Justice in Accra” which invited journalists for coverage (Bonney and Ezit, 2013:65).

Another article captioned “Help expose issues of Child Labour” talked about how media practitioners in the Northern Region have been challenged to help expose issues of Child Labour and set a sustained agenda towards its drastic reduction in the region. This was during a day’s training and sensitization workshop in Tamale on child labour for media practitioners in the region. The chairman of the Northern Region branch of the GJA, Mr. Ceasar Abagali is reported to have said “the media must take keen interest in reporting on Child Labour issues so as to help achieve the target of eliminating child labour by 2016” (Amenuveve, 2013:13).

Adano (2013:13) published an article in the Daily Graphic captioned “Minister Condemns Child Labour” which reported on the then minister of Employment and labour Relations Nii Armah Ashitey bemoaning the rate at which some children are subjected to all forms of Child labour at a forum dubbed “One day information and Experience-sharing session”.

Another caption, ‘Drivers asked to assist fight against Child Labour’, was about a non-governmental Organisation, Compassion International, carrying out an exercise to sensitize drivers to be agents in the fight against Child labour (Andoh and Esson 2014:13).

Furthermore, another article touched on “Child protection awareness day marked at Apam” which was instituted by Compassion International Ghana and journalists were invited to cover. These were some of the published articles that fell under the Special Assignment category. The trend revealed that journalists usually go to cover stories on child labour because they are invited to give media coverage.

4.3.6. Features

Under the feature category, one article captioned “Danger at Nkawkaw junction: As children risk their lives” talked about hawkers including school children who plied their trade at Nkawkaw

junction on the Accra- Kumasi highway in the Eastern region go through severe challenges in their bid to earn some income to take care of themselves. The article reported that “what is disturbing is that these hawkers run in all directions, disregarding the risk of being knocked down by on-coming vehicles, whose drivers are usually driving at top speed”. (Adano, 2014:31)

In another publication, a 17 year old girl narrates her ordeal as she entered into prostitution for the past four years. “She ran away from her mother after a short misunderstanding to engage in the business in Kumasi and has since been living in a brothel where they sleep with men to make ends meet”. (Quaicoe-Duho Rebecca, 2014:13) This article was coupled with a meeting where the Minister for Gender, Children and Social Protection, Nana Oye Lithur stated that early and forced marriages were still prevalent in the society based on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2011.

A special feature captioned ‘Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation must stop’ G.D. Zaney (2012:11) argued out the consequences of commercial sex exploitation of children as “exposure to health risks such as sexually transmitted Infections (STIs) as well as exposure to teenage and unwanted pregnancy’. It went ahead to recommend to the authority on how to curb it by suggesting that “the capabilities of children must be built to recognize potential abusers and adopt appropriate measures to foil their plans and manoeuvres’.

Kokutse (2012:25) reported on the ordeal of an 11 year old girl who had stopped schooling to sell sachet water by the roadside because according to her “my parents say they do not have money and my mother took me to Auntie whom we help; my mother helps in her shop while I go to sell ‘pure’ water in the street”. The article further touched other interventions made by government such as NPA and questioned governments effort in curbing child labour, “Reading

through the NPA, one gets the feeling that the government really knows what is wrong in the efforts to eradicate the practice but is at a loss as to what to do or how to go about it.”

Aluisah (2012) also published an article titled, “Woes of Child Traders at Madina Market”. The article talked about the plight of a nine year old girl who commutes from Burma Camp to Madina daily to sell sponge made from recycled seine nets. Aluisah reported that several teenagers were also engaged in head porting business. Investigations further established that a larger number of these children migrated from the northern part of the country who came down to make enough money for their upkeep.

These are only five out of the seven articles under the feature category. The characteristic of feature-based articles in this context is that the journalists initiate the stories on their own. They go all out to the field to observe and interview victims in order to set an agenda of exposing the plight of child labourers to the public and to hold the right authority accountable.

However from figure 6, it can be observed that only seven out of the forty articles were initiated by the media. The remaining thirty-three comprising articles that fell under the reports, special assignments and any other categories were not initiated by the media. Most of the media houses were invited for coverage including programmes held to mark world’s day against child labour. It must be noted that although I did not present a textual analysis of all the Thirty-three articles, all have a common trait, “it was not initiated by journalists of *Daily Graphic* newspaper”.

It can therefore be argued that perhaps *Daily Graphic* would not have published any or less article on Child Labour if it was not invited for coverage. Therefore *Daily Graphic* in setting its **own agenda** to raise awareness on child labour was minimal.

4.4 Forms or types of Child Labour recorded

Child labour has been categorized into various forms or types. Drawing from Roy's (2008) categorization, this study based on data collected grouped the various forms of child labour into fishing, mining, quarrying, cocoa, hawking, streetism and sexual exploitation. Every article was independently analysed according to the forms indicated. Not all the 40 articles published were used in the categorization. The nature of the story determined whether or not it could be grouped.

Table 2: Frequency distribution table for the type of child labour story recorded

| TYPE OF LABOUR | FREQUENCY | PERCENTAGE |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| Fishing | 2 | 14.3 |
| Mining & Quarrying | 2 | 14.3 |
| Cocoa | 2 | 14.3 |
| Streetism | 3 | 21.4 |
| Hawking | 3 | 21.4 |
| Sexual Exploitation | 2 | 14.3 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 100 |

Out of the 40 articles published on child labour, only 14 were specific on the particular type of child labour. The rest were generally on Child labour related issues. Streetism and hawking dominated with 3 articles each published representing 21.4%. Fishing, Mining & Quarrying, Cocoa and Sexual Exploitation came next with 2 articles each representing 14.3%.

An in-depth examination of the articles on streetism revealed that poverty is a major factor that compelled victims to move onto the street. Although faced with unfavourable weather conditions the quest to survive keeps them going. Most of these victims were "kayaye" who had migrated to the capital in search of greener pastures. Others ended up on the streets because they had learning disability and therefore skipped school for fear of being mocked by colleagues and bullied by teachers. The former data supports findings by Tettegah (2012) on a study exploring

the survival strategies of street children that identified poverty as a key factor why children live on the street instead of their homes.

On Hawking, children less than 14 years were engaged in selling and head porting to make a living. These children had to defy the danger of a possible vehicular knock down as the only means of surviving. This supports findings by Shailong et al. (2011), Shukurat (2012) and Ampomah (2012) positing poverty as a primary determinant of child hawking.

Articles on Fishing indicated that most children found themselves in this category as a result of poverty and therefore had to work to supplement the family. Some of the health hazards and abuses identified included injury from the fins of fish during handling and processing, exposure to bad weather such as excessive heat, rain, cold weather and mosquitoes. This data is in line with findings of Golo (2005), Agbenya (2009) and Afenyadu (2010) that poverty is a reason for children's engagement in the fishing industry. Again data also supports findings by Afenyadu (2010) on Child Labour on the marine and Volta Lake about the hazards and abuses such as battering, drowning and exposure to unfavorable weather peculiar to children in fisheries.

On Cocoa the 2 articles recorded had an interesting twist. One focused on Ghana combating child labour on cocoa farms specifically Kojo yentumi in the Ashanti region and Okorase in the Eastern region. The second was on a survey that indicated 7 out of 10 children engaged in worse forms of child labour in the cocoa industry based on a study conducted in 8 districts and municipalities in the Bono Ahafo region. Two reasons cited by the survey for children's involvement in the cocoa industry revealed that parents, families, cocoa agents, farmers, traffickers as well as victims of trafficked children were ignorant of the existing laws such as the

children's Act and Human Trafficking act protecting children. Another reason for WFCL in the region was unemployment and poverty.

Articles on Sexual Exploitation exposed how peers influence can land one into child prostitution to make ends meet. Also poverty was identified as one of the reasons for sex exploitation among children. This supports findings by the Boston University's Center for Global and health Development and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (2012) on a study on young Female Sex Workers (FSW) in Kumasi, Ghana revealing familial poverty and Influence from friends as some causes of child prostitution.

On Mining and Quarrying, children were rescued from small scale mining by Afrikids Ghana, an NGO. One common element running through all the aforementioned is the urge to survive being a motivating factor for children engaged in the act of labour. This factor comes in to support the use of *Resilience Theory* in this context which states that children display adaptive or competent functioning despite exposure to high levels of risk or adversity (Hunter, 2012).

4.5 Prominence given to stories on Child labour

4.5.1 Story placement

One of the main issues investigated by this study was the level of prominence that the *Daily Graphic* gave to stories on child labour from 2010 to 2014. The prominence of the stories was measured by placement in the newspaper and also whether a story was accompanied by photograph or not. Table 3 below gives details of placement of the stories on child labour.

Table 3: Placement of Stories on Child Labour by the Daily Graphic from 2010-2014

| PLACEMENT OF STORIES | NUMBER OF STORIES | Percentage (%) |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| Front Page | 1 | 2.5 |
| Page 3 | 2 | 5 |
| Centre Page | 0 | 0 |
| Back Page | 0 | 0 |
| Gender & Children | 30 | 75 |
| Other pages | 7 | 17.5 |
| Total | 40 | 100 |

Out of the 40 articles, 30 of them representing 75% were placed on the Gender and Children column or page, 7 representing 17.5% were placed on other pages, 2 articles representing 5% were placed on page 3 and only 1 article representing 2.5% was a headline story captured on the front page. Both the Centre and back pages recorded no articles on child labour.

Using the *Daily Graphic* guidelines of placement of prominent stories, stories placed on front pages are the most considered prominent stories. Usually there is not enough space for stories captured on the front page so headlines stories are continued on page 3. The center spread and back page are equally regarded prominent. Based on this, it is obvious that much prominence has not been given to child labour stories since only one article was published as a headline story for a period of five years. Stories on child labour published have been buried inside the newspapers. Strestha (2002) based on his findings also argued that only in exceptional cases do newspapers cover the news related to children on front pages, but mostly these issues are published in inside pages of the newspapers.

Daily Graphic's prominence on stories on child labour would incite the needed nationwide discussion and interventions to help fight child labour, according to the Agenda-setting theory which posits the media as having the power to do so.

4.5.2. Use of photographs

Another measure of prominence was whether the story accompanied by a photograph.

Table 4: Frequency Distribution of Stories on Child accompanied by Photographs

| CHILD LABOUR STORIES | NO. OF STORIES | % |
|----------------------------|----------------|------|
| Accompanied by photographs | 19 | 47.5 |
| No photographs | 21 | 52.5 |
| Total | 40 | 100 |

Out of the 40 stories on child labour, 19 representing 47.5% were accompanied by photographs, 21 of the stories representing 52.5 were not accompanied by photographs. McCombs (1997) argues objects such as pictures are used for emphasis in the agenda setting role of the mass media. In line with McCombs, articles with no photographs may be given less attention or no attention at all by the general public. Since majority of the articles on child labour did not have pictures attached to it, it exposes *Daily Graphic's* stance on prioritizing such articles. Attaching pictures to all the 40 articles would have indicated how *Daily Graphic* attaches importance and emphasis to issue of child labour.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has analysed and discussed data obtained for the study. To have a better understanding of the analysis, the work was grouped into the following themes: the amount of coverage, nature of story, type of child labour, and prominence of stories in terms of placement of stories and use of photographs. The last chapter provides a summary of the entire work and makes some recommendations as well.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter presented a summary of the key findings based on a contextual analysis of the *Daily Graphic*. The objectives were reiterated to ensure the research questions were accurately answered. The chapter again drew conclusions on major issues that were discussed and finally gave recommendations on the study.

This study sought to assess press coverage of Child Labour in the *Daily Graphic* from January 2010 to December 2014. The specific research objectives were to establish the extent of coverage *Daily Graphic* gives to Child Labour; the nature of coverage of Child Labour by *Daily Graphic*, and the level of prominence assigned to Child Labour by *Daily Graphic*.

To be able to properly investigate the issues raised in the research objectives, the following research questions were asked: How often does *Daily Graphic* publish stories on Child Labour?; How does the *Daily Graphic* cover Child Labour stories?; What was the focus of stories on Child Labour? and, How did *Daily Graphic* highlight stories on Child Labour in terms of placement?

5.2 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

A content analysis of press coverage on child labour in the *Daily Graphic* revealed that 40 articles on child labour were published from January 2010 to December 2014. Categorising yearly, 2014 recorded the highest publications on child labour with 11 articles representing 27.5%. 2012 came next with 9 articles representing 22.3%. 2010 and 2013 recorded the third

highest with 7 articles representing 17.5% each. 2011 saw the lowest publication with 6 articles on child labour representing 15%. The number of articles published on child labour fluctuated based on the discretion of the editorial board. 2014 which recorded the highest number of published articles numbered only 11, an indication of how minimum attention *Daily Graphic* gives to child labour. Therefore, in setting its own agenda of raising awareness of child labour, *Daily Graphic* did not exert much effort.

Categorizing based on the nature or characteristics of the stories which were grouped into features, reports, special assignments or any other type of story. For the purpose of this study, the feature stories refer to any writing that provides depth and interpretation of trends, events, topics or people through interviews with numerous experts or key people involved and it involves a narration of a person's account on a chosen topic. A report is simply any account based on research conducted on the topic or an account to mark a special day. A special assignment refers to any programme or forum held on a specific topic such as durbar, programme workshops and raising awareness. Any other type of story is used to represent other stories that do not fall within the afore-mentioned.

The outcome of the study showed that majority of the articles published were report-based. The report-based articles recorded were 17 representing 42.5%. Stories here included articles on 'World Day against Child Labour', 'African Union (AU) Day of African Child' and researches conducted on child labour such as, 'The global and National estimates of child labour report', research conducted by 'International needs Ghana on sexual exploitation' and report conducted by 'the Department of Social Welfare on Streetism'. Special assignment was the second most recorded with 11 articles representing 27.5%. Articles published here included durbar and workshops held to raise awareness and combat child labour. Feature articles came third with 7

stories representing 17.5%. Articles here included a story of an 11 year old hawker, a 9 year old girl porter at the Madina market and a child prostitute narrating her ordeal. The “any other” category recorded the least with 5 articles representing 12.5%. Stories here included media practitioners being urged to expose issues of child labour and 13 child trafficking suspects on remands.

The study also examined the type or form of child labour publications. Out of the 40 articles published on child labour, only 14 were specific on the particular type of child labour. The rest were generally on Child labour related issues. Streetism and hawking dominated with 3 articles each published representing 21.4%. Fishing, Mining & Quarrying, Cocoa and Sexual Exploitation came next with 2 articles each representing 14.3%. A further examination of the articles revealed Poverty and the need to survive as factors that pushed children into the act of labour. On streetism most of the victims were “kayaye” who had migrated to the capital in search of greener pastures. On Hawking, children less than 14 years were engaged in selling and head porting to make a living. These children had to defy the danger of a possible vehicular knock down as the only means of surviving. This further depicted the resilience nature of children who had to endure all the threatening circumstances surrounding them in order to make a living. Articles on Fishing indicated that most children found themselves in this category as a result of poverty and therefore had to work to supplement the family. On Cocoa, one article focused on Ghana combating child labour on cocoa farms and the other article was on a survey that indicated 7 out of 10 children engaged in worse forms of child labour in the cocoa industry based on a study conducted in 8 districts and municipalities in the Bono Ahafo region. Articles on Sexual Exploitation exposed how peers influence can land one into child prostitution to make ends meet.

Another area of interest was the prominence based on placement of stories given to stories on child labour. The articles were grouped under front page, page 3, Centre page, back page, Gender and Children page and other pages. Out of the 40 articles, 30 of them representing 75% were placed on the Gender and Children column or page, 7 representing 17.5% were placed on other pages, 2 articles representing 5% were placed on page 3 and only 1 article representing 2.5% was a headline story captured on the front page. Both the Centre and back pages recorded no article on child labour.

On prominence based on photographs, more than 50% of the stories (52.2%) were not enhanced with photographs. Out of the 40 stories on child labour, 19 representing 47.5% were accompanied by photographs, 21 the stories representing 52.5 were not accompanied by photographs.

5.3 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From the key findings presented, the following conclusions were deduced;

- From 2010 to 2014, a period of 5 years, only 40 articles on child labour were recorded. This intimates that minimal attention was given to coverage of child labour.
- A textual analysis of the nature of articles published revealed that most of the articles published on child labour were not agenda-driven by the media. All the articles recorded under the report, special assignment and any other categories were articles that were written and published because the media as a unit was invited for coverage and thus was not at the instance

of the Daily Graphic. Only articles published under the feature category were initiated by them because they went all out to the field to observe and interview victims in order to set an agenda of exposing the plight of child labourers to the public.

- It can be deduced from the findings that *Daily Graphic* did not give much prominence to the child labour stories because only one article was published as a headline story for a period of five years. Majority of stories on child labour published were buried inside the newspapers. Also *Daily Graphic* did not give much prominence to stories with respect to enhancing the stories with photographs.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the research findings and conclusions drawn, the following recommendations are made:

This study focused mainly on the coverage of child labour by the *Daily Graphic* from 2010 to 2015. The results and findings may not necessarily be conclusive but an indication of a trend that low coverage is given to stories of child labour. For a period of 5 years, only 40 articles were published. *Daily Graphic*, as a stakeholder, in raising awareness of child labour has to be active at giving more attention to child labour by publishing more of such articles.

In analyzing the data collected, the 40 articles published on child labour were grouped into features, reports, special assignments or any other type of story. The feature stories which directly narrates the activity of a victim or victims and brings their plight to bear received low coverage of 7 articles representing 17.5%. Coverage of stories of such nature exposes the

practice to the public inciting public nationwide debate which in effect could ratchet-up government and other stakeholders' effort to curb the practice. Hence *Daily Graphic* should pay particular attention to feature stories.

Also, it was observed that little or no attention was given to the impact of child labour on both the children and the society at large in the newspaper. An analytical look into the impact of child labour is recommended. One observation was the prominence given to articles on child labour by placement. Out of the 40 articles only one was captured as a headline story, most of the child labour issues are buried in inside pages. It is therefore recommended that *Daily Graphic* prioritize child labour through its capturing on the front page.

Again, the current study concentrated on only one state owned newspaper, *Daily Graphic*. Future researchers may wish to do comparative studies of two or more newspapers, probably state-owned and private newspapers to find out whether ownership could be predictive of content.

Furthermore, the scope of the study was limited to only one type or genre of media; newspaper, it could be broadened to include other media sources such as television and radio. Such research would yield more representation of the performance of the media in prioritizing child labour stories.

Also, a further study could be conducted to compare articles on child labour in the *Daily Graphic* to other specific area of content so as to draw a vivid conclusion about prominence given to other stories rather than child labor articles.

Future quantitative content analysis research could also be deepened with qualitative interviews with editors about what informs their framing of news and also to examine how messages carried in the media influence behaviour change child labour practices in some selected locations.

Government would have to collaborate with media houses to project the issue of child labour. This may require the provision of some funding of some sort to enable the media houses undertake a campaign to highlight the effects of child labour.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The concluding chapter presented a summary of the key findings derived from the analysis of data gathered. The two theories used; Agenda setting and resilience helped in revealing how Daily Graphic pays very little attention to child labour issues and the 'surviving attitude' child labourers had to put up in order to make ends meet. Finally this chapter made some recommendations geared towards providing solution to the child labour problem. It urged Daily Graphic as a stakeholder to be active in raising awareness about child labour through its publications as well as calling on donor agencies and government to set up a fund that can be utilized in sponsoring special features on child labour related issues.

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APPENDIX 1: STORY ANALYSIS FORM

AMOUNT OF COVERAGE

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Year | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|

NATURE OF STORY

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Feature: | It refers to any writing that provides depth and interpretation of trends, events, topics or people through interviews with numerous experts or key people involved. It involves a narration of a person's account on a chosen topic. |
| Report: | It is simply any account based on research conducted on the topic or an account to mark a special day. |
| Special Assignment: | It refers to any programme or forum held on a specific topic such as durbar, programme workshops and raising awareness. |
| Any other type of story: | is used to represent other stories that do not fall within the aforementioned. |

FORMS OR TYPES OF CHILD LABOUR

| | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|--------|-----------|-------|---------|-----------|------------------------|
| FORMS: | Fishing | Mining | Quarrying | Cocoa | Hawking | Streetism | Sexual Exploitation |
|--------|---------|--------|-----------|-------|---------|-----------|------------------------|

STORY PLACEMENT

| | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|--------|-----------|------------------------|-------------|
| STORY PLACEMENT: | Front page | Page 3 | Back page | Gender and Children | Other pages |
|------------------|------------|--------|-----------|------------------------|-------------|

USE OF PHOTOGRAPH

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| USE OF PHOTOGRAPH | Accompanied by photographs | No photographs |
|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|