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Se Eye Woba Anka

'if he or she were your child'

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a study of NGO workers experiences of combating child
trafficking in Ghana

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Abstract

Trafficking in children is widespread abuse of children that happens in Ghana. The concept of human rights has not yet fully found its way into societal structures and beliefs, and that creates problems when we want to ensure the protection of children from violations. Ghana is a country where children are trafficked, both transnationally and inside the country. Mainly for the sake of child labour. Even with many legislative frameworks and ratifications of conventions, the number of children being abused is high. After a nine-week minor field study in Ghana interviewing NGO workers, I am in this thesis analyzing the experiences of people working for organizations in Ghana to eliminate child trafficking in relation to the theory of childism. How great of a factor is prejudice against children in Ghana that enables child trafficking. Does it even exist? Concludingly finding that more than one factor contributes to child trafficking, mainly the lack of realization of children's rights and the realization of children as right bearers.

Keywords: *Ghana, human trafficking, children's rights, childism, prejudice*

List of Abbreviations

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
AHTU	Anti Human Trafficking Unit
CFC	Chance for Children
CORM	City of Refuge Ministries
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
EBAN	EBAN Centre for Human Trafficking Studies
GoG	Government of Ghana
HTA	Human Trafficking Act
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IJM	International Justice Mission
ILO	International Labour Organisation
MoGCSP	Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPA	National Plan of Action
TIPR	Trafficking in Persons Report
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNTOC	United Nations Conventions against Transnational Organized Crime

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the thesis subject

My research focus will be on children, primarily because trafficking in children has an extreme impact on the lives of children and their wellbeing. It deprives them of many of their basic human rights. Even though Ghana was the first country in the world to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1990, the numbers of children suffering from child abuse in Ghana are still to this day very high. The discussion of why is a gap in the research that I have found. The theory of childism is described as prejudice against children, where they suffer abuse and maltreatment from parents and society due to them not having any rights. The fact that they are yet to be able to contribute to the family, or are seen as a person that is unable to think or act for themselves has a large part in this view of childism.

The Ghana Child Labour Survey made by the International Labour Organization estimated that 1 million to 1.4 million children are in the child labour industry (ILO report 2008). The ages of the children suffering in Ghana are very low. In one of the most prevalent child labour industries in Ghana, fishing, one-fifth of the children working there are 6 years old or younger (IJM Report 2020). There was an estimate made in 2013 that showed how 23.4% of children between the ages of 5-14 were engaged in some form of child labour in Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2014, GSSL 6).

The rights of the child have been a subject of philosophers, lawmakers, politicians, and human rights advocates for a long time. As well as the rights of the child being discussed related to human rights, the concept of human rights itself has been a controversial subject for many throughout the years. A concept that can be hard to adjust to, or implement, in all parts of the world. Children are a large group of individuals in a vulnerable position, from which they often have no ability to get themselves out of. Human trafficking is one form of abuse that children are victims of. Being in the vulnerable position many children are, how dependent they are on their families or caregivers, as well as our state institutions for protection, still raises the important

discussion as to why child trafficking is still such a widespread occurrence in many countries. How come child trafficking is still so prevalent?

According to the Trafficking in Persons Report, Ghana is both a source, transit, and destination country for human trafficking (2018). They also share information from a study made on the prevalence of child trafficking in the Volta and Central Regions of Ghana, which indicated that children from one-third of 1,621 households had been subjected to trafficking (ibid.). There has been some progress made in Ghana by implementing national anti-trafficking action plans, but more effort is needed (ibid.).

In many families, the importance of the child is solely their future role as a contributing agent to the economic welfare of the family. Many say that child trafficking is caused by different factors such as poverty, ignorance, or lack of support for children (Awusi 2015).

1.2 Choice of the research subject

This study was conducted during nine weeks in Accra, Ghana. The aim in the field was to be able to conduct as many interviews as possible during my time in Ghana. I aimed to conduct them as soon as possible after my arrival to enhance my chances of getting relevant and useful data for this research, and give myself the possibility to find more organizations in case the ones I had were not sufficient. Cultural settings that are quite different from Sweden made me aware early into my trip that I would not be able to conduct all my planned interviews in the first half of my trip. Because many of my participants are very busy, I am fortunate to have been able to collect more than enough data, especially since the last interview ended up being only a few days before my departure back to Sweden.

The organizations that are a part of this study are Chance for Children (CFC), EBAN, City of Refuge Ministries (CORM), Project Nima, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and SEWA Foundation. They are all organizations that work for the best interest of the child, with a focus on child trafficking and abuse of children. With the aims of eliminating child trafficking, educating both children, families, and society, as well as preventing further trafficking and protecting victims of child trafficking. One of them has a focus on street children

in the capital of Accra and provides houses where children can stay and have access to education. Another one has a shelter for children, as well as schools available. Whereas others focus their work on the prevention and prosecution part of the issue, working with policies in place and help from other organizations or governmental systems such as the police force.

The outline of the thesis hereinafter starts with a summary of a background into the subject of child trafficking and the situation of Ghana and a small literature review of material from previous research about the subject of human trafficking, child trafficking, and the case of Ghana as a country. Continuing from there I will be discussing my choice of theory and method that I am using in this study. This will lead to the fifth chapter which is the analysis with material from my main participants of this study, their work and contribution to this study, and my analysis of the findings from my research. My last chapter is a discussion and conclusion of my findings, and then a small section on future possible research.

1.3 Purpose and research aim

This research project aims to examine if prejudice against children is a contributing factor to child trafficking in Ghana. This will be examined by data sampling through interviews with workers in organizations in Ghana, and how they are experiencing the situation of child trafficking. The purpose is to make use of the personal and professional experiences of the workers to analyze how prevalent prejudice against children is, if it even does exist, and use the theory of childism to analyze the answers from the interviews. The minor field study will enable the sampling of data to be conducted in Ghana.

The main research questions I will be basing my thesis on is:

- How does the situation of child trafficking appear in Ghana according to NGO workers' experience?
- Is childism a great factor contributing to child trafficking not decreasing in Ghana according to the NGO workers?

1.4 Relevance to the field of human rights

The relevance to human rights in this thesis may to some seem almost obvious, I will still emphasize the relevance this thesis has for human rights. Children's rights, human trafficking, and prejudice against children are all closely correlated to human rights and that is where the largest focus is put throughout this thesis. Human rights are often seen as a western concept to many, and the hope to make human rights a universal aim can be very controversial. This is especially applicable in Ghana, a country that is at the forefront of economic growth, infrastructure, so on and so forth. Nevertheless, still highly controlled by the social and cultural structures in the society and how they view children and their rights.

Ghana has ratified the CRC, though not the Optional Protocol to the CRC. They also have various other documents and legislation protecting children. The subject of child trafficking is very relevant today, not only in Ghana but in many countries around the world. The subject is also clearly connected to the Global Goals agenda which is relevant and frequently mentioned when discussing human rights. Under goal 16.2 of the 2030 Global Goals, it reads as follows "End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children" (Global Goals 2020).

1.5 Geographical focus - Accra, Ghana

The decision to conduct the field study in Ghana was first mainly explored, and then decided, due to many close relations with people from Ghana in my life. When I started researching information about human trafficking of children in Ghana from various United Nations documents, I came across the 5-year National Plan of Action (NPA) made by The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MoGCSP) and UNICEF Ghana. A plan of action in which these aforementioned actors aim to eliminate child trafficking in Ghana. The geographical focus of the study is therefore Ghana, and mainly the capital Accra. Ghana is a country that is on the uprising in its economy and developments. Even though, the issue of child labour and child trafficking is very rampant in Ghana. Many children are forced to work in industries such as

fishery, mining, or farming. Partly due to the families being quite large, sometimes up to around 7-10 children in a family, in combination with a lack of income, making it very hard for the family to feed all their children. Hence, in some places, families are forced to put their children to work to contribute to the family.

1.6 Scope and delimitations

For this study the chosen limit will be to only mention children as victims of child trafficking, they will not have a part such as key informants or any other source in the data sampling. When I mention children in this report, it is between the ages as low as 5, up to the age of 18. Neither will I be investigating the predators' position as the traffickers, or the police force that is involved in this area of human trafficking. Primarily, because this can then become an increasingly broader study if I were to include all of these aspects. With the main focus on children as right bearers in the thesis and the experiences of the participants in this study, it would not make it possible to reach the depth the study is aiming for. Bearing in mind, a study of that sort, including all of the above-mentioned actors of human trafficking, would not be able to be written as a bachelor thesis, there is simply not enough time and space for that in 12 000 words.

Furthermore, I have limited the research to only one country. The interviews were conducted with organizations that are all working within the field of child trafficking, and are only located in the capital of Ghana, and close surrounding areas. Meaning, a maximum of two hours drive by car from Accra. This is because I will be conducting a minor field study, and with a limited time frame of only nine weeks the study would become too broad for this research. Moreover, I do not wish to do a comparative study to another country of this subject at the time being, therefore, including multiple countries would not be of value.

Additionally, since the material will be retrieved from one-on-one interviews with workers from organizations, I will not be including any interviews, information, or experiences

from children as mentioned earlier. This is a clear decision and has been from the beginning, partly because of the ethical considerations, but also because the focus in this study is on the experiences of workers of the organizations; not on the experiences of the children. Including children as a part of the research would not be ethically correct considering their vulnerable position concerning child trafficking in my opinion.

2. Child Trafficking and Previous Research

One of the immediate and long-term goals of the Government of Ghana is for them to fully commit to implementing the National Plan of Action. Apart from the government being part of this action plan, UNICEF Ghana and the MoGCSP are some of the major stakeholders agreeing to it.

By doing so, they are responding to human trafficking in a manner that is comprehensive, coordinated, effective, timely, and consistent with international standards (NPA 2017). The NPA is a helping tool for actors with responsibilities and expected actions. Moreover, it includes timelines for the actions and objectives in the plan, as well as information on how it will be possible to monitor and evaluate at the end of the action plan (NPA 2017).

2.1 The subject of child trafficking

Human trafficking is defined in the UNTOC Protocol 55/25 (2000), art. 3(a) as: “

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

This article states ‘persons’, which then means everybody, either child or adult. Hence, it is important to note that under art. 3(c) they specifically emphasize what it means for children: “The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article” (ibid.).

This inevitably requires a definition of a ‘child’. A child is according to both the CRC (1990), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC 1999), the UNTOC Protocol 55/25 (2000), and the Children’s Act in Ghana (1998), a human being below the age of eighteen years. Trafficking in human beings, no matter the age is something that occurs all over the world. For most people, being subjected to trafficking is not a choice they are making themselves. When it comes to children, they are often trafficked from their families either by their own relatives or by someone claiming to help them secure a better life somewhere else. Job opportunities are often what persuades someone to accept such an opportunity, not knowing the real intentions.

2.2 The current situation of child trafficking in Ghana

Ghana is both a source, transit, and destination country for human trafficking (Trafficking In Persons Report 2018). It is more common with trafficking in children within the country than transnational trafficking (NPA 2017; Trafficking in Persons Report 2018). Ghana has as I mentioned earlier made some valid progress by implementing national anti-trafficking action plans and ratifying various conventions, but more effort is still needed.

Even after extensive research, it is almost impossible to find any relevant and accurate statistics on how many children exactly are being trafficked in Ghana. There are statistics on the ages of children, and some on the different forms of labor they are involved in. Though, these numbers are only from children the researcher has met or seen or information given to them from people. This means that we do not have any idea of the real number of these children. Some say that different numbers have been quoted by different anti-trafficking campaigners, with numbers from a couple of thousands to tens of thousands of children (Anti trafficking review 9 2017, 92-105). Some of the numbers that the International Justice Mission (IJM) have been able to produce in regards to the ages of the children, who are working mainly in the fishing industry, states that the majority of the children working there are ten years old or even younger (IJM report 2015).

As mentioned above, Ghana was the first country in the world to ratify the CRC. As with any ratification of a convention, we all hope that it is with a heartfelt intention to live up to the aims of the convention that they chose to ratify it. In addition to the CRC, Ghana has ratified the optional protocol of the UNTOC, the so-called Palermo Protocol. Which is a crucial step in combating human trafficking, especially trafficking in children. What is more questionable is the fact that Ghana has yet to ratify the Optional Protocol of the CRC, which regards the ‘sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.’

Ghana ratified the ACRWC in 2005, this charter as well, has a specific article protecting children from human trafficking, in addition to many other articles regarding child labour e.g. Furthermore, the Human Trafficking Act in Ghana was implemented in 2005, this act specifically focuses on trafficking in peoples. The Children’s Act in Ghana is also one of their main national legislative frameworks that protect children from abuse. In addition to these, there is the ILO Convention 182, which focuses on the worst forms of child labour. These are all very relevant and useful legislation that is in force in Ghana.

In addition, there are many NGOs in Ghana working with child trafficking. As with many things, there are different focuses amongst them. Some choose to focus their work towards the prevention part of trafficking, aiming for the elimination of human trafficking and are working closely with other NGOs and governmental agencies to do this. Others spread awareness by working to educate both children and parents, in addition to communities as a whole where they are trying to educate about trafficking and how to prevent it. The empowerment of vulnerable families and children is also a part of this. Others chose to help already trafficked and rescued victims of child trafficking. This can be done by providing care facilities and homes for the children, where they can go to school and get the right care and rehabilitation they require. A focus for these children can be to at some point be reintegrated with their families, but only if the risk of them being re-trafficked is low.

2.3 Previous research on the work to eliminate child trafficking

There has been quite some previous research done on the subject of human trafficking in many places around the world. Many researchers have focused their studies on the United States of America, and fewer on countries in Africa. The African countries that were found to have the most research have been South Africa, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, and Ghana. Additionally, I was able to find quite some previous dissertations and thesis on the subject of human trafficking in Ghana. Though these have had another research focus than what is chosen for this thesis, it has therefore contributed to finding the gap in the existing research. The main subjects others have researched are studies of the victims or root causes of human trafficking e.g.

The previous research has been of great relevance to assure that my study will be able to fill a gap that I feel exists in the current research. Bearing in mind that factors that cause and enable human trafficking are crucial for future work and to possibly eliminate human trafficking at some point. The gap this thesis is aiming to fill is to apply the theory of childism to examine why child trafficking is still so prevalent in Ghana even with the right legal frameworks put in place. By finding factors in the current work of the workers in organizations of child trafficking. It is clear that the fight cannot be won individually.

3. Theory

3.1 Purpose of the theoretical framework

Previous research on the subject of child trafficking has as I mentioned in chapter 2 mainly investigated causes of trafficking, or the perpetrators' or victims' point of view. During these studies, researchers have been able to apply various theories to their research that are suitable to their questioning and aim. Even though, it seems finding a suitable theoretical framework when we discuss both children's rights and human trafficking can be quite problematic and not as straightforward.

It is important to add a theory to research since it gives the researcher a set of already existing knowledge on contexts and backgrounds for the subject of the research (Meshelemiah 2019). It is especially useful in the subjects of human rights violations, and human trafficking. It provides a basic understanding, which can give a context for how and why injustices occur. This quote from Meshelemiah points out this main argument for using theories in relation to human rights work: "... this allows us to work towards the same goal through unique disciplinary and interdisciplinary lenses without working backward in re-studying the same foundations. Theory allows human rights advocacy to continually move forward" (ibid.).

For this study, I have chosen to apply the theory of childism, mainly as described by Elisabeth Young-Bruehl and John Wall. After reading Young-Bruehl's book *Childism: Confronting prejudice against children*, and reviewing various articles by other authors discussing the concept of childism I can see that it is mainly highlighting problems in the western world. Problems such as how parents should raise their children, how they speak towards their children, and so forth. I have not yet come to find any discussions about childism applied in developing nations. That has encouraged me, even more, to use this theory in my study, to use this concept of childism while discussing trafficking in children and the injustice many children face in Ghana. Especially suited to my research where I aim to understand the factors in Ghana that enable trafficking in children. It is relevant when discussing child trafficking by the view of Young-Bruehl and the view of children being property.

3.2 Childism as theory

According to Young-Bruehl, childism can be defined as “a prejudice against children on the ground of a belief that they are property and can (or even should) be controlled, enslaved, or removed to serve adult needs” (Young-Bruehl 2012, 37). Young-Bruehl identified a gap in the existing research on prejudice and found that there is no difference between the harm to individual children or harm to children as a group (Young-Bruehl 2012, 99). In addition to this, she highlights how studies exist on harm to children from adults, but not why or how this behavior is rationalized and normalized from values (Young-Bruehl 2012, 6). An aim of hers is to make childism as a concept do what misopedia could not, which is to raise awareness of the fact that the prejudice against children is something inherent in the way that children are perceived (Young-Bruehl 2012, 5-6). Throughout her book, she discusses the issue of prejudice against children, her definition of childism, and how it should be understood and applied. The perspective her book is derived from is the thought that children are a vulnerable group (Young-Bruehl 2012, 19), and to understand how prejudice against children works we need to understand how ownership of children works (Young-Bruehl 2012, 57). By her definition of childism as mentioned above, her central part in this definition is that children are immature beings that are created and owned by adults (Young-Bruehl 2012, 36).

A weakness in the book by Young-Bruehl concerning this study is the fact that her main focus is towards a western society, where she includes stories from children growing up in the United States of America, as well as discuss legal frameworks from there. Moreover, the harm and violations against children in her book are for example sexual abuse, violence, and abuse by the family of the children, which makes her discussion quite narrow in the subject of children and violations in general, but detailed and explicit for her research. This for me is as mentioned a weakness, nevertheless, I do find it relevant and applicable to my study since Young-Bruehl’s definition of childism and her discussion in general about the concept of children's rights and violations against them is very relevant to my study and analysis.

John Wall is the author of the book *Ethics in Light of Childhood*. Wall's definition of childism is “the effort to respond to the experiences of children by transforming understanding and practices for all” (Wall 2010, 3). His purpose is to challenge historical norms, and his way of doing so is to make a reconstruction to change the dehumanization and social marginalization of children (Wall 2010, 3, 9).

Wall discusses human rights and children's rights quite thoroughly, where he sheds light on a new view of human rights in the light of childhood, one that should not be adult-centered. He claims that human rights are not what many classify them as; freedoms, liberties, or protections (Wall 2010, 180), but a type of social responsibility to otherness (Wall 2010, 126). According to Wall, human rights have an anti-child ethical basis, where human rights are viewed and decided based on independence and self-autonomy (Wall 2010, 113). He claims that this new view of human rights would be rethought and based on childist ethical thinking instead. Where the rights are not derived from adults or their sense of human rights, nor the sort of entitlements or individual autonomy adults favor, but a response to social otherness (Wall 2010, 113).

Wall, like Young-Bruehl, discusses how children are both individuals and part of a family, whereas Wall emphasizes that children also are a part of societies and global systems (Wall 2010, 6). Though the conceptions of human rights being so adult-centered and based on adult terms of freedom and autonomy show how children will continue to be socially marginalized, and it is of no value how much agency children have. He points out that childism can be responsive to childhood when we start to insist on a more child-inclusive view of a human being (Wall 2010, 38). The marginalization of children, Wall's claim, is a fact since children are not seen to have reason or independence, or a capability to act based on their individual freedoms. In the social context, a child is merely seen as someone to be taken responsibility for, rather than someone who can practice responsibility themselves (Wall 2010, 87). The sort of unruliness children possess deprives them to take part in their own childhood, Wall draws on Aristotle and the argument that a child is a “part of” their parents means that “the product belongs to the producer” (Wall 2010, 103). Parents have the right to decide for, and over, their children.

Wall is clear that for children to be able to obtain the full extent of human rights, human rights need to be fundamentally reimagined (Wall 2010, 138). Children should be equal to adults,

and everyone should be included (Wall 2010, 10). The appreciation for children's agency needs to be reshaped with a deeper understanding of their vulnerability and diversity. Wall states that the ideas of childhood will not just improve over time, rather they should be imaginatively reconstructed (Wall 2010, 31-32).

In both these books by Young-Bruehl and Wall, their theory of childism is principally derived from western concepts, and this is mainly what limits this theory as of now. They both have a theoretical resemblance with previous -ism concepts. Young-Bruehl with sexism or racism; focusing on ulterior prejudice against children that justifies their abuse. Wall to feminism, with a claim for the reconstruction of human rights entirely.

3.3 Reflecting on the choice of theory

Reflecting on theory, an appropriate theory to use in regards to human trafficking in children would also have been Maslow's hierarchy of needs. However, the Maslow hierarchy of needs is not appropriate for this study for several reasons in my opinion. Mainly the fact that my study focus is on the organizations and the experiences of the workers in Ghana. Using Maslow's theory would be a better fit if I were to investigate subjects in regards to the perpetrators of trafficking (Maslow 1943). In that case, I would be able to connect the theory to how traffickers often use control over their victims by controlling access to the basic needs of the children, such as food, water, and clothes.

Additionally, I also debated whether to use Marxist conflict theory and the even more in-depth view of Talcott Parson. This is a theory that emerged from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the late 19th century. I found that this theory could have been especially useful seeing how it aims to explore power structures in society, and how differences in power can affect inequalities in said society (Hutchison 2013; Parrillo 2012). The starting point for this theory is often that humans are self-interested and competitive agents (Rössel 2013). It would therefore be a suitable theory when looking at subjects of human trafficking where certain groups in society have more power over another (Parrillo 2012), a type of coerced social order decided by the more powerful 'player'. Moreover, social change is usually possible through conflict. There are already parallels

here that can be drawn to trafficking in humans and how practices performed in society to battle injustices happen by the means of a conflict (Hutchison 2013). Contributing factors to human rights violations are often classism, but also sexism and racism. The socioeconomic inequalities are not only affecting groups of people on a community level, or national scale but also globally between developed and underdeveloped nations (Barner *et al.* 2014). If I were to apply conflict theory, I would be able to use interviews to investigate how dominance and persistent inequities are transferred to behaviors, opportunity structures, and meaning systems of vulnerable populations (Lapan 2011, 77).

For this study, I found that this theory would not completely be able to fulfill the research aim of this thesis. Conflict theory is a theory that focuses on the societal and cultural structures of society. It would be suitable due to the fact that the prevalence of child trafficking is closely connected to the cultural norms and the structures of society, and not only the existing legal frameworks implemented. In addition, developing nations' conception of childhood, and the rights of the child are crucial when we are discussing the subject of child trafficking, and how it is still socially accepted in Ghanaian society. Concludingly, I chose not to include the conflict theory since my main aim is the experiences of the organization's workers, and my material is their answers from interviews, the conflict theory would be a better fit if I were to research the causes or reasons enabling child trafficking from another point of view.

4. Methodological Framework

In this chapter, I will discuss my choice of research approach and analysis for this study. I will describe their main points and how they are applied in the study. Furthermore, I will thoroughly describe the outline of my field study in Ghana, the data sampling process, and the choices that were made throughout for a deeper understanding of my choices. I will answer the research questions in this study by a discussion of the empirical data and the theoretical framework in the next chapter.

Considering the aim of my research, I have chosen to conduct a descriptive qualitative case study. I find the qualitative approach to be the best suitable due to the field research I conducted. Since I am aiming to collect data from the experiences of the workers of organizations that are a part of the local populations in this context of child trafficking in Ghana (Mack et al. 2005, 1), and the qualitative methodology helps produce descriptive data of local populations own spoken words (Taylor et al. 2015, 17).

One can go about conducting a qualitative case study in various ways to collect their data and analyze it. A qualitative approach is especially useful and appropriate when one seeks to gain firsthand information and experience from a person in the field. This enables us to gain an understanding about cultural information of the local population that can include their values, behaviors, and social contexts (Mack et al. 2005, 1). The main point of a qualitative approach to research is that it puts a larger focus on the words and meaning of them, instead of the amount of data sampled (Bryman 2008, 340). This is part of the reason why I choose to do a descriptive qualitative interview study instead of a quantitative study. In a quantitative study, the questions when sampling is most often well formulated and require specific answers (Bryman 2008, 413). Whereas qualitative approach to the sampling gives room to move from the subject to an extent, or ask follow up questions if something relevant comes up in the answers, and the focus is on the interviewees' own experiences (Bryman 2008, 413).

The case study as a form of research design is a choice of research questions, what empirical data that is relevant, what data to be sampled, and how it is then to be analyzed (Yin 2006, 39), it is research studying a phenomenon in the real context (Yin 2006, 31). The goal to

expand and generalize theories is an analytical generalization, it compares the results of a case study to a previously developed theory (Yin 2006, 52-53), which is what will be done in my analysis. Not to identify frequencies which is more what statistical generalization does (Yin 2006, 52-53).

The first-hand insights that one can obtain only through doing the research in the field, and getting their first-hand information straight from the source is significant when it comes to a qualitative study, especially when it comes to a subject that can both be quite controversial but also where there still is a lack of research on the chosen subject.

I also made a conscious choice not to do observations, or even include that, in my study. The main reason is that my focus and questions were designed in a way that would make it hard to answer them through observations, but also in regards to ethical considerations (that I will mention further in section 4.1.3) for the children (Bryman 2008, 441-442). A study with a focus on observations often requires one to be in the field for a longer period (Bryman 2008, 443).

4.1 Field study

The main data for this thesis I gathered on my minor field study in Ghana. I spent nine weeks in Accra, Ghana, during the period from the 22nd of March 2019 to the 25th of May 2019. This research design primarily depends on me to be able to collect my data from my participants face-to-face, which can be done through observations, but mainly interviews (Lapan 2011, 69). The qualitative research is about the meaning of a phenomenon for the people involved, and exploring day-to-day interactions (Lapan 2011, 8), which is why it is very important to conduct these interviews with people that have relevant experiences, and in order to be able to do that, it required me to be in the field (Lapan 2011, 69).

4.1.1 Interviews and participants

I was able to make contact with most of my participants before arriving in Ghana, which was crucial seeing how I did not have more than nine weeks there. Since my aim of the study is the experiences of workers in organizations, those were the participants that took part in this study.

I met with nine different participants, and seeing how qualitative studies often use purposive sampling (Bryman 2008, 350), I chose my participants (see 1.2) since I felt they were connected to my subject of research. There were both a few from the same organization and the rest from separate organizations in Ghana, all working with child trafficking. The interviews all took place in a location of their choosing, and the duration of the interviews varied from about one hour up to almost three hours.

I conducted all my interviews myself, four of them were recorded digitally and transcribed verbatim, two did not want to be recorded, one half of a recorded interview was disrupted, and one was in a setting where it was not suitable to record due to children being around during the second part of the interview. During all the interviews extensive notes were taken. The participants were made aware that their anonymity was assured, and that the recorded interviews would be deleted after the publications of the study. Even though Yin recommends that one shares the names of people taking part in a study for the reason that it would be easier to control the facts that are presented (2006, 185), I have chosen to maintain the names of the individuals in this study anonymous; but the names of the organizations are shared since there is no confidentiality in that.

The interviews were semi-structured, with open-ended questions. Semi-structured interviews are useful since they do not require me to ask the same questions to every interviewee, and open-ended questions enable the interviewee to freely respond as they like, in their own words. Questions that require a more in-depth answer than just 'yes' or 'no' is what makes a qualitative study stand out from a quantitative one, this way I can make sure my data is richer in nature, more accurate to the subject, but also what can give me answers that I could not have expected previously (Mack *et al.* 2005, 4; Yin 2006, 118). Beforehand I had constructed a sort of interview guide (see Appendix 1), with questions focused on the areas I wanted to examine. Throughout my interviews, I both chose to leave some questions out, but also came up with some follow-up questions during the interview. It was useful to feel that the questions did

not always have to come in the same order, I felt that it gave more freedom to the interviewee to talk freely (Bryman 2008, 416; Yin 2006, 83).

Naturally, my interview techniques were improved along with my study, and the quality of data improved as the research progressed. Not having any previous research experience in interviewing, I found it very useful to read up on important key points to keep in mind both before, during, and after such interviews. In the end, the best way to improve one's skills in such a setting is of course to keep doing it. I am very grateful my participants were understanding in my process. It was also immensely helpful with the choice of my method, and open-ended questions that made it possible for me to adjust my interview questions both during the interview and afterward. It helped to make sure I was always keeping to the subject and was able to collect accurate data to fit my analysis.

4.1.2 Possible limitations during interviews

Though I have found that the data I collected during my research is useful, accurate, and trustworthy I have taken into consideration my position while in the field, as a female western student. Different types of features can be very powerful in how my participants see me, and the intentions of my study (Taylor et al. 2015, 70) might not always be perceived the way I would like them to be. It has therefore been important for me to keep that in mind, that my participants might have adjusted their answers as they see fit, or how they think would suit me best (Yin 2006, 112), but also answers that are in their own interest for a variety of reasons.

4.1.3 Ethical considerations

As previously mentioned, I am aware that my previous experiences and knowledge are something that I cannot simply set aside completely for this study. Information I have previously taken part of, has shaped my understanding of this subject before coming to Ghana. Furthermore,

I can also appreciate my understanding of this and my openness to accept differences and even errors I have believed to be true.

For this study, my aim has never been to expose violators or get in contact with children. I do not want to take advantage of children in an already vulnerable position, my ethical standpoint is very clear when it comes to that. I only want to interact with national organizations in this research to prevent any further possible harm. Bearing in mind that I will also have to consider the fact that I, as an outsider, cannot be fully sure of the intentions of my participants. What I can do is to try and evaluate as much as I can, to measure the trustworthiness of what they share with me. It is important for me to remember that their priority might not be to give me the truth, but instead what would be in their best interest. I do feel confident about my participants since I was able to enable contact quite early with many of them and get a more friendly than a professional relationship with them. Additionally, I find it important to mention that I was very selective with my participants, especially since I was in contact with approximately 10 other organizations that both early, and later on, in our conversations regarding possible participation in my study gave me a very unreliable and unprofessional feeling. I, therefore, feel confident and trusting with the participants that are being part of this study.

5. Analysis

This chapter will be divided into two sections, one per each research question, and I will answer the research questions in this study by a discussion of the empirical data derived from my interviews and the theoretical framework of childism. Thereafter I will discuss the analysis and conclude my results in the next chapter. I hereby also wanna point out that these two sub-questions were the main so-called starting points for creating my interview questions. The focus was around these two questions during interviews, with additional questions building a clear understanding of my participants' experiences.

5.1 How does the situation of child trafficking appear in Ghana according to NGO workers' experience?

According to the UNICEF worker I interviewed, children are mainly trafficked for child labour, where the worst forms are in the fishing and mining industry, and on the cocoa farms (UNICEF 2019; CORMa 2019). The SEWA foundation has experienced that the definition of both child labour and child work is not very clear, and many people are not educated on the subject of child labour and child trafficking (SEWA 2019), they aim for people to understand what these concepts mean, and what the rights of the child are.

In these vulnerable situations children are placed in, they have no rights. Unfortunately for some children being in this vulnerable position, it is survival of the fittest and instant justice that prevails, some children might be killed for doing something wrong in the exploitative situation they are in (CFCC 2019) or suffer from bad accidents. One worker from CORM shared experiences of many children being deformed after bad accidents from working in the fishing industry (CORMa 2019).

In Ghana families can be quite large with up to 10 children in a family, which can make it hard economically for parents to support all of the children, they might only have enough money to provide for two to four children (Project Nima 2019; SEWA 2019). In these situations, there

are both other persons unknown to the family, or a relative, that come intending to “lessen the burden” for the family. Saying they will take the child to school in a larger city or provide work elsewhere (SEWA 2019), some families might even be given money in exchange for the child, and in these situations, the parents are not aware that they have just trafficked their own child (SEWA 2019).

The working methods of many of the organizations are with focus on educating both children, families, and communities on the subject of child trafficking (Project Nima 2019; CFCa 2019; SEWA 2019; CORMa 2019), and there have been results of how helping to empower children into different areas of society have been helping to raise awareness, but also to raise their confidence and their belief in themselves. As well as a focus to empower and raise awareness on the subject of child trafficking (CFCa 2019; SEWA 2019; CORMa, b 2019), whereas these workers above mention the importance of empowerment and awareness, the UNICEF worker states that it is only a contributing factor, other things need to be in place first (2019). For example, they are lacking an understanding of children’s rights, so it is important to make sure the parents are a crucial part of the empowerment process. Many people still deny that trafficking and child labour exists, they might instead state that the child is helping a family member on their farm or boat (ibid.).

My participant from EBAN shared insights with me on the importance of research and studies focused on human trafficking to be able to tackle it better. It is crucial when trying to prevent and protect children (EBAN 2019).

Many of my participants were of the same opinion that the work of governmental agencies focusing on human trafficking in children is crucial to combat the issue of trafficking in Ghana. They were all clear on the importance of their work since this work includes the work of the Ghanaian police force, the various ministries that are related to the subject, and the justice systems. They are all needed at different times during a process when they deal with trafficking in children. Even though they were all saying yes, their work is crucial, it is far from sufficient, and a lot more effort is expected if any change is to happen.

The various governmental agencies have their own interests, as well as they also have their own interferences that stand in their way to perform their job, both personally and professionally. When I have looked into documents describing the works of a few governmental agencies such as the police force or the ministry they can clearly write down problems that can occur, e.g. the recurring problem of corruption on most levels in society in Ghana. What I was not able to find through my reading, but I got answers about through my participants was that yes, clearly corruption exists, and it is so integrated into society at this time it is impossible to disregard. This is understandable, but what seems to be the bigger problem is the lack of accountability that these agencies are not pressured about. It makes it socially acceptable for police forces to take bribes, or release someone who has been arrested for trafficking due to a phone call from someone threatening the police. There are no consequences for a trafficker. Both the police force and the justice department lack great knowledge and power to be able to move from an arrest to a prosecution of a trafficker. Important here to note that, it is not always due to the lack of seriousness from these officials, or an unwillingness to do something, but that they are ill-equipped to do a better job. They lack proper training in evidence collecting, or how to hold a case in court.

It takes a great deal of partnership for the organizations and governmental agencies to work together, but it is this kind of teamwork that creates the best outcomes. An NGO working individually can only make so much, likewise for a governmental agency. They will end up at a point where they will inevitably need the help of each other.

“I feel they should work in tandem. Government cannot do it all. And, NGOs are equally limited. ... so we cannot work in separate ways, we should rather work in tandem. We should synchronize” (SEWA 2019).

The work of the governmental agencies is much appreciated, and participants indicate the necessity of help from governmental agencies, the problem is nonetheless the fact that government agencies are very distant in their contribution (CORMa 2019). Without the contribution from the governmental agencies, it is hard to expect any good and positive results to come out of their cooperation. The partnership between governmental agencies and NGOs needs to be strengthened (UNICEF 2019). Even though many organizations are aware of this precise

issue, it seems from them that it is not as understood by the governmental agencies. It seems the viewpoint is that governmental agencies think to have a better understanding of the situation, as well as being more well-equipped for dealing with the issues of child trafficking.

On the matter of corruption, one CORM worker told me that from experience it is known that the police force in Ghana sometimes state that they cannot do much to help, without money from NGOs (CORMb 2019). This brings me further into corruption because it is not only the governmental agencies in Ghana that are corrupted. Even though I had my own experience of unserious encounters with NGOs in the process of looking for participants to take part in my study, I was not expecting the information I was to be aware of. Likewise, as there are governmental agencies, and officials who work for the genuine intent of it, the same happens with NGOs. Many organizations do not seem to understand the incredible malpractice they conduct when they, as an organization, pay to get a child out of a trafficking situation somewhere in Ghana. *Nota bene*, what is even more common is the organizations doing exactly this and who sees it as a profitable business. In such cases, organizations pay a slave master approximately 100 GH Cedis (roughly 170 SEK) (CORMa 2019) to “rescue” a child. I say “rescue”, since this is not what should be done during a rescue mission. This act of ‘rescue’ enables a continuation of unethical working methods, and violation of both laws and children’s rights. Even though there are legal frameworks put in place, these organizations are well aware of the CRC or national legislation that is supposed to protect children, as well as direct organizations in their working methods. In addition to these violations, this creates a business profitable for both organizations and traffickers involved, a business that moves the progress backward. This becomes very problematic when both funds and support go to these kinds of people who are abusing their positions. It is not until people actually want things to improve, and the government also wants to be a part of that change that we can see progress (CORMa 2019).

Some argue (Anti Trafficking Review 9, 2017, 92-105), that the scale of the problem of child trafficking is exaggerated by organizations for them to gain funds and for other purposes gaining them solely, and not the children. I would instead also argue that the business many NGOs create by continuing with these so-called ‘rescue missions’ by paying to get children back is what is really backfiring and not helping at all, but instead creating a greater demand for

trafficked children. How many NGOs do this compared to the ones that are not is a question raised during this analysis, and one that might give a better insight into the lack of progress. We are aware that there are many organizations in place, mainly from my viewpoint because governmental agencies are not doing enough, and without these organizations, we would not have made it as far as we have today.

One can try to understand the fact that it can be hard for an individual to know where funds or support go when contributing to an organization, many people might act out of benevolence to help, but end up doing more harm than good. This furthermore leads me to the problem of legislation not reaching the individual level of society. This leads to people not being able to know how, or even to whom, they can report when their rights are being violated (CORMa 2019), as little as they know how or where to put support to help, they are also unaware of where to turn for reporting violations.

The lack of awareness was one of the major responses I got from participants' experiences of why child trafficking is not decreasing. When we talked about awareness and what that entails I got some different viewpoints on it. Aside from differences in how important awareness is, and how it can, and should be achieved, I got an insight into how much the awareness part makes a difference in how much organizations in Ghana can help children. When talking about awareness in this study, it was both the awareness lacking from parents of children, but also the children themselves. To make this clearer I will emphasize, many organizations in Ghana work with education to contribute to the awareness about child trafficking in Ghana. This education is both for parents and families, as well as children, to be able to prevent trafficking. When organizations are able to educate parents e.g. on human trafficking, it can contribute to a larger impact than if they were only to educate children. A quote from a worker at CFC sums this up very well: "...we are using one stone to kill two birds" (CFCa 2019). What also became apparent when discussing the subject of awareness of children and education, is that there is no teaching on the subjects of children's rights or the conventions that are ratified in Ghana to protect children's rights. This of course hinders the awareness-raising of the children, furthermore, it brings the question of why there is a lack of this subject in schools. Possibly because a change in school systems or their curriculum might take time and effort, or possibly

because whoever is in charge of these curriculums or teachings is not in line with the current legislation and the new concept of childhood from the ‘West’ trying to enforce separate rights for children.

A further input that I had not included in my research but that became apparent was the importance of the contribution that individuals can bring to help in the work against child trafficking. The involvement of individuals in the fight to eliminate trafficking is very much appreciated in the communities, and among organizations. “...when we see the hunger in the eyes of people and we want to fight trafficking, of course, we will win” (SEWA 2019).

5.2 Is childism a great factor contributing to child trafficking not decreasing in Ghana according to the NGO workers?

Many participants gave me similar experiences of the view of parents towards their children in Ghana. In the case of a parent deciding to send their child to a bigger city, for example, the Project Nima worker told me that there are cases when the parents use excuses such as the child being stubborn and having to go live with a relative somewhere else (Project Nima 2019).

One worker at CFC shared their experience on how children’s rights are “basically trampled upon on a daily basis” and how big of a challenge that is while working with child trafficking (CFCb 2019). As a child, your rights are basically to just obey your parents (ibid.). Many parents abuse their own children, and corporal punishment is a major abuse that children face in Ghana (CFCb 2019; SEWA 2019). It is seen as something normal, originating from family backgrounds. “We believe the only prudent way to correct a child is through corporal punishment” (SEWA 2019). The view that a child is only seen as an asset to the family economically is common. The child has a lesser contribution in decision-making in the family. Until you have reached a certain point where you can contribute to the economic welfare of the family, that is when you can contribute to decision making (SEWA 2019). The SEWA worker gave me clear explanations of this sort of situation; where a child has nothing to say in the family. The child is to listen to the mother and father, the child should go and work and bring

money home. It is the parent that chooses for the child. Might it be choice of school, choice of clothing, choice of food, it is the parent who decided for the child. “They provide what they can afford, not what you feel for” (SEWA 2019).

The concept of children’s rights in Ghana is a big challenge for many organizations (CFCb 2019; SEWA 2019; CORMa 2019), and the concept of children’s rights is very much grounded in both the culture and religious beliefs in Ghana (UNICEF 2019). Many in Ghana also sees human rights as a western concept, hence why it can be hard to implement in Ghanaian society. One of the workers from CORM shared a view with me that human rights are a way of living and should be a sort of culture and the way you live. That going to school is right a child is entitled to, and that one should not deny western culture just because it is “western” (CORMa 2019), human rights need to be more culturally accepted (CORMb 2019). “... we still have some work to do as a country ... because the society has not yet fully understood what those rights of the child are” (CFCb 2019). UNICEF also shared that it makes it easier to exploit a child due to how easy it is to get away with such a crime. Furthermore, it might not always even be seen as a crime either (2019). A CFC worker was able to share an experience that emphasized the importance that the impact of society has in the question of children’s rights. The abuse of children often also happens from parents themselves, SEWA said this is due to sheer ignorance, and it is understood that it is going to take time for the realization of children’s rights in Ghanaian society to be grounded (UNICEF 2019).

As mentioned above, many of the workers experience that human rights for children do not really exist in Ghana, so does the worker from EBAN. Also stating how hard it is to implement even though the right laws and conventions protecting children are in place. The Ghanaian societies have very strong cultures and structures according to the EBAN worker, and it is hard to try and change this since it is seen as a part of their culture. This type of culture also makes it hard to define what constitutes a child, at what age is one seen as a child. “... if you say to someone that the “child” has been trafficked, the person might say that the “child” is not actually a child, but an adult” (EBAN 2019).

Furthermore, another subject the participants brought up was the weakness of the criminal justice system. The police force in Ghana is not well equipped to handle and investigate the cases that child trafficking often requires. They lack both the skills from adequate training, but also the right means to gather evidence. There are even experiences of law enforcement themselves complaining about this issue. They are pressured from different directions of society, they are expected to follow the laws and promote their work in the best interest of the child, but interference often comes in the way for them (UNICEF 2019; SEWA 2019), the police remain very political in Ghana (UNICEF 2019). This shows itself in various situations, the main one being connected to the police force and the problem of the lack of prosecutions in cases of child trafficking. Even when police act according to law, they face interference from someone above them who makes it impossible for them to pursue the arrest. “Depending on the big shark you have gotten, it gets all kinds of influence, sometimes even from their superiors, political interference, and all sorts so. It makes even prosecuting very difficult” (SEWA 2019). In quite a lot of the situations when the police force has arrested someone for child trafficking, there is often some sort of interference from somewhere. There can be a person calling the police straight after and demanding them to release the person or drop the case (UNICEF 2019). Furthermore, this participant could share with me that at least half of the police have a genuine intention to prosecute perpetrators, but they are not able to do that. The other half are likely to accept bribes along the way, and this type of corruption is what slows down the process of having more people prosecuted for committing these crimes.

A factor to the issue of trafficking not decreasing, as well as prosecution not increasing is correlated with how easy it is for perpetrators to exploit children in Ghana and even easier to get away with the crime (UNICEF 2019). To be able to obtain higher numbers of prosecutions is one of the major steps to help eliminate child trafficking, that is what sends a clear, and memorable, message to the traffickers (CORMb 2019), to be able to show perpetrators that there are consequences to be feared when being involved in trafficking in humans. Unfortunately, there have as of yet not been enough serious cases of prosecution to bring forth this kind of awareness and fear (SEWA 2019).

6. Results and Discussion

The findings from my research have helped me to a better understanding of the experiences of the workers of organizations in Ghana working to fight child trafficking and child abuse. Insights into the current work in the field, and the experiences of those working there, insights and knowledge I would not have gotten from researching at home in Sweden. Having confirmed that much of this knowledge was not to be found in previous research, and therefore helps me, and hopefully, also others working or researching the field of child trafficking, in future endeavors.

Participants in my study were many times conclusive on the subjects I interviewed them on, and I found many shared similar factors of child trafficking and experiences in their work but also is a great disadvantage to them and their work.

When it comes to the subject of childism and children's rights; cultural traditions, and power structures in the Ghanaian society are components that are inevitably very correlated. However, I also find that these components have little or no understanding of each other, and it obstructs any proper and long-standing progress to be made on the subject of children's rights. If we look at the component of the cultural and traditional settings in the society, they are not aware or do not find value in acknowledging that children have rights, especially specific rights for them seeing how they are in a more vulnerable and dependent position in society. Inevitably this shows us that prejudice against children exists in Ghana. The view of a child as an autonomous being, with individual freedom and a voice for themselves, does barely exist. How are we to challenge a group with large power in society (parents), trying to give more power and importance to the dependent group (children), who have for as long as Ghanaians can remember, not had any importance or intrinsic value in the structures of society?

The fact is that in Ghana, children are rarely seen as autonomous individuals, with self-determination and a right to decide for themselves. Ghanaian culture is very united when it comes to children; they are to obey their parents. In Ghana, the major discussion about children's rights and the issue of child trafficking and child labour have not yet really happened. It happens in various settings, amongst some people, but does not reach each individual Ghanaian.

Understandably, Ghanaian society is taking its time to change its views towards childhood and children's rights. Their concept of childhood has for as long as they have known, been what it mainly is now. The child is to contribute to the family, in terms of working or bringing in money to the family. There is no such thing as a child having separate rights, or being entitled to education if the family is in need of another contributor to earn money. To some these views of children, and living by these standards can be hard to grasp for someone living in a developed nation, but it is important to remember that a person in a developed nation often has the same level of unwillingness to change a pattern that has so long been a part of the social construct of their society. It might not be the same subject as child trafficking, but many people are hard to convince to change if everyone else is not changing with them.

The power adults have in Ghanaian society over children is evidently not derived from the size or national ranking. I find that the influence and power over children are created from the lack of agency of children, showing that childism is incredibly applicable in the case of child trafficking in Ghana. We know that the Ghanaian law is less effective most possibly because it fails to take the social and traditional practices of the Ghanaian community into consideration. Therefore its implementation is quite impossible as of now, also because it seems that it is not the government or the police force that have the most power over the society and parents in general, on the more individual level. We see through this analysis that the organizations are working with different aspects of child trafficking, as well as both the prevention of it and the protection of previous victims. They seem to have a clear understanding of what is working on the ground, in society, and what are the obstacles in their work. Even though many helpful collaborations are in place between organizations and governmental agencies in charge of laws and conventions, the support from governmental agencies would most likely increase the progress of eliminating child trafficking. Making a greater effort into enforcing the laws, raising awareness, and open up for change in the social structures. But moreover, the power of the adult in relation to the child, is what has come to be the largest outcome of this study. The inherent prejudice against children, the view of how they are seen, or not seen, and the lack of rights children have seems to me to be a large factor to how child trafficking is so hard to combat.

6.1 Future research

I am hoping to be able to continue further on the subject of this study when I will write my master thesis in the future. Hopefully, I will be able to keep some of these contacts from this study in Ghana and be able to follow up on the results of the NPA after the end in 2021 and maybe investigate the actual outcomes with the help of the *End of Plan Evaluation* found in the NPA.

I am looking forward to seeing what future researchers can contribute to child trafficking and the theory of childism. There are still many places and many important components of every aspect of human trafficking that are yet to be studied and explored. I am seeing it as an advantage in the fight to eliminate trafficking in children that we are people from all corners of the world researching this in our means and with our experiences. I am sure this gives us a fair shot to one day have eliminated one of the worst forms of child abuse.

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Appendix 1

Interview guide

Questions:

- Background info: presentation of title, how long they have been with the organization, and how they got into this field of work
- What would you say are the most important things you work with and focus on working as a (insert title) at (insert organization)?
- What would you say are the main aims and visions of the organization?
- Co-operative partners, if yes- who?
- Which is the target group?
- What is your experience of trafficking in children in Ghana?
- Describe your working methods. Who do you try to influence and how?
- How many from the target group do you reach and how many get your help?
- Do you think that your purpose is fulfilled? What result do you get?
- In what ways do you see trafficking?
- Why does trafficking exist in Ghana?
- In which area of (insert organization)'s work have you seen the biggest progress during your years here? (Reintegration with families, education - parents and children, and possibility to go to school, get the kids off the street, etc)
- What would you say is the main objective (insert organization) is driven by?
- What would you say are the most important things you work with and focus on working with child trafficking?
- What is the best way to prevent child trafficking?
- In your experience, is the concept of human rights a part of the work here at (insert organization)? If yes- how much, if no-why not?
- Your experience of children's rights and human rights? Children's status in Ghanaian society?
- Do you think legal frameworks to protect children, such as the CRC, AU charter on children's rights or other national legislation, is helpful for these children? Or mainly good on paper but hard to implement in reality?
- Your impression of NGOs work vs. governmental agencies work?
- If governmental policies, how helpful are they for the work you do?

- Regarding the collaborations you have with other NGOs and governmental agencies, would you say (insert organization) gets most of their support from NGOs or governmental agencies?
- How/why is the Ghanaian national law on children's rights and against trafficking hard to implement in society?
- If you were to describe the issue of child trafficking to another person, how would you describe it?
- In your experience, what are the main difficulties you, as a part of the administration, face when working with child trafficking?
- How do you personally see the situation of this area, and the children, in say 10 years?
- Is there any additional information you would like to share?
- Do you have any questions?

Additional questions specifically for Chance for Children organization:

- Their view of the age scope of the children on the street
- In your experience, what are the main difficulties you, as a part of the administration at CFC, face in your work with street children in Accra?
- What are the set goals CFC is working with on the street level?
- In your experience, what psychosocial characteristics do the children on the street have in common and what makes them vulnerable (to exploitation)?
- When working on the street, are you working by any specific policies/structures put in place to protect children in Ghana?
- Regarding street children, does CFC have any numbers of how many children in the age scope you are working with who are currently living on the street? Is that with or without families/guardians?
- Are you able to tell me how many deaths in children occur every year in the area where CFC is present?
- The children living in the homes, have they been brought here from this area only, or other locations as well?
- Have you seen a decrease or increase in children living on the street in the past 5-10 years? What might be the reasons for those changes?
- How are you able to assess the work done on the street when striving for improvement?

Additional questions specifically for UNICEF:

- Which policies and structures are UNICEF working with to eliminate trafficking in children?
- In which area of UNICEF's work have you seen the biggest progress during your years here?