

Factors Influencing Child Trafficking: An analysis of cases reported in Ghana

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Declaration

I, Joseph Agbeko Yadoglah, hereby declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and acknowledged, is entirely my own original work and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole for another degree elsewhere.

Dedication

This study is dedicated first and foremost to the Lord God Almighty for His Grace that sustained me throughout my study at the University of Roehampton, UK; Gothenburg University, Sweden and the University of Deusto, Bilbao, Spain.

Secondly, I dedicate it to my beloved wife, children, the entire family and colleagues.

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Abstract

Trafficking in persons is a global challenge. Several millions of victims are affected by trafficking annually. Most of these victims are children who are exploited sexually and into forced labour. There have been global concerns on the occurrence of trafficking and Ghana as a country, has been placed on the tier 2 watch list by the United States. This dissertation provided an analysis on the factors that influence child trafficking in Ghana and included the child victim – offender familiarity and the spread of child trafficking cases.

The study used data gathered from media and institutional reports as well as research articles on child trafficking in Ghana. The period considered was from 2013 to 2017. Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis was used as the method of analysis. The theoretical approach used in this dissertation was victimology and considerations of victim precipitation, lifestyle exposure and routine activity.

The study showed that, although efforts have been made to control trafficking in persons in Ghana, reviewed reports and articles indicated a country-wide spread of child trafficking. There were indications of both sexual and labour exploitation of these young children whose age could be as low as five years. Most of these child victims were familiar with facilitators of trafficking, especially as parents and other relatives played major roles in trading these children to traffickers and exploiters. The main contributing factor to child trafficking from the study was poverty. This led to trading children to exploiters for an amount between 80 cedis (17.78 US dollars) to 100 cedis (\$22.22 US dollars) only. Other factors noted were the culture and societal norm of forced marriages and child fostering. The demand of cheap labour amidst porous borders, weak law enforcement and political commitment further worsened the problem. Children's risk of being victimized into trafficking involved their parents and caregivers being pushed by poverty and poor socio-economic situations to trade them. These parents facilitated their children's victimization by luring or coercing them into accepting traffickers offers.

There remains the need for renewed efforts by the state, its agencies and partners to address the challenge of trafficking. Commitment to fighting trafficking should be motivated by the horrendous situation and exploitations children, who remain the future of every country are subjected to. The continued collaboration between these agencies and partners is important in controlling child trafficking in Ghana.

Keywords: Child Trafficking, Ghana, Victims, Traffickers/Perpetrators, Exploitation, Victimology, Victimization

(Word Count: 16,248).

List of Abbreviations

AHTU	-	Anti-Human Trafficking Unit
CHRAJ	-	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CRC	-	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
GIS	-	Ghana Immigration Service
GPS	-	Ghana Police Service
HTA	-	Human Trafficking Act
IJM	-	International Justice Mission
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
IOM	-	International Organization for Migration
MMDA	-	Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
OHCHR	-	Office of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights
TVPA	-	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UN	-	United Nations
UNCRC	-	United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child
UNGIFT	-	United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	-	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	-	United States
WHO	-	World Health Organization

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1. Introduction

The spread of trafficking in person activities makes it a global issue. Many people have become victims of trafficking activities across the globe and with significant contribution from Sub-Saharan Africa (Agbu, 2003; Reid, 2012; Gyamfi, 2016). The practice of trafficking has been referred to as a new form of slavery (Farrell and Fahy, 2009; Logan, Walker and Hunt, 2009; Rahman, 2011). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has over the years collected data on human trafficking to help control it (UNODC, 2016). Human trafficking has been identified as a large remunerative industry across the world with women and children being the most affected mainly due to their vulnerability and to a larger extent, ignorance of their human rights (Alvarez and Alessi, 2012; Rafferty, 2013; Chincholkar, 2016).

‘Trafficking in person’ is defined by the United Nations as “*the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of person by means of the threat or use of force or other form of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of abuse of power or a position of vulnerability or giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation*” (UNODC, 2008).

Most people are lured out of their communities as a result of multiple interrelated factors including social, economic and cultural at the personal, community and organizational levels. This makes trafficking require a comprehensive and human right based approach to manage it (Chuang, 2006; UNODC, 2008; Kraemer, 2013; Rafferty, 2013; Adesina, 2014). In addition to the fundamental factors, the growing levels of global networks and markets contribute to the fuelling of trafficking across the globe for known reasons, notably abuse and exploitation (Gallagher, 2009; Huang, 2017; Smith, 2017). This is because of how globalization tends to make criminals stronger through networks, giving them an upper hand over systems that fight them (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006).

Trafficking activities lead to the denial of essential human rights, among which are education and health care. A key challenge that rears up has been the underreported nature of these human rights abuses and criminal activity.

This to a large extent is because, most of the victims may be intimidated by traffickers and as well lack adequate understanding of their fundamental human rights (Fitzgibbon, 2003; Beyrer, 2004; Hashim, 2007). Generally, not much attention has been paid to addressing human trafficking issues (Zimmerman, Hossain and Watts, 2011).

The inadequate attention to trafficking in Africa has led to many countries especially in West Africa to be classified as Tier 2 Watch list, by US Department of State. Among these countries are Liberia, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Benin and The Gambia. Ghana's situation is of utmost concern and a problem because, it has remained on the Tier 2 watch list for the second consecutive time and is in risk of becoming a Tier 3 country if adequate efforts are not put in place to counter trafficking (US Department of State, 2017). In the numerous trafficking flows within and across these Sub-Saharan African countries, majority of victims (about 64%) are children (UNODC, 2016).

Some provisions of the available legislations to fight trafficking in persons in Ghana may not be explicit and clear in addressing the problem. For instance, the fifth part of the Children's Act, 1998 explains employment of children. The Act indicates minimum age for light work, child labour and hazardous work to be 15, 13 and 18 years old respectively. Although, the definitions of various employment forms are provided, perpetrators may capitalise on the grey areas of this provision to advance trafficking and exploitative activities. By this, a child is denied his or her rights to education, health and development if their involvement in a form of employment hinders their enjoyment of such rights. Also, available Criminal code and laws have focused on the offender and not much attention is given to the victim, from his identification to rescue then rehabilitation and reintegration. These gaps remain a challenge and deficit in maintaining pace to address trafficking in persons (ILO-IPEC, 2013a).

The government of Ghana itself, has been unable to provide enough resources to meet the social, educational and health needs of children who are victims of trafficking. This makes the restoration and sustenance of their fundamental human rights difficult due to the entrenched causes of human trafficking into social and cultural factors (International Organization for Migration, 2012; Adesina, 2014).

The media among other institutions such as Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) and other Civil Society Organizations (CSO) as well as researchers all over the world, wield a great deal of power concerning almost all matters and one area they can support is increasing awareness and strengthening advocacy on human rights issues (Borer, 2015; WACC, 2017).

Empirically, this research is connected to the trafficking of children in Ghana and the institutional and inter-personal circumstances that facilitate it. The theoretical concern is anchored on human rights, the explanations by previous research and the use of victimology theory in understanding child trafficking in Ghana.

1.1 Aim, research objectives and research questions

Aim

The aim of this dissertation is to provide an analysis of the factors that influence child trafficking in Ghana. The work will be based on media reports, institutional reports and literature from 2013 to 2017.

Research Objectives

- To explore the familiarity between child victims and the trafficker of child trafficking
- To examine the extent of child trafficking cases as reported in the media, reports and other literature
- To explore the causes or reasons for the spread of trafficking in Ghana

Research Questions

What inter-personal factors influence child trafficking in Ghana?

- How familiar are child victims with perpetrators of child trafficking?
- How widespread is child trafficking in Ghana?
- What causes or factors influence the spread of child trafficking cases in Ghana?

1.2 Delimitation

This dissertation covers reported data for the period of 2013 to 2017. These reports included newspaper articles and other institutional reports as well as other journal articles relevant to child trafficking. These reports and articles were obtained only from online portals of media agencies, institutions and databases. The study was limited to Ghana, and therefore, excluded documents that did not specifically refer to Ghana. This was to facilitate the understanding of trafficking in children in the Ghanaian context. The study used the victimology theory in understanding the factors influencing child trafficking activities in Ghana. Although, other theories such as the feminist, rational choice and social constructivist are important in explaining child trafficking, the focus of this dissertation makes the victimology theory a preferred one. A qualitative content analysis of the media reports and articles which met the eligibility criteria was done to answer the research questions.

1.3 Limitations to the study

The study focused on children as the victims of trafficking although, human trafficking affects people of all age brackets including older men and women and this limited the scope of the dissertation. The focus on children was however, driven by my interest in child rights and the factors that increased and contributed to their risk of being victims of trafficking in Ghana.

Another limitation in determining why children were made victims of trafficking is the use of reports and secondary research articles. Even with this, NGO reports were also not part of the study, although it was of utmost interest and importance to the dissertation. This was due to the unavailability of such reports on their websites. Most of the information provided on their websites did not answer the research questions for this dissertation. However, most of NGO contribution and information that were significant to the study were gathered from the media reports used in this dissertation. It would have further been much interesting and elaborate to use empirical or primary data, but the use of secondary data and reports relevant to child trafficking was due the time and space for the development of the dissertation.

There are also various theories in understanding child trafficking globally as indicated in Chapter three, but this dissertation focused on victimology as its primary theoretical perspective. This to a larger extent, narrowed the problem of child trafficking to the study of child victims of trafficking and a focus on the individual victim. Other explanations that could be driven from other theoretical perspectives may therefore, not be elaborated. For instance, trafficking has been explained by rational choice theory, criminology, social constructivist and conflict theories. However, the dimensions of trafficking based on these theories may not be expanded as the focus is on the use of victimology in this dissertation. However, where possible, other theories were used in supporting the main theory of the study to get a broader picture.

1.4 Ethical Considerations

There are usually not many ethical issues in research studies like this. Nonetheless, ethical challenges arise in several qualitative studies which should be managed well (Sanjari *et al.*, 2014). Therefore, certain ethical considerations were observed to ensure anonymity, confidentiality and privacy of victims of trafficking. Although the data used is available online and, in the media, there was no collection of names or other identifiers of victims. Also, the various reports identified and analysed in this dissertation were given codes to confidentiality and privacy of information. Also, articles reviewed were duly cited to acknowledge the author (s). In addition, the design of the research was done to ensure transparency and integrity. Therefore, a transparent design and approach has been used in electing the data sources and to analyse the data gathered.

1.5 Key Terms

Child Trafficking: “The act of recruitment, transportation, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation regardless of the use of illicit means, either within or outside a country” (UNICEF, 2006). An organized movement of a child for the purpose of exploitation and the movement could be domestic or across borders

Traffickers/Perpetrators: A person who participates in one or more stages of the trafficking process (Yuko, 2009). It involves individuals who have engaged in moving a child for the purpose of exploitation and includes recruiters, transporters, intermediaries as well as corrupt officials and exploiters (UNICEF, 2006; ILO, 2009b). These traffickers are sometimes referred to as “Connection Men” in Ghana (Taylor, 2002).

Victims: “Any person who has experienced loss, injury or hardship due to the illegal action of another individual, group or organization” in the trafficking chain (Ferguson and Turvey, no date)

Child victims: Refer to anyone less than 18 years old who through a criminal behaviour such as child trafficking, child exploitation and child abuse has suffered harm. Child victims are sometimes used interchangeably with trafficked children or trafficking survivors (UNICEF, 2006; Asli, 2013)

Victimization: Process through which a person becomes a victim of a crime (Walklate, 2011). Victimization is “to victimize” where a relationship between persons, one is made a victim of a criminal activity by another, that is the victimizer, offender or perpetrator (Asli, 2013).

Exploitation: These include all forms of exploitation including sexual, forced labour, slavery and servitude, removal of organs, begging for alms, early marriage and use in armed or rebel groups. In addition, when children are engaged in labour that denies them of their health, development and education, it is regarded as exploitative.

Tier 2 Watch List: Defined as “Countries whose government do not fully meet the Trafficking Victims Protection Act’s (TVPA) minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards and; the absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or significantly increasing; there is a failure evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, or; the determination that a country is making significant efforts itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional future over the next year”.

1.6 Outlining of the dissertation and content description

The following chapter provides a review on earlier research works done on child trafficking and human rights as well as children rights conventions and it is followed by the theoretical perspectives and frameworks used to understand the factors that influence trafficking activities. The methods used in the review to answer the research question is then described. The chapter after the methods is on the analysis of the results and in-depth discussion of the findings gathered. There after Conclusion and Recommendations.

2. Literature review

This chapter provides review of earlier works on human trafficking, from the global situation to the specific case of Ghana. As a human rights problem, the review discusses the relationship between human trafficking and human rights and further outlines the provisions made by the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC). The discussion commences from human rights perspective and provisions of the CRC as the basis for a discourse on Child rights and trafficking, thereby introducing other legislations by international, regional and national agencies. A review of the Children' Act, 1998 and Human Trafficking Act, 2005 passed by Ghana is done as part of the legislations on trafficking. In discussing literature related to child trafficking, the sources of data included global policy institutions, the media as well as academic research works. These sources are important to this dissertation facilitating a deeper appreciation of the various dimensions of child trafficking.

2.1 Global Situation on Human Trafficking (with focus on child trafficking)

Human trafficking or trafficking in persons affects almost every country in the world. A country may serve either as a source, transit and/or destination of trafficked victims (UNODC, 2016). The ILO has stated the global nature of trafficking and trafficked victims generally include men, women and children alike (ILO, 2008). However, women and children form a greater proportion of those who are victimized into trafficking largely due to their vulnerabilities which may be social, cultural or economic. Trafficking can occur domestically or across borders. The movement of victims are usually from underdeveloped areas to developed countries or from rural to urban areas in a country (Miko and Park, 2001; Zhang and Pineda, 2008; Rahman, 2011; Gouty, 2015).

Globally, the numbers of trafficked victims are alarming. More than two million people are affected by the various forms of trafficking (ILO, 2008; Standing, 2010; Reid, 2012). With some estimates ranging from 4 million to 27 million, the International Labour Organization (ILO) in their 2002 estimate states that, about 12.3 million children are trafficked annually for various exploitative reasons (ILO, 2002).

An annual estimate of about 800 million victims were reported in 2013 by the US Department of State (Gyamfi, 2016). Earlier in 2004, the US Department of State reported an estimate of 800000 people trafficked (Omelaniuk, 2005). The ILO also reports that, 23% and 18% of children 5 – 17 years and 5 – 14 years were economically active in the year 2000 respectively. Also, more than 8.4 million were engage in unconditional worst forms of child labour. Again, based on their estimates, about 1.2 million are trafficked, 5.7 million children in forced and bonded labour, 300000 in armed conflict and 1.8 million in prostitution and pornography (ILO, 2002). Similarly, the ILO indicates that close to 2.5 million of those in forced labour were victims of trafficking with children under 18 years comprising about 40% to 50% of trafficked victims in force labour (ILO, 2005).

The economic dimension of trafficking activities influences victims of exploitation by their captors. For instance, most of the boys are forced into manual or physical forms of labour such as, farming, drug trading and other crimes, whereas most girls become victims of sexual exploitation and domestic servitude (ILO, 2002). The drive for profit through trafficking activities has led to an estimated 12.3 million people engaged in forced labour out of which 64% were for economic exploitation, 20% state or military imposed, 11% commercial sexual exploitation and 5% in mixed exploitative activities. In 2008, the ILO indicated that, victims of trafficking exploited in forced manual/physical labour were 32% while 43% and 25% were exploited in sex and mixed forms respectively. Of the over two million trafficked victims, more than a million were estimated from Asia and Pacific (ILO, 2008).

The various forms of labour and sexual exploitation of trafficked victims accrue profits for the captors. The huge earnings involve several billions of dollars and some have claimed that it exceeds the arms and drug trade. This entices and sustains the perpetration of this human rights violation activity which affects the population's health as well (Miko and Park, 2001; Taylor, 2002; Kempadoo, 2005; Standing, 2010; Rahman, 2011; Alvarez and Alessi, 2012; Marchionni, 2012; Zulaikha, Rohim and Ahmad, 2017). The monetary estimates of the profits of forced labour and human trafficking provided by Belser, (2005) is overwhelming and supports the billions of dollars claimed to be made by the industry. This could be as high as 44 billion dollars a year with trafficked victims contributing about 32 billion dollars (ibid).

2.2 Child Trafficking as a Human Rights Problem

The solicitude of human rights in the international community in response to varied violations resulting from abuses, terrorism, smuggling, trafficking in persons among others has led to the discussion, development and enforcement of laws, conventions and protocols to address it (Bhabha, 2007; ILO, 2009b). The increase in the concern against trafficking in persons can be attributed to the expansion of human rights beyond country and regional borders to an international scope with various human rights laws at international level prohibiting trafficking (Todres, 2006). Trafficking in persons influences all aspects of human rights identified by Yuko, (2009) including civil and political, economic, social and cultural and collective rights.

The definition of trafficking in persons provides an understanding, including the aim of exploitation of victims, domestic and international movements which are usually based on “deception, coercion, force or other prohibited means” (OHCHR, 2014). The understanding of the definition shows a clear link between trafficking in persons and human rights violation (Fitzgibbon, 2003; Omelaniuk, 2005; ILO, 2008; OHCHR, 2014; Usman, 2014). There have been differing discourse to this indication of human trafficking as a human rights violation. For instance, Hathaway, (2008) indicated a biased attention toward the fight against human trafficking and its tension with the human rights goals. However, Gallagher, (2009) in response to Hathaway’s claim of discrediting the importance of addressing trafficking issues in the context of human rights, she emphasized that, human trafficking was a breach of fundamental human rights and need attention. She further provided views to support the importance of tackling trafficking as a means to enhancing core human rights provisions. This in the long run leads to strengthening the legal system (Hathaway, 2008; Gallagher, 2009).

Every individual has basic rights that need to be protected. Some others have different perception about the human rights and the entire well-being of people. The increased level of vulnerability of children cause perpetrators to take advantage to violate their rights (Zhang and Pineda, 2008). Children need all the protection they can get from their parents, caregivers and the society. They should be identified as human beings and treated with the utmost respect just like any person of any age as promoted by the children rights movement.

They should therefore, be treated as autonomous beings who deserve respect for their rights (Reynaert, Bouverne-de-bie and Vandevælde, 2009; ILO-IPEC, 2013a).

Their basic rights as children as provided by the various instruments such as Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), UN protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, UNICEF guidelines on the protection of child victims of trafficking, ILO minimum age and Forced Labour Conventions among others should therefore, be upheld and respected. The laws on human rights further provides the “prohibition of discrimination, right to life, liberty and security, right to freedom of association and movement, right to adequate standard of living, right not to be tortured and/or cruel, inhumane, degrading treatment or punishment, right to be agree for gendered violence and right not to be submitted to slavery, servitude, forced labour or bonded labour” among others (OHCHR, 2014). Trafficking children is an outright violation of the fundamental human rights of the child as related to the above conventions. This means that, it should be condemned and met with the requisite legal arsenal to deal with traffickers whether these children are in their state of residence or in another (*ibid*; ILO, 2009b).

However it is, the rights of even children who lose their citizenship and have been rendered stateless, should be protected in spite of their condition of statelessness (Weissbrodt and Collins, 2006). Victims should also, by the provision of the human rights laws be ultimately protected (UNICEF, 2006; ILO, 2009b; OHCHR, 2014; Greenbaum, 2018). This violation of children’s rights should be understood in a criminal sense as done by many countries where these perpetrators benefit extensively from the toil of innocent victims. The dilemma here is whether children are well aware of these rights and provisions by the various conventions and instruments, considering the diverse and uncertain cultural influences of how they are socialized (Reynaert, Bouverne-de-bie and Vandevælde, 2009).

In addition to the suffering of these children and the huge profits made by the criminals, the country and its economic structures are affected negatively. This is because, goods and services procured and used under trafficking activities are usually done in illegal markets outside the normal labour market such as non-payment of taxes, unfair wage system and corruption (ILO, 2009b). To further explain the relationship between child trafficking and human rights, practices like debt bondage, forced labour as well as other forms of slavery, servitude, sexual exploitation, forced early marriages and prostitution are highly related to trafficking activities and therefore, prohibited.

It is an important consideration that, trafficking among children is explicitly unlawful under the Convention of the Rights of Children. Children among certain groups need special protection due to factors making them more susceptible to trafficking. For instance, the age of children can expose them to becoming victims of begging, prostitution, sexual exploitation and forced labour (UNICEF, 1989; OHCHR, 2014).

All forms of exploitation following trafficking should be addressed with holistic efforts. One of such forms, sexual exploitation has to a large extent received more attention than other forms of exploitation, but all forms of exploitation should be considered within the bigger picture of violations of children's rights in mind. This attention on sexual exploitation and prostitution may be traced to the genesis of anti-trafficking campaigns especially in the U.S. in the early 1990s where human trafficking was associated to violations to women's rights. With current data available, child victims have increased and they also go through experiences which constitute grave forms of human rights violation (Farrell and Fahy, 2009; Alvarez and Alessi, 2012).

2.3 Provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and Trafficking

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 1989 is one of the key instruments that relates specifically to trafficking in children and can serve as a guide in designing child rights related policies. It provides a balance to the dichotomies and tensions created by the rights of the child and parent rights (WHO, 2002; Reynaert, Bouverne-de-bie and Vandeveld, 2009). The CRC recognises the need to acknowledge the rights of children and has improved the institution of systems to address issues that affect children like child trafficking, child abuse and violence (WHO, 2002; ILO, 2009b). The general principles provided in the convention as spelt out in Articles 2, 3, 6 and 9 of the CRC are important protection guidelines that support ensuring that children's rights are upheld (ILO, 2009b). Specific provision to trafficking in children in the CRC is Article 35 which states that,

“State parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form” (UNICEF, 1989).

Also, Articles 32 and 34 of the CRC indicates the protection of children from all forms of exploitation which are also crucial to this dissertation. This is because, trafficked children are engaged in various forms of forced labour and sexual exploitation. The engagement of children in any form of labour and sexual exploitation as well as abuse is unlawful and against the child rights convention. Luring children and deceiving them into acting in sexually oriented movies, pornography, prostitution, being sex mates or any other form of sexual exploitation should be prevented with severest form of legal force.

The State together with its agencies and partners need to play collaborative roles to address trafficking in persons. It may not be an easy task to define the role of the state in managing trafficking situations due to the cunning operations of traffickers and the complexities that come with the activity. However, the breach of human rights laws and violations of children' rights are a clarion call to institute formidable measures to prevent and respond to the act of trafficking (OHCHR, 2014). The ability of the country and its partners to work in preventing trafficking, requires clearly defining the human trafficking situation as it relates to the country (Zhang and Pineda, 2008).

Therefore, to achieve the goal of preventing these exploitations, the state with its partners should have comprehensive understanding of trafficking activities in the country. This should include the source, transit and destination dynamics of the country. Some of the important questions to be answered should be where the child victims are recruited from, whether they are domestic or across countries. Also, how the children are transported to areas of exploitation should be understood. The various routes which links the source of child victims and their destination should be identified to facilitate control measures (ILO, 2009b).

The CRC further provides in Article 39 that, child victims have the right to proper reintegration in order to promote physical, psychological and social recovery (UNICEF, 1989). These provisions are important to ensure that when child victims are identified as a result of sexual and forced labour exploitation, they should be provided the needed and requisite support in the spirit of restoring their fundamental human rights. The difficulty faced by authorities remains how to isolate victims of trafficking from other types of vulnerable persons such as smuggled or illegal migrants. This is because of the unclear and shady pattern of trafficking operations. A misidentification can further lead a denial of the victim's human rights and worsen their situation.

This is why it is extremely crucial for state organizations, law enforcement agencies, media and other partnering organizations to have proactive measures to identify victims as early as possible, which is the first step in the recovery process to adequately restore them into society (OHCHR, 2014; Rafferty, 2016). Some reasons for the difficulty in timely and accurate identification of victims include the evolution and changes in operations of trafficking activities, poor involvement of government and the citizenry. Others that are child victim related are psychological effects including fear, trauma and stigma, unavailable support and alternatives and non-perception of victims as such (Rafferty, 2016).

Several non-governmental organizations have committed time and other resources in huge quantities to augment government provision and efforts in the fight against child rights violations (WHO, 2002). The inclusion of social workers in the human trafficking control should be considered important, since victims are usually found in places where these group of workers can help their identification (Alvarez and Alessi, 2012). Other proactive measures could include strengthening of vital registrations systems and promptly reporting of missing and exploited children. Also, law enforcement agencies, judicial systems, social service workers and NGOs can be trained and encouraged to identify child victims in-country and across borders. As a global problem, it becomes necessary to coordinate with other countries in the same region or acting as destinations of victims to promptly support their identification and restoration (UNICEF, 2006). The inclusion of these CSOs, NGOs and the media in addressing trafficking problems is in the right direction since the wakeup call to the phenomenon in most African countries were raised by them. Researchers have in recent time joined the crusade in assisting in the fight against trafficking (Adepoju, 2005).

2.4 Child rights and Trafficking

It is evident from the discussions above that, trafficking in children constitute a violation of their rights and need to be addressed. This can be aligned to their state of vulnerability (Omelaniuk, 2005). This violation has gained international concern and led to the struggle for deepening the acknowledgement of children's rights. The 1956 UN Convention on the abolition of slavery, slave trade and institutions similar to slavery and the 1989 UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child are among the evidence of international concerns for human trafficking (UNICEF, 2002). The inclusion of additional protocols to the existing CRC in the year 2000 were means to ensure the valuing and protection of children's rights (Revaz, 2000). In addition to the CRC and other human rights laws against human trafficking, child trafficking is among the depraved forms of child labour and this is contained in the ILO convention 182. It provides that, child trafficking and associated practices such as "debt bondage, procuring or offering children for prostitution and illicit activities" are amongst the unconditional worst forms of child labour (ILO, 2002).

The denial of children's rights is glaring and this may lead to the total robbing of self-identity and esteem of the young child. When trafficked children are forced to engaged activities such as farming, fishing, street selling, begging, their access to basic education and health may be denied (Alexander, 2015). In many urban towns, such victims of trafficking hawk and sell in shops whilst others get engaged with domestic chores at homes of well to do families. These children are usually taken from rural areas and subjected to these forms of activities.

The difficulty for children to escape from their captors make them preferred for trafficking (Manzo, 2005). Sometimes, these traffickers seize passports and documents from their victims making it difficult to seek some basic services from their destination countries or embassies (Weissbrodt and Collins, 2006). A violation of the rights of these children are therefore, perpetrated without an iota of sympathy. Children engaged in these activities are usually not in school, have no access to good health care, unprotected and have their freedom denied. The promulgation of the CRC and other human rights instruments that relate to children have however, led to the increase in the study of children's rights. The contribution of parents and governments in supporting the child in achieving reasonable status of dignity should be valued (Reynaert, Bouverne-de-bie and Vandeveld, 2009).

2.5 Other Human Trafficking Legislations in Ghana

The multifaceted dimensions and effects of trafficking activities has led to the institution of laws and other measures for control through early detection and protection of victims and other sufferers of the act (Danailova-Trainor and Belser, 2006). The United States for instance, passed the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in the year 2000 to help improve victims' access to social services, restoration of rights and reintegration into the society. Other countries in North America like Canada and Mexico have reviewed their criminal codes and laws to cover trafficking in persons in the past decade (Reid, 2012).

The development of legal instruments for use is critical in fighting trafficking activities. These instruments outline measures to include strengthening systems to track perpetrators and their accomplices (Omelaniuk, 2005). It has been noted that, countries without specific instruments to deal with trafficking in persons have worse situations. The legislations and instruments should be adequate to include how to deal with traffickers as well as the restoration of victims. The consideration of ensuring that migration is safe and legal across the country and measures are in place to register, licence and monitor employment agencies is also important in the design of country specific legislation (ILO, 2009a).

Countries without these instruments on trafficking in persons can build on the international ones already designed. Even with these international instruments, it is unclear on the existence of an instrument covering all aspects of trafficking activities. This led to the development of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. As a means of preventing human trafficking, countries have been encouraged to develop such comprehensive policies and programmes (UNODC, 2004). With these protocols as guidelines to countries, a clear cut approach to criminalizing trafficking, implementing prevention programmes and support for victims is provided (Omelaniuk, 2005; Todres, 2006). The progress of international concern to see to the inculcation of human trafficking laws has come a long way.

It is expected that, with the provisions of the 2000 Palermo Protocol, the Guidelines provided in 2002 by the UNHCR, the development of United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Trafficking (UN.GIFT) among other instruments mentioned in this dissertation, countries should respond to this international call and work assiduously to control if not eliminate trafficking in persons (Yuko, 2009).

Most countries in the West African sub region like Ghana, serve not only as main sources or origin of child victims, but as transits and destination as well (Adepoju, 2005; UNICEF, 2005; ILO-IPEC, 2013a; US Department of State, 2017). All three countries that share boundary with Ghana i.e. Burkina Faso, Togo and Cote d' Ivoire are, either on a tier 2 or tier 2 watch list countries.

Other West African countries like Mali, Nigeria, Niger and Mauritania are also countries with serious issues of trafficking and are considered among the main sources of victims in the West African sub region. Trafficking activities in the sub region are facilitated by its complex geographic nature (Adepoju, 2005; US Department of State, 2017). This situation of trafficking activities has made the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) become involved in setting out guidelines to support countries in dealing with trafficking in person. One of such is the Declaration and Plan of Action against Trafficking in Person (2002-2003), which has the ability to increase collaboration among countries and international organizations. The involvement of UN bodies like UNICEF, ILO and IOM have been necessary to fight trafficking. These bodies have contributed in building cooperation and sustaining efforts through the implementation of key strategies in the sub region (UNICEF, 2002).

Ghana, in addition to the general criminal and human rights laws therefore, introduced the Children's Act and Human Trafficking Act in 1998 and 2005 respectively. Ghana's effort to improve child rights development is seen in their being the first country to ratify the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Afenyadu, 2010; ILO-IPEC, 2013a). The growing concern of the development of these Acts and laws are due to the lens used to view the progression of trafficking in person from a social to criminal and national threats and even to international networks (Farrell and Fahy, 2009).

The initial step by Ghana was to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1998, followed by the Children's Act (Ampong, Donbesuur and Samanhyia, 2016).

The Children's Act, 1998 was the 568th Act enacted by the parliament of Ghana and came into force in January 1999. The explicit definition of a child as any person below 18 years old is declared, with clearly defined rights of the child including non-discrimination, right to name and nationality, parental duty and responsibility, right to education and well-being, right to social activity and right to opinion. Other provisions of the Children's Act, 1998 on rights of the child is to ensure their protection from exploitative labour, protection from torture and degrading treatment (Laird, 2002).

These provisions on the rights of the child therefore, holds that anyone victimizing children in any form and subjecting them to exploitative uses commits an offence and is punishable by a fine or imprisonment. Section 88 of the Children's Act for instance, specifically prohibits exploiting children through various forms of labour and bans night work by children (ILO-IPEC, 2013a, p. 12). Labour is said to be exploitative, if the child is denied its "health, education and development". The Act provides that the minimum age for light work, child labour and hazardous work to be 15 years old, 13 years old and 18 years old respectively (The Children's Act, 1998). The Children's Act, (1998) provides the definitions of these classification of labour forms are provided in the Act. In section 90, light work is explained to be the forms of work that are less like to cause harm to the health and development of the child and does not interfere with the child's education. The various hazardous employment (Section 91) include going to sea, mining and quarrying, working in industries with chemicals, work in areas where there is exposure to immoral behaviour and the like.

This means that, some of the work in Ghana, which may be considered as a societal norm and a form of child upbringing and part of the socialization process may contravene with the provisions of the Children's Act. The culture dynamics of societies may have some bearing on the child's involvement in certain labour activities and this vary amongst cultures (Rao, McHale and Pearson, 2003). In Ghana, it is likely for boys to be socialised into various labour processes and girls into their mothers' occupations such as trading (Boakye-Boaten, 2010). The socialization process which may not be meant to harm or exploit the child may constitute some forms of violations. Parents and caregivers should therefore, be informed on the limits of engagements for children in order to respect their rights. This can be achieved through various education programs by state institutions such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and other NGOs.

The responsibility also lies on the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) to protect children with its Social Welfare Department and other collaborating agencies to aid investigating cases on child rights violation (Kuyini and Mahama, 2011).

Furthermore, Ghana in 2005 enacted an act for the prevention, reduction and punishment of human trafficking, rehabilitation and reintegration of trafficked persons and related matters known as the Human Trafficking Act (HTA), 2005 which is the 694th act of the Parliament of Ghana. The HTA contains the prohibition and offences related to trafficking, complaints and arrest, rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration, human trafficking fund, human trafficking management board and other miscellaneous as the sections of the Act. Counter-trafficking provision of the HTA include the 3Ps – Prevention of trafficking, Protection of trafficked victims and Prosecution of traffickers (Human Trafficking Act, 2005; Sertich and Heemskerk, 2011). Prior to the enactment of the HTA in 2005, the government of Ghana responded to the problem by instituting a national inter-ministerial task force to deal with child trafficking. Several activities stimulated the development of specific human trafficking instruments in later years (Taylor, 2002). This inter-ministerial collaboration was also stipulated in the Act to ensure coordinated efforts among different ministries in fighting human trafficking (ILO-IPEC, 2013a)

The Act provides the meaning of human trafficking similar to the provisions of the United Nations (UNODC, 2008) and defines exploitation to include “minimum, induced prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, salary or practices similar to slavery, servitude or removal of organs”. It further includes an individual’s motivation to place another for sale, under bond or service. The Act states specifically concerning children who are trafficked that, the consent of the child, parent or guardian is not a surety for defence during prosecution. The provisions of prohibition of the Act includes use of trafficked persons, conveyance and the duty of individuals with information about trafficking to inform the police, the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the Social Welfare Department, the Legal Aid Board and other Civil Society Organizations (CSO).

On rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration, authorised officers in collaboration with other partner organizations and government agencies have the responsibility for trafficked children.

After rescuing victims of trafficking, provision of care and protection support shall be done by a designated ministry or resourced District Assembly (MMDAs) (Human Trafficking Act, 2005; ILO-IPEC, 2013a). The process of rescuing, rehabilitation and reintegration of child victims should be prudently done in the best interest of the child. The way the trafficked child is traced, its risk assessment and defining its best interest is crucial for the entire process. This will further bring to the fore the place that reintegration should take place, either in the country of origin or a preferred one (UNICEF, 2006). These are all critical processes in an attempt to restore the basic rights to the individual and further rehabilitate them into the society and are in line with the provisions in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children by the United Nations. These include appropriate housing, counselling, medical and psychological assistance and employment, educational and training opportunities (UNODC, 2004)

There are challenges for Ghana and other countries to satisfy the conditions of identifying and restoring them into society. Even among developed countries like the United States of America, the identified victims supported are much fewer than the estimated number of victims. The inadequacy of systems to support the control of human trafficking activity results in loss of trust and sometimes indicates whether there has been an over-estimation of the problem (Farrell and Fahy, 2009). Usually, government reports have had lower numbers of victims compared to NGOs and other international organization which indicates that, current levels of trafficking remain uncertain. This therefore, should stimulate studies into trafficking in persons, especially among vulnerable groups, to provide accurate estimates of the problem (Manzo, 2005).

The concern, which is somehow currently focussed on rescuing and supporting victims, should be expanded to include the factors that contribute to or account for the high rates of trafficking among children (Usman, 2014). In understanding the causes of trafficking in Ghana and related countries, preventive measures can be strengthened. This is because, once trafficked, identification, restoration and reintegration become a challenge due to bureaucratic systems and procedures (Fong and Cardoso, 2010).

The prosecution procedures and punishments for trafficking activities are further indicated in the HTA. For instance, on the prohibition of using a trafficked person, the Act states that “A person who uses a trafficked person commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a term of imprisonment of not less than five years” (Human Trafficking Act, 2005). For offenders to be prosecuted, successful operations by the law enforcement and security agencies such as the Police and Immigration Services and other institutions involved in anti-trafficking activities should be sensitive (Kempadoo, 2005).

According to Sertich and Heemskerk, (2011), some improvements have been made on the prevention, protection and prosecution of trafficking activities. Among the successes include the implementation of strategies to prevent trafficking and showing the ability to prosecute both local and foreign culprits. The shortcomings and areas of improvement include inadequate funding and other resources for effective implementation of activities and provision of rehabilitation and shelter of victims.

NGOs have largely supported activities geared towards curbing child trafficking. In addition to the NGOs, other stakeholders have demonstrated strong commitment to the fight against trafficking and this is positive for the government to take advantage of.

Also, with estimated figures describing the burden of trafficking, prosecutions made may be far below such estimates resulting from gaps such as parental involvement (ibid).

2.6 Concluding Discussion

Children, as all human beings, have rights that need to be protected. National and international communities and organizations have over the years ensured the respect for these rights through the development of conventions, protocols and instruments. In the promotion of children’s rights, civil society organizations, mainly NGOs have played key roles, including participation in the development of these conventions (Reynaert, Bouverne-de-bie and Vandeveld, 2009). The concerns to addressing children’s rights are crucial because of the cost it poses to the individual and society at large. The social and economic cost presenting in medical, legal and other forms are enough basis for protecting their rights (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2011).

The review of previous studies in this dissertation has shown the relationship between human rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, child's right and trafficking. The review has further provided information about the Children's Act 1998 and the Anti - Human Trafficking Acts 2005 in Ghana as some of the human trafficking legislations. Taking the review as point of departure, this study will contribute to the knowledge on the victimization of children into trafficking and how child victims relate to traffickers. In addition, this dissertation can add specifically to the empirical studies on child trafficking in Ghana. It will also help reveal the depth of reporting and support areas provided by media agencies and NGOs in Ghana and their contribution to the fight against child trafficking.

3. Theoretical Perspectives and Concepts

The problem of human trafficking can be situated in different theories. This could be explained from the different groups of people who are affected by trafficking activities. Among the theories used to explain the problem include natural history model of social problem (Farrell and Fahy, 2009), social constructivist (Usman, 2014, p. 287), feminist theory (Usman, 2014, pp. 283–284), rational choice (Lutya and Lanier, 2012, p. 557), demand (Lutya and Lanier, 2012, p. 557), conflict theory (Usman, 2014, p. 289) and trauma theory (Usman, 2014, p. 290). Sometimes two or more of such theories are used to explain the phenomenon as done by Lutya and Lanier, (2012, p.563). Most of these theories would however, not address the aim of this dissertation or answer the research questions due to my interest of victimization of children. The feminist theory for instance draws the relationship of roles and experiences based on gender (Gerassi, 2015: p2). The rational choice theory suggests that the actions of criminals and offenders are based on rational decisions and their freewill, and thus focuses on the offender and not on the victim as this study aims to do (Lutya and Lanier, 2012:p557).

In understanding the factors that influence child trafficking in this dissertation therefore, the victimology theory was used. The use of the victimology theory was noted to be relevant due to its explanation at the individual level at which trafficking activities take place especially in developing countries like Ghana. Although much work has been done on the theoretical explanations of various forms of exploitation, most of these have focused on levels other than the individual level (Gerassi, 2015).

3.1 Victimology

The term *victimology* is rooted in two words. These are the Latin word, “Victima” which translates as victim and Greek word, “logos” which means study, discipline or system of knowledge (Dussich, 1975). Victimology can therefore, be expanded as the study of victims of crime. In this study, the victims are children who have been trafficked. The study of victimization further includes focusing on the effects that the victims suffer, as well as the relationship that exists between the victims and perpetrators, which are important considerations for this dissertation.

The broad inclusion of the relationship between victims and human rights violations makes it suitable to understand the increasing abuse of children's rights after being trafficked (Kostic, 2010; Turvey, 2013). The concept of victimology can be traced to Benjamin Mendlesohn and other criminologists from the 1930s when they began the scientific study of victims of crime (Dussich, 1975; Ben-David, 2000; Kostic, 2010; Sage Publications, 2018).

Broadly, victimology is the study of the causes of victimization and its effects as well as how criminal systems and others like media and NGOs relate to victims (Sage Publications, 2018). Victimology is not defined outside criminology, since the process of victimization becomes a crime in itself and this has made some suggest the inclusion of victimology into the discipline or field of Criminology. This suggestion has stirred up the interest of several organizations and stakeholders to consider the disciplines due to the criminal activities that go on in our societies (Kostic, 2010). The separation of victimology from criminology raises several controversies since the two disciplines are similar and only differ based on the investigation process: victimology focuses on the victim and criminology on the offender (Moriarty, 2008).

This increasing nature of victimization since the 1970s have influenced the birth of professionals such as doctors, nurses, psychologists among other trained fields to handle crime victims. Several considerations have been given to measuring victimization which go beyond descriptive and evaluative to causal research with future practices of enforcing laws, prosecuting offenders and ensuring the control of victimization (Dussich, 1975). The subsequent sections will address ways in which victimology is useful tools in addressing to child trafficking.

3.2 Victimology theory and child trafficking

Several reasons account for the predisposition of more children than other group of individuals to trafficking. The theory of victimology used here explains the greater risk of victimization among children and resultant trafficking into the sex and trade, domestic servitude, industries and producing firms, drug trade, mining, farming and other labour exploitative ventures (Reid, 2012). This is because of the various economic and social vulnerabilities that affect children like inadequate or poor education, inadequate food for children in household and inadequate supervision by parents and caregivers (Amuzu, Jones and Pereznieto, 2010; Gouty, 2015).

These factors establishing children's vulnerability lead to their victimization by traffickers and supports Karl Marx's concept of social conflict theory as used by Usman, (2014) as one of the theories in explaining human trafficking.

The complexities involved in trafficking among other criminal activities through which individuals are victimized accounts for the consideration of children as suitable targets since they can easily be manipulated and exploited (Bassiouni *et al.*, 2010; Alexander, 2015; Rafferty, 2016). These may be economic, cultural or social factors which may push or pull children into situations that may heighten their vulnerability as indicated earlier (UNICEF, 2005). The inclusion of victimology in criminology, suitably supports the criminal and human right models or theories identified by Yuko (2009) in the study on theories, practices and promises in explaining human trafficking laws and policies. Trafficking in its essence has been regarded as highly related to organized crime (Turner and Kelly, 2009). The application of victimology theory in understanding child trafficking in Ghana focusses on the relationship that exist between the victims and perpetrators as well as the geographical spread of the problem. The factors that interrelate to influence child trafficking was also considered using the theory.

3.2.1 Victim precipitation

The concept of victimology includes precipitation factors that may expose children to be trafficked. These precipitation factors increase the vulnerability of the children, thereby escalating the risk of falling prey to traffickers. Although, some people may fall victim even in their innocence, some increase their risk rate of being victimized due to acts of ignorance and immaturity in the case of children. (Lutya and Lanier, 2012). Victim precipitation describes how the victim gets involved in an activity, usually leading to their victimization with or without their knowledge or awareness as well as any crime process either directly or indirectly. Among these factors could be the person's increased susceptibility, poor judgement and association with perpetrators (Meier and Miethe, 2009).

Sometimes, victimization of children is enhanced by relationships and relatives in their immediate vicinity and not by association with complete strangers.

In this regard, some parents and caregivers of children may give them away to the traffickers for an amount of money, as collateral or for settling old debts. In other circumstances, poverty and other economic situations may push children into the streets for their upkeep or to support the family.

As observed by many researchers, parents and caregivers send their wards to the streets to engage in economic activities where they risk encountering with traffickers (Manzo, 2005; Omelaniuk, 2005; US Department of State, 2017).

This is why Kempadoo, (2005) asserts that such factors as poverty, conflicts and culture, which are explained in subsequent paragraphs, are not causes of trafficking in themselves, but increase the victims susceptibility to being trafficked. This has driven the theoretical understanding of poverty as an underlying factor of trafficking. Many governments and their partners and researchers in the fight against trafficking hold this view of poverty as driver in human trafficking (Zhang and Pineda, 2008; Golo, 2012).

At other times, parents may give their ward to friends or other family members in urban places or developed countries for purposes of education, economic or moral reasons. Some of these children have been reported to later end up being abused and exploited in different ways (Manzo, 2005; Sertich and Heemskerk, 2011). It is a common cultural and societal norm in Ghana to allow children to live with their uncles, aunts or other relatives. Further, many families are single-headed, especially by female parents. This current family systems of single parenting and female household heads has been indicated by Afenyadu, (2010), as a contributory factor to child trafficking, all be it indirectly. Generally, the UNODC reports that, the abuse of family systems and social ties and norms in Ghana can increase the risk of children to trafficking (UNODC, 2016).

In addition, in Ghana like several other African countries, other varied cultural practices like early marriage and female genital mutilation can push young children out of their homes. These cultural factors together with gender inequality and discrimination can serve as push factors that may land children in the hands of traffickers. The high prevalence of violence and abusive acts in the homes, schools and community against children also add to precipitation factors. UNICEF reported that, some parts of the world have up to about 50% of females being abused and these unfair treatments, especially of girls, can force them into situations that may facilitate victimization.

Sometimes, when young girls land in the hands of these traffickers, they force them into marriages (UNICEF, 2005).

Gender inequities and discrimination in various cultures contribute to trafficking. Charlesworth and Chinkin (2000), cited by Usman (2014), indicated that in many societies males are cherished and preferred over females.

This perception goes a long way to affect children too. UNICEF, (2005) in its report on trafficking in human beings especially among women and children showed that, such discriminatory practices against women and children increase the risk of trafficking. Also, most of the things that mothers go through invariably affect their children as well, therefore, factors that increase women's susceptibility affect children. These negative practices at home and in the society, contribute greatly to poverty and hardships among children in general, and females in particular due to gender-based discrimination. These have been noted to be key drivers of 'streetism' and homelessness among children and enhanced risk of becoming victims in certain parts of Ghana (Kangsanbata, 2008).

Victim precipitation has been explained to include the acts of the victims in the process of victimization. Child victims may only facilitate the victimization process without necessarily being responsible for his/her trafficking. The study of victimology under the precipitation theory includes supposed provocative, facilitative or consenting actions by victims which further increase their risk of trafficking. I however, argue that, while this may hold in the case of adults, children need all the protection and guidance they can get from caregivers and the society, and these actions of provocation, facilitation and consenting therefore, may largely be external to them. By these externalities, the failures are those by caregivers and the society and not by children themselves (Lutya and Lanier, 2012; Sage Publications, 2018). Adults therefore, constitute the group of people who can establish relationship with offenders through the actions of provocation and facilitation and consent to situations leading to their trafficking (Lutya, 2005). This is unlike children, who should be cared for adequately and protected from the traffickers.

3.2.2 Lifestyle exposure as factors for victimization

Lifestyle choices are everyday decisions made by individuals in respect to their way of life. Many people, the world over are driven and influenced by certain lifestyle patterns. These lifestyles of individuals may increase the risk of being crime victims when such lifestyles increase exposure to perpetrators such as when children spend a lot of time outside the home in certain areas where they have increased vulnerability (Lutya, 2010). It is important to argue that, changes in the world systems and the temptation for better opportunities can influence victimization. The desire for greener pastures and opportunities, may in themselves not be a problem however, the process in engaging in some lifestyles can heighten chances of trafficking (UNICEF, 2005). The risk of child victimization may also increase when parents play an influential role in the lifestyles choices such as jobs, education and relationships. Parents and caregivers may knowingly or unknowingly push their children into trafficking when they are lured into believing certain better job and educational opportunities.

Also, in Ghanaian communities, deviant social groups and peer pressure among young girls and boys lead to behaviours such as drug use, associating with felons and criminals, use of alcohol, prostitution, being homeless and violent acts. These make it possible for traffickers to draw closer to young children whose lifestyle are in common with theirs. Due to the intersection of lifestyles among victims and traffickers, the former are unlikely to report these acts of trafficking (Lutya and Lanier, 2012).

The lifestyles of young girls and boys have been explained by other theories in relation to their increased risk to victimization. For instance, Gerassi (2015) reported the use of theory of social control by Gwadz et. al. (2009) which indicated that, youth are prone to negative lifestyles. These negative lifestyles had the tendencies of leading the young person into forms of exploitation through trafficking. In the same study Gerassi (2015) indicated from Tyler et. al. (2004), some choices of young people increases their risk of victimization especially in situations when traffickers take advantage of them because on low income and lack of survival options. In the varying socio-economic factors in Ghana, caregivers and their children may have their lifestyles altered.

The altered negative lifestyles of caregivers can increased the likelihood that children are exposed to trafficking (Meier and Miethe, 2009). In using victimology to understand child trafficking in Ghana, the theory assumes that, children found in areas outside the home, gang associations and the like are more likely to make a child trafficked than those who spend most of their time in protected areas like homes (Schneider, 2001).

3.2.3 Routine activity influence of victimization

Many individuals are noted to have certain regular or routine activities or situations. Routine activities may be explained as any recurring or prevailing activity that is done by individuals in the population to provide for their fundamental needs (Meier and Miethe, 2009) These situations may become precursors for victimization of children into trafficking. This usually takes place when perpetrators are motivated to notice the availability of vulnerable children who are targets and absence of caregivers or capable guardians against being violated. The routine activity theory's influence on child trafficking requires an intersection of three key factors. These factors are the presence of a motivated offender/perpetrator, availability of suitable targets and absence of attentive guardians. The absence of any of these factors is potent to reduce or eliminate crime such as trafficking (Schneider, 2001; Meier and Miethe, 2009; Lutya, 2010; Asli, 2013).

Further in understanding this theory, children usually have routine scheduled activities such as fetching water and fuel for domestic use, attending school, helping parents on the farm or occupation, leisure and recreation among others, especially rural and deprived communities. Such children may be identified as available targets for traffickers who can lure them with gifts and opportunities for better life. In the presence of motivated offenders and inadequate guidance and protection for children, they could fall prey to the traffickers. Where families live together and conduct domestic activities together without expecting children to care for themselves during routine activities, crime rates can be reduced. It is important therefore, that parents or other relative such as brothers, sisters etc. with the interest of the children at heart be available to serve as protection from perpetrators. (Schneider, 2001; Meier and Miethe, 2009).

3.2.4 Summary

Child victims of trafficking may result as a combination of factors stemming from the separate theories in victimology. The theories of victim precipitation, lifestyle exposure and routine activity may independently underlie children becoming victims, it is important to consider the coming together of these theories in leading to victimization of children.

The application of these theories in this dissertation will serve as the basis for understanding what factors influence trafficking in children in Ghana. The integrating of the precipitation, lifestyle and routine activity will reveal the dimensions of trafficking in the country. The specific theories will reveal which factors precipitate children into becoming victims of trafficking and which activities in the Ghanaian context influence child trafficking.

4. Methodology

This chapter considers the methodological approach used in the dissertation. The focus of the dissertation was to provide an analysis of the factors that influence child trafficking in Ghana. The dissertation further sought to explore the familiarity of perpetrators to child victims of trafficking as well as examine the widespread of child trafficking in Ghana. Media and institutional reports as well as research articles that were relevant to child trafficking in Ghana. Therefore, reports by the media and institutions/organizations published on their online directories were presented. The processes used in gathering the reports and other articles are discussed in this chapter. The methods used in the analysis of the reports and articles were described. The analysis of the data was both quantitative and qualitative and are discussed in detail in the chapter.

4.1 Data Collection

The data used for the dissertation were gathered from online sources and directories of media agencies and institutions whose work relate to child trafficking. The agencies and institutions have online portals, where they present their daily news items and reports. Therefore, these online portals were searched for reports that were relevant to child trafficking in Ghana. These reports contained the provision of information on child trafficking as a human rights violation, rescue operations by anti-trafficking agencies, advocacy on child trafficking, places where trafficking activities have occurred and factors that influenced human or child trafficking.

For the purpose of this dissertation two media agencies were sampled. Other institutional reports and research articles available were searched from four online databases - Mendeley, PubMed, Google Scholar and ScienceDirect.

The media agencies included in the study were Graphic online and Peace FM online. Graphic online was purposively selected because, it is a state-owned and the oldest agency which has its main hard copy newspaper, the Daily Graphic widely patronised across country.

As the leading state-owned media agency, it could serve the purpose of providing reports on child trafficking in Ghana. The online portal of Graphic Communication Group Limited was launched in 2012, which gives it the room to cover the scope of the dissertation.

Peace FM on the other hand, is a privately-owned agency. It was purposive randomly selected from all the private media agencies operating in Ghana. A list of the private media inclined to carrying out social agenda, including child trafficking, was composed and each media agency was assigned a unique code. Random number generator using Ms Excel was then applied to select one of the agencies, that is Peace FM. Once selected, their online portal was searched to generate a list of report on child trafficking. The same search was done on the Graphic online portal to get a list of media report on child trafficking.

Finally, the four selected databases (Mendeley, PubMed, Google Scholar and ScienceDirect) were also searched for institutional reports and research articles which are peer reviewed on child trafficking in Ghana.

4.1.1 Data Search and Extraction

The search syntax/string used in searching for reports from the online sources included the following;

“Child trafficking Ghana”

“Child victims of trafficking Ghana”

“Victims of trafficking Ghana”

“factors influencing child trafficking”

The key variables that drove the selection and extraction were to provide an analysis of the factors that influence child trafficking in Ghana, relationship between child victims and their traffickers and how child trafficking or child victims are spread in Ghana.

4.1.2 Outlining of the reports and articles

The reports of the media and NGOs were usually outlined differently based on organizational preferences and how they report their news and activities. They generally had a caption (title) and the date it was reported or the period it covered. The reports generally are in narrated, reported or story forms. Peer reviewed articles are on the other hand, organised into abstracts, introduction/background, methods, findings, discussions and conclusion format.

Selection of a report gathered was based on the content of the presentations usually judging by merit the relevance of the report to the aim of the dissertation. This means that, in using a media or organizational report, the analysis was based on the content it provided in relation to child trafficking in Ghana. Also, analysis of the research articles gathered was based on the findings of the study. The abstract of the paper was reviewed for the content of the paper. When it met the needs of the dissertation, a thorough review was made on the findings before it was selected to be part of the study.

4.1.3 Documents used for the study

The search for the document included the online portals of Graphic Online and Peace FM Online as well as Google search primarily for the media (newspaper articles) and institutional reports. The journal articles were searched from Mendeley, PubMed, ScienceDirect and Google Scholar.

At the end of the search, a total of 2543 reports and articles were identified. In applying the exclusion criteria of date, titles, duplications and relevance in answering any of the research question, 35 reports and articles were finally selected and used in the study. The Figure 1 shows a flowchart of the selection process of the articles used in the study. The summary of the documents by year is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Documents identified based on year of publication

Source	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Total
Media Reports (Newspaper articles)	1	9	2	3	12	27
Institutional reports	1	0	2	1	1	5
Research Articles	1	0	1	0	1	3
Total	3	9	5	4	14	35

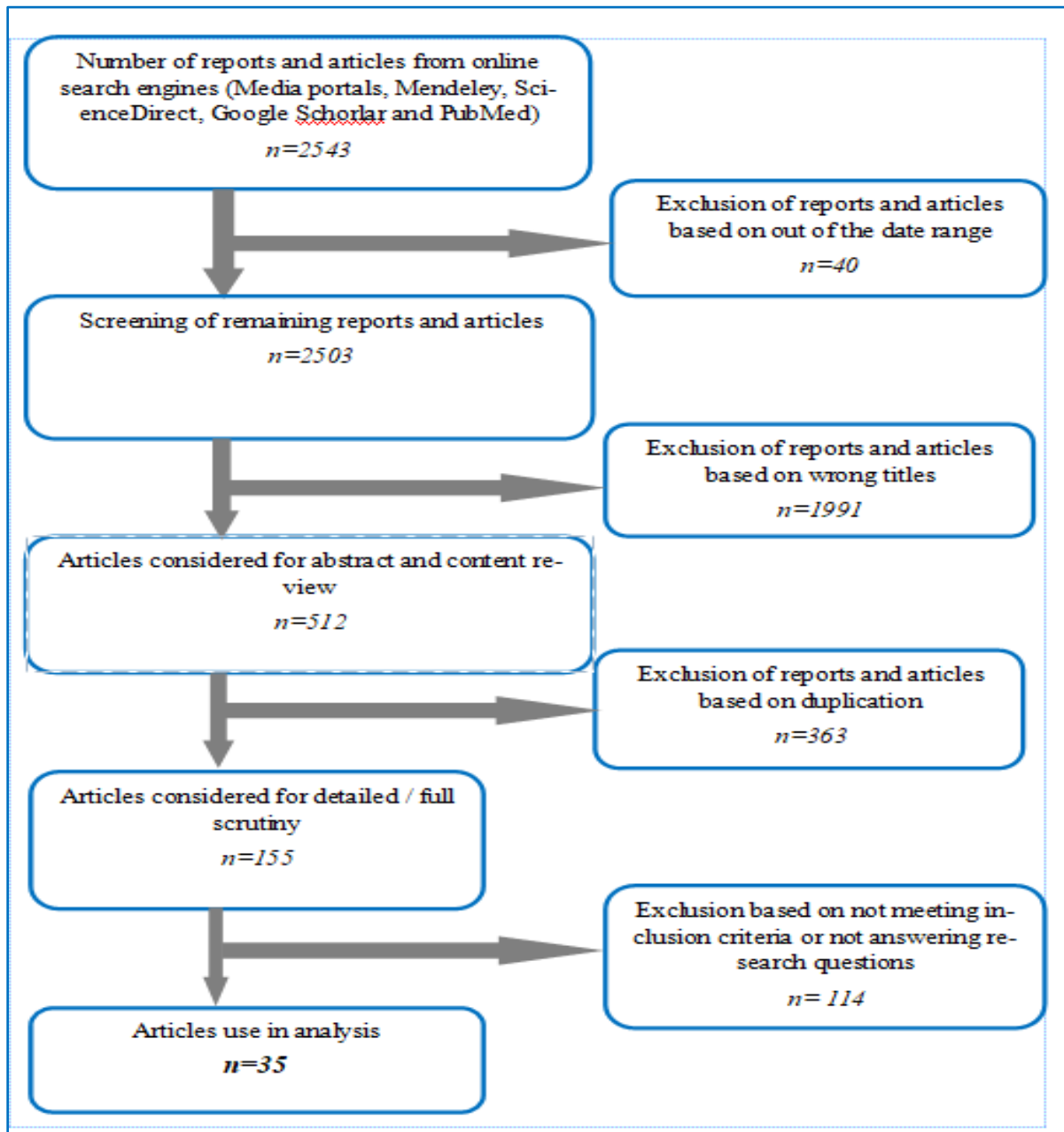


Figure 1: Flowchart of selection of documents

The 35 documents comprised of newspaper articles, institutional reports and journal articles on child trafficking studies conducted in Ghana. Table 1 presents a summary of the documents used. Majority (77.1%) of the documents used in the study were media reports and 8.6% were journal articles.

Table 2. Summary of documents used by source/type

Source/Type of document	Number	Percent
Media reports	27	77.1
Institutional reports	5	14.3
Journal articles	3	8.6
Total	35	100

With regards to relevance of the document to addressing a research question, 19 (54.3%)% the 35 were related to victim trafficker familiarity. Such reports and indicated to a level of understanding the relationship and how familiar the child was with perpetrators. Those that related to widespread of cases were 30 (85.7%) and these documents stated a location which serves as a source or destination of child victims of trafficking. Another 19 of the 35 reports provided a reason or cause of trafficking in children. In my thinking all the above belong in the Methodology chapter.

Table 3. Summary of articles by relevance to research question (RQ)

Source of document	RQ 1	RQ 2	RQ 3
Media Reports	11	23	11
Institutional Reports	5	5	5
Research Articles	3	2	2
Total	19	30	19

RQ = Research Question

4.1.4 Source criticism of data collected

In using already published articles and reports in understanding child trafficking in Ghana, a critical appraisal was done to critique the sources before their inclusion to the study. The critical appraisal evaluated the strengths, limitations and addressed biases inherent in each of the studies and reports as well as assess how valid the findings were for the dissertation. This method was necessary since this review employed studies with different study designs and methods in writing the reports. The critical appraisal aided in the evaluation of the suitability of a study methodology and statistical analysis of the articles and reports reviewed as well as its ability to answer the formulated questions for this review. Each selected article and report was taken through a critical process to evaluate the quality, validity and appropriateness for the dissertation. To achieve this, the steps identified by Young & Solomon, (2009) was adopted and used to critique the articles and research works as shown in Appendix 1

4.2 Method of analysis

A qualitative content analysis was used to analyse the information gathered from the reports and articles. Content analysis was preferred because of its systematic approach and ability to analyse written, verbal or visual messages (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). In the analysis, children who had been trafficked were referred to as ‘victims’, ‘child victims’ or ‘trafficked children’ and the traffickers as ‘offenders’ or ‘perpetrators’. The steps identified by Zhang and Wildemuth, (2009) guided the process of analysis. The identified steps are, preparing of the data, defining unit of analysis, developing categories and coding scheme, coding of text, drawing conclusions and reporting the findings.

Qualitative content analysis was used in line with the written and reports by the media and other institutions as well as research articles. The content analysis was used in drawing conclusion based on what the documents contained and also achieve desired reliability and validity (Prasad, 2008). Also, based on the aim of this dissertation to provide an analysis of the factors contributing to child trafficking, a content analysis of newspaper reports and other published articles helped to achieve it; it also helps to identifying meaning and themes as well as addressing biases in the information gathered.

The analysis was based on the report content which after they were studied, were categorized based on the research questions to be answered in this dissertation. The use of victimology theory in understanding child trafficking in Ghana drove the analysis deductively (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). The reports and articles gathered were categorized into the following sub themes to address the research questions;

- i. Victim-Trafficker familiarity
- ii. Spread of Trafficking cases and
- iii. Contributory factors to child trafficking

After the extraction of data from the online portals and databases, the selected ones were organised using Microsoft Office Excel 2016. Each of the reports selected was classified based on the research objective to be addressed or the question to be answered. The unit of analysis or concept was any online news report from a Ghanaian media agency, institutional reports and articles with the theme or concept on ‘child trafficking’, ‘child victims of trafficking’ or ‘trafficked victims’ in Ghana. The original report was read through thoroughly to gain the various themes assessed on child victims of trafficking.

4.3 Reliability and Validity

The methods of gathering the data, source criticisms and analysis used in this dissertation allowed for replicability of the study. The method of data gathering followed a systematic approach after which they were reviewed for their inclusion in the dissertation. The use of content analysis as the method of analysing the data allows for consistency and replication of the study.

The process used in reporting the findings in this dissertation followed a careful analysis of the themes, concepts and contents of the data gathered from the documents used to ensure the validity of the study.

5. Analysis and Discussion

This chapter presents the analysis and discussion of the study based on the documents gathered. The discussions were drawn from the contents of the documents in relation to the research questions. The chapter will seek to address the study objectives and answer the research questions and these will form its major sections. It begins with the reporting on child trafficking in Ghana and continues with child victim-trafficker familiarity, spread of trafficking cases and the factors contributing to trafficking in Ghana. Also, the victimology theory will be used in supporting the discussion of issues raised and understand the objectives of the study in the Ghanaian context as observed from the reports and articles. A summary is provided at the end of the chapter.

5.0 Reporting Child Trafficking in Ghana

In comparing the estimated figures on child trafficking and the level of reporting, it was observed to be low. Several factors influence this low reporting of trafficking activities in the Ghana and the world beyond. The secretive nature of trafficking activities makes the count and reporting of the exact numbers of trafficking especially in children difficult. Although there have been efforts to improve reporting of trafficking in persons in Ghana, resources and commitment by individuals and state agencies remains insufficient to support the course. For instance, in order to provide comprehensive efforts to address human trafficking in Ghana, stakeholders developed strategies to prosecute, protect, prevent and partner with others. The resources needed for the achievement of the plans were not provided by the country (US Department of State, 2017). The inadequacy of resources as a limiting factor in addressing trafficking was reported in most of the newspaper articles and the governments is called upon to improve such provisions to identify and control trafficking in persons especially children.

However, collaboration of state agencies and partners especially NGOs in dealing with child trafficking was noted to be improving.

The documents gathered indicated a strong effort by government through its agencies such as the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit (AHTU) of the Ghana Police Service (GPS), Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and Non-governmental and Civil Society organizations such as Challenging Heights, Friends of the Nation (FoN) and Anti-Child Labour and Trafficking (CLaT). Other institutions were also noted to contribute to the efforts in child trafficking activities in Ghana including the International Labour Organization (ILO) and International Justice Mission (IJM) notably through their assessments of child trafficking situation and support to rescued victims. Most of the anti-trafficking campaigns which were identified to have resulted in rescuing children were collaborative efforts of these government agencies, NGOs, CSOs and international partners.

5.1 Spread of Child Trafficking Cases in Ghana

In Ghana, results of the study showed that child trafficking occurred across the length and breadth of the country. Child victims were therefore, widely spread. Several communities served as sources and/or destinations of these child victims. From the analysis conducted, all the regions in the country had a community or town mentioned in one or more of the documents with the exception of the Upper West Region. The Upper West region, had however, been mentioned in earlier reports outside the scope of this dissertation. This shows that, trafficking in children is a problem that affects almost every part of the country. Most towns mentioned and repeatedly reported were in the Volta, Northern, Central, Greater Accra and Western regions. It could be deduced from the flow of victims that the victims were moved to areas where they could be exploited into forced labour. With children having a high risk of vulnerability and other victim precipitation factors such as poverty on the parts of parents and caregivers, child were sold or traded as cheap labour (Wheaton, Schauer and Galli, 2010; ILO-IPEC, 2013b). This cements the fact that, offenders took advantage of the adverse socio-economic situation across the country to advance the criminal activity (Méndez, 2015).

Most of the child victims are trafficked within the country and this is shown in other global reports where more than 70% of global trafficking activities take place in the sub-region and within countries (UNODC, 2014; Zulaikha, Rohim and Ahmad, 2017). In Ghana, about 61% of child victims trafficked on the Volta lake were from Ghana (ILO-IPEC, 2013b).

The movement of the victims of trafficking was observed to be from areas with less natural resources. This explained the high number of child victims rescued from communities along the Volta lake. The long stretch of the lake with its Basin covering more than forty percent of the total land surface of Ghana provides enough room for exploitation of children in the fishing and farming sectors (Ghanaweb, 2018). The lake provided fishing activities to communities in the Northern, Eastern, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and Volta regions.

The ILO report indicated that, about seven in ten of the victims were trafficked into the various forms of fishing activities such as actual catching, processing and selling (ILO-IPEC, 2013b). One of the media reports indicated the arrest of thirteen traffickers who held about forty-three children between the ages of four and sixteen as victims in various fishing communities such as Kpando Torkor, Abotoase and Kwamekrom, which were all along the Volta lake (Daily Guide, 2017). Another man from Kasoa in the Central region was arrested for selling four of his sons for 500 cedis (\$111.11) to traffickers who worked on the Volta lake (Daily Graphic, 2016b). Other viable areas where child victims were subjected to manual labour were Central and Western Regions. In these areas children were made to fish on the sea (The Ghanaian Times, 2017).

In addition to labour exploitation on the Volta lake, child victims are trafficked for other reasons. One of the media report indicated that, four girls were trafficked from the Assin Fosu in the Central region of Ghana to the capital city of the country, which is Accra in the Greater Accra region for petty trading (GNA, 2017b). In another report, seven girls were rescued from being trafficked beyond the borders of Ghana to Jordan in the Middle East (Daily Graphic, 2017).

5.2 Child Victim – Trafficker Familiarity

In Ghana, the data reviewed showed that, trafficking in children began with the child's immediate surrounding. It was observed that, parents knowingly or unknowingly were involved in the trafficking of children. This was shown in the 2017 Trafficking in Persons report. A 2013 ILO analytic report in Ghana showed that, 42% of trafficked children were sourced from their parents. Also, the report indicated that, 35% of children who were exploited on the Volta lake were sent to the place of exploitation by their own parents (ILO-IPEC, 2013b).

Furthermore, close relationship existing between child victims and traffickers was established by Adinkrah, (2017), in his study on commercial transaction in children. He reported that, 45% of victims were sons of traffickers, 15% and 5% were mother - daughter and father - daughter respectively. One of the media reports, Today Newspaper, (2017) published by Peace FM online, was on a mother who gave her child out for fishing activities for a hundred cedi (\$22.22) monthly payment. These findings showed the influence of economic factors serving as precipitation factors for parents and caregivers to make their children victims of trafficking. It further supports the earlier finding indicating parents responsibility in sending their children to the streets and other high risk trafficking situations (Manzo, 2005; Omelaniuk, 2005; US Department of State, 2017).

In an assessment by International Justice Mission (IJM) in Ghana, most children were recruited by their relatives. In addition to biological parents, other relatives of children were involved in arranging with offenders to traffic the child (IJM, 2015). The ILO indicated in their 2013 analytical study that, 37% of children were obtained from their relatives. Adinkrah, (2017) also indicated that, 15% of trafficked victims were nephews of the traffickers. This shows a close relationship that existed between child victims in Ghana and their traffickers and further indicates the contribution of relatives and parents to trafficking in children. Sometimes, the relatives send the children to the intermediaries (US Department of State, 2017).

The Ghana situation also shows that, apart from parents and close relatives, those who acted as employers or those who exploited the children initiated the trafficking process. About four in ten of the children were brought into fishing communities along the Volta lake by exploiters (ILO-IPEC, 2013b). These were people who were unknown to the children and had only working relations with the victims. The strangers usually were known as “masters” of these children and the children served them on the lake during fishing and at home (IJM, 2015). Another example was a woman, who was arrested for trafficking four girls aged between 13 and 18 years to engage in petty trading without their parents’ consent (GNA, 2017b). There were other instances where the offenders were involved mainly as business men. These agents who acted as businessmen who lured parents into giving out their children for better opportunities especially jobs and education elsewhere as indicated by Agbu, (2003) and Hopper and Hidalgo, (2006). About four percent of children were bought outright by traffickers and were moved to areas of exploitation (ILO-IPEC, 2013b).

It was an important finding from some of the reports that, some of the children offered themselves to offenders. The ILO analytic study in Ghana reported that of the children seen, 17% offered themselves and 13% came into the communities in which they were trafficked on their own (ILO-IPEC, 2013b). The factors that pushed children to surrender themselves to traffickers were not clearly outlined in the reports. This could however, be from unintentional activities of the child which makes them more vulnerable to being victimized in their lifestyle choices or routine activities. Children's desire to get jobs to earn income to support their families due to poverty could also increase their risk of being victimized by these offenders.

The end of the trafficked child, if not rescued was exploitation. The review of the documents showed both labour and sexual exploitation of the children who were very young. Some were as young as five years and were engaged in fishing and farming activities under dangerous and adverse conditions. Such dangerous conditions mentioned by some of the victims were fishing during storms, children made to direct the canoe by sitting on its edge and being forced to dive to remove trapped nets in the lake. The victims were further denied proper care, access to school and quality health care, which shows a clear state of exploitation as defined by the Children's Act, 1998. Most of these children were made to wake up very early, around 3:00am (03:00GMT) and retire to bed very late (Hamenoo and Sottie, 2015). Physical abuses and maltreatment from exploiters led to several health problems and physical injuries including bruises, burn, cuts, fracture and even amputation of limbs and blindness (ILO-IPEC, 2013b; Hamenoo and Sottie, 2015). These can be well attributed to the strange relationship between exploiters and child victims.

From the above, it is asserted that offenders may or may not be familiar to child victims in the entire trafficking process (Clark, 2017). Majority of the victims in Ghana however, knew the perpetrator and could identify the individual as a parent or relative. Where this was not the case, the trafficker may present as an intermediary usually known or a stranger whose aim was to make transactions of these children (Watts and Zimmerman, 2002). It was therefore evident that, there existed varied relationships between traffickers and the child victims and this was established from the study to include close relatives as well as unknown perpetrators who acted middlemen/intermediaries or gangs to facilitate the trafficking process as indicated earlier.

Some of these criminals pretended to be nice with the parents and their children and offer them certain opportunities which never became a reality (McBane, 2014).

5.3 Factors Contributing to Child Trafficking in Ghana

Trafficking in children is fuelled by several interrelated factors. These facilitate the domestic and international trade of children which leads to a clear violation of their rights as children and human beings (Murugan and Abebaw, 2014). Although, the illegal movement of people is an old phenomenon, the rise in trafficking draws attention to understand the contributory factors in order to mitigate the crime. Trafficking has closely been related to the historic slavery expeditions and regarded as the modern day slavery (Feingold, 2005; Logan, Walker and Hunt, 2009). These contributory factors vary from country to country with specific relations to trafficking patterns, flows and local contexts.

Generally, trafficking is influenced by social, economic, cultural and political factors and structures. When these fundamental structures of a country fail, the centre of individuals' wellbeing is threatened, driving people especially children to become victims of trafficking (UNODC, 2008; Murugan and Abebaw, 2014; Clark, 2017). In Ghana, trafficking in children was also noted to be influenced by different factors. The factors observed from the Ghana situation can be viewed as both supply driven (push factors) and demand driven (pull factors). A combination of supply and demand driven factors enhanced child trafficking (UNICEF, 2005).

The supply driven factors have been explained to include those factors that influenced the victims into allowing themselves to be trafficked. These factors were usually present in the living environments of victims (Jac-kucharski, 2012). In the case of child victims, the factors mainly influenced their parents and other offenders into trafficking the children. Majority of the child victims were at an age, too young to make decisions. This made their parents, other relatives and strangers take advantage of their vulnerability to victimize them. It was therefore, an obvious indication that, more than 90% of the children became victims of trafficking because of these external stakeholders (ILO-IPEC, 2013b). This confirmed the theoretical provision that, possible victimization of children through trafficking was escalated by parents and other known relatives.

The study showed that, one major precipitating factor leading to child victimization through trafficking was poverty. Poverty and poor socio-economic conditions of families served to push parents and relatives to trade their children in most cases as low as between 80 cedis (\$17.78) to 100 cedis (\$22.22) only (Peacefmonline, 2014; Daily Graphic, 2016b; Today Newspaper, 2017; US Department of State, 2017). Here, the indication by earlier studies that, poverty was a fundamental cause of trafficking and increased children's risk of being victimized is supported by the findings of the various reports reporting on child trafficking in Ghana (Zhang and Pineda, 2008; Golo, 2012). When the motives of parents (including guardians and caretakers) were assessed, they asserted that, poverty and difficulty in meeting basic needs and other living cost pushed the trading of their children to traffickers and exploiters. The problem of poverty also encompassed situations when children were used to offset generational and family debt (ILO-IPEC, 2013b).

The fundamental problem of poverty, further influenced individuals in making decision regarding their lifestyles. The contribution of poverty to trafficking in children was seen in many newspaper articles and reports making it an important cause of trafficking (UNICEF, 2005). The lifestyle exposure theory which explains the desire for better opportunities and education was found to relate to trafficking in children in Ghana. As indicated in the theoretical perspectives, the desire and quest for better opportunities is not wrong in itself, it was used as a bait by traffickers to get children. In 2014, one of the reports was on some teenage girls who were given to traffickers by their parents as they were lured that, their children would be having better job opportunities in Germany. In the end, these poor girls would have ended in the Gulf countries to serve as prostitutes, shop attendants and in domestic servitude if not arrested by the Police in Takoradi, Western Region (GNA, 2014b).

In another story, about 21 children between the ages of nine and sixteen were repatriated from South Africa to Ghana. The parents of these children and chiefs of the communities from where these children came from were tricked into believing that, the trafficker was training these boys to play football in Europe. These children were rescued through the support of Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and the AHTU of the Ghana Police Service (Daily Graphic, 2016a).

The findings from the study showed that, although lifestyle exposure factors increased victimization as shown in other reports and studies such as Omelaniuk, (2005) UNICEF, (2005) and Lutya and Lanier, (2012), child victims in Ghana were pushed when their parents were tricked by the lifestyle choices presented by traffickers.

When parents remain unaware of the horrendous situation their children go through when given away, they facilitate the trafficking process without restraint. Therefore, ignorance of parents and caregivers of trafficking and what their children go through in the hand of traffickers and exploiters were cited among the factors influencing child trafficking. Challenging Heights, one of the NGOs involved in the fight against child trafficking cited in addition to ignorance of parents, poor parental guidance and lack of support for children by parents and society as other factors (Awusi, 2015). When parents and guardians do not provide enough protection for their kids, their risk of being victimized is increased. When such poor parental guidance occurs with motivated traffickers, these vulnerable children without adequate become targets for trafficking as explained by the routine activity theory of victimization (Schneider, 2001; Meier and Miethe, 2009; Asli, 2013). Traffickers on noticing that parental care is poor may find ways of tracking such children until they become victims.

There exists a relationship between culture and human rights. Some of these cultural factors are negative and may constitute human rights violation (Donnelly, 1984; Engle, 2000). In Ghana, cultural practices such as female genital mutilation and early and forced marriages contribute to the increase of victims of trafficking. In this study, one cultural related factor found to contribute to trafficking was forced marriages. There was a report in 2017 when some children were rescued from trafficking by an NGO, MIHOSO International. The report indicated that, offenders, in addition to using these children for fishing and illegal mining in some areas in the Brong Ahafo region of Ghana, subjected others to forced marriages in a town called Banda also in the same region (GNA, 2017a). Other cultural practices and societal norms identified were child fostering and recruiting children who were considered as lazy by their parents or caregivers (IJM, 2015).

In addition to the above supply driven factors, other demand or pull factors were also identified from the Ghana situation. These included factors that contributed to the expansion of the trafficking industry, giving increased power to perpetrators to have control over victims.

The poor socio-economic situation in many parts of Ghana was noticed to contribute significantly to perpetrators engagement in trafficking children. Many of the traffickers used the desperate situation of parents to buy their children at little amount. One of the key reasons the trade of children in Ghana was for their cheap labour. Most of the exploiters in Ghana were farmers and fishermen. They therefore, overly used these victims in their fishing and farming businesses. The cost in acquiring and remunerating the children and their families were so cheap that, the fishermen took advantage of it. A mother was reported to have agreed a monthly fee of 100 cedis (\$22.22) from the fisherman (Today Newspaper, 2017).

Some of the contributory factors indicated in the reports were systemic and contributed to the perpetuation of child trafficking. Among these were porous nature of internal and external boundaries of the country and under resourced agencies to fight child trafficking (GNA, 2014a). Also, weak political commitment and enforcement of laws had in a way contributed to strengthening offenders to continue the crime (Awusi, 2015). These factors as reported in the media were congruent to what Adepoju, (2005) indicated in his review of research and data on human trafficking in sub-Saharan Africa.

5.4 Summary

The situation Ghana indicates that trafficking of children is greatly determined by a combination of both supply and demand factors. Parents and close relatives played major roles in the victimization process of their children. They did this through trading their children out of poverty and poor socio-economic situations. Traffickers and exploiters also took advantage of these situations to subject the child to various forms of exploitation. Child trafficking continues to be a problem in Ghana because of other related factors weak law enforcement and porous borders and entry points. The factors identified from the reports and studies conducted directly or indirectly pushed or pulled the children into becoming victims of trafficking.

6. Conclusion

The dissertation sought to provide an analysis of the factors that influence child trafficking in Ghana based on media and institutional reports as well as research studies conducted in Ghana. An introduction which provided a background and problem to trafficking in persons was presented. The literature review of the dissertation outlined the global burden of child trafficking and the relationship between trafficking and human rights as well as various conventions and instruments available for controlling child trafficking. The victimology theory was used as its theoretical framework in understanding child victims of trafficking. A total of 35 documents were used in the dissertation and a content analysis was done.

Parents and close relatives of children played major roles in trafficking in children. In most cases of trafficking, the parents or guardian took money and handed the child over to the trafficker or exploiter. Several of the reports and studies in Ghana showed that, children knew actors of the transaction most of the times. There were also times that, these children did not know the offenders at all and were complete strangers. These were few cases. The victims were therefore, observed to be familiar with most of the offenders.

Child trafficking was noticed to be a major problem in Ghana. Its occurrence was noticed to be all over the country. Nine of the ten regions of the country had a town or community mentioned as a source or destination of trafficked victims in the reports gathered. The Volta lake was notice to be a serious hub for perpetrators and most victims were taken there. The victims were usually subjected to various forms of fishing activities ranging from actual catch to processing and selling. The lake was important in the trafficking for cheap labour because it covered a huge land mass and served as employment for many people in about five of the ten regions in Ghana. There were situations where victims were sent to other parts of the country to engage in other commercial activities. A few reports indicated the children being sent beyond the borders of Ghana with the Gulf countries serving as important destinations.

The factors that influenced trafficking in children in Ghana were multi-faceted and interrelated. Poverty was a driving force for pushing parents into trading their children to traffickers. Others demand for cheap labour by fishermen and weak law enforcement as well as porous internal and external borders of the country. The intersection of the theories used in the dissertation suggested that, they became victims because parents sold them out or did not protect them enough. Also, parents being tricked into giving their children out for better job and education opportunities showed that, lifestyle exposure led to children victimization through their parents or caregivers.

Although Ghana had ratified the Children's Act, 1998 and passed the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 among other provisions to curtail trafficking in persons, child trafficking was noticed to be occurring across the length and breadth of the country. These could be traced to the poor socio-economic conditions in many parts of the county and the weak commitment to addressing trafficking situation as shown in inadequate provision of resources to deal with the situation.

7. Recommendations

The study has shown the widespread of child trafficking and the familiarity that exist between child victims and their perpetrators. The factors that influence child trafficking have also been discussed in this dissertation. With the efforts to control the occurrence of trafficking in persons, there remains measures that need to put in place by various stakeholders to ensure that, the goal of controlling the menace is reached to improve Ghana's trafficking in person situation.

There is the need for more research in Ghana and at the international level to clearly understand the challenge in context of the place where it occurs. Studies in Ghana in particular was limited and was mainly conducted along the Volta lake. Researchers and institutions should investigate various dimensions of trafficking in persons especially children across the country.

The Government of Ghana should renew its commitment to fighting trafficking in children by providing resources need by state agencies to deal with the problem. It is important for the country and the Ministry of Gender and Social Protection to make adequate budgetary allocations to address trafficking. In so doing state agencies responsible for controlling trafficking such as the Anti-Human Trafficking Unit of the Ghana Police Service and the Ghana Immigration Service can increase efforts in tracking, identifying, rescuing victims and prosecuting offenders.

Government and other international support should also include NGOs and other institutions that have engaged in activities to curb child trafficking in Ghana. These should include capacity building, funding and collaborative activities to strengthen efforts to reduce trafficking in children.

The media, both government and public should have revived efforts in reporting and following cases of trafficking especially among children. The media should also be empowered to educate the public on child trafficking and its associated effects.

Other efforts should include strengthening checks at entry points and inter-regional borders, increased police patrol and look out for children who may be at risk of trafficking. The laws on trafficking should be enforced adequately by the respective enforcement agencies and made public to deter offenders from engage in trafficking activities. The media should be encouraged to report on the sanctions meted out to these offender in their newspaper dailies.

Also, Non-governmental organizations, Civil Society Organizations and other partners should raise awareness on the dangers of trafficking among parents and caregivers and how they should watch out for traffickers in order not to let their children fall prey to their victimization. Various forms of economic and social support should be provided to poor communities to alleviate poverty which has been noted to be a fundamental cause of trafficking.

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Appendix

1. Critical Appraisal of reports and articles

The steps identified by Young & Solomon, (2009) provided the questions to critique the articles used in this dissertation.

- i. Was the question to the study appropriate?
- ii. Were there any new additions to the study?
- iii. Which kind of research question was asked?
- iv. Was the design of the study relevant to the research question?
- v. Did the methods address the important sources bias?
- vi. Did the study follow the original protocol?
- vii. Was statistical analysis correctly performed (if any)?
- viii. Did the data clarify conclusion?
- ix. Were there any conflicts of interest?

However, since the reports presented by the media and institutions used an adapted procedure to critiques their selection and inclusion

- i. Was the topic to the report appropriate and related to child trafficking?
- ii. Were there any new additions to the report?
- iii. Which kind of theme was report based upon?
- iv. Did the report contain information to address the main research question or any of the sub-research questions?
- v. Did the report focus have information on trafficking among children in Ghana?
- vi. Were there any conflicts of interest?

2. Scheme for classifying the reports generated

Source/Type of document	Does the report or study relate to child trafficking?	Is the report or study presented or conducted in Ghana?	Does the report or study indicate the location where the trafficking occurs?	Expression to indicate the trafficker and how he/she related to the child?	Stated cause or contributory factor to the trafficking event or activity?

Content classification and coding Sheet

1. Source of document:
 - i. Media report (Graphic online or Peace FM online)
 - ii. Institutional report
 - iii. Research article
2. Is the story related to child trafficking?
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
3. What story or result is presented about child trafficking?
 - i. Source and destination of trafficking
 - ii. The description of traffickers and how they related with the victim
 - iii. The stated reason or cause for the trafficking