

A photograph of three women walking away from the camera on a dirt road. They are carrying large, shallow buckets filled with a reddish-brown material, likely gold ore, balanced on their heads. The woman on the left is wearing a dark top and a patterned skirt. The woman in the middle is wearing a light-colored top and a dark skirt. The woman on the right is wearing an orange top and a colorful patterned skirt. The background shows a dry, dusty landscape with some sparse trees and a cloudy sky.

Post - Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP) survey for the caring gold mining project

Case Study Report
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List of Acronyms

AA	Advocates and Attainers
ASGM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Gold Mining
CCPC	Community Child Protection Committee
FPRW	Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work
ILO	International Labor Organisation
JHS	Junior High School
KAP	Knowledge Attitude and Practice
OSHE	Occupational, Safety, Health and Environment
SHS	Senior High School
USDOL	United States Department of Labor

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Executive Summary.

The artisanal and small-scale gold mining (ASGM) contributes to the well-being of workers in Ghana, however, the sector is often plagued with a bad image due to the dangerous nature of the work, poor working conditions and other decent work deficiencies, including child Labour. The ILO implemented the CARING Gold Mining Project funded by the U. S Department of Labor broadly to strengthen laws, policies around the operations of ASGM and to advocate to improve working conditions for miners and reduce child labor.

Over the period of two years, the CARING Gold project commissioned research work which indicated a 5% decline in incidence of child labour within focused communities. There were multiple factors that contributed to decisions of child labourers to quit work, however, about 50% of such children were at risk of returning to mine work when faced with financial constraints.

This report focuses on an intrinsic case study that was carried out aiming to get a deeper understanding of the experiences of the children who had stopped working at the mines, what their motivations for working at the mines were and the factors that contributed to quitting work at the mines. We sampled eight former child miners, their guardians and teachers, complimented by observations to get insight into the lives of the children, as they went about their daily activities at home, in school or at their places of work.

Key conclusions made are:

- In all the cases, it is evident that financial difficulties drove all the school-going children into mine work. Although parents – in most cases, single mothers, were not comfortable with their children working with them or “alone” in mines, they felt compelled by weak financial basis to do otherwise. Consequently, they either supported implicitly or explicitly.
- Also, from the stories, for some children to survive and supplement their upkeep, they continue to engage in child labor by doing other forms of work when they stop working at the mines.
- As the narratives showed, child miners appeared more excited about the prospects of getting education as a major internal boost to their decision to stop mine work. While threats of sanctions against defaulting children had in part instilled some element of fear in some children not to return to the mining sites, this induced behaviour change communication could be beneficial in the short to medium term, in the long term, they may not be effective.
- Both mothers and children appreciate greatly their vulnerabilities to hazards working in mine sites. However, this was not often enough to deter them from quitting.
- Based on the narratives and results from the post-KAP study and final evaluation of the CARING Gold Mining project, the school clubs and child labour awareness-raising campaigns had contributed to helping the children and their parents/families understand the hazardous nature of children working in mines. This realization is building positive resilience in the children with some resisting persisting pressures of the peers to return to the mines.

Project Background

The artisanal and small-scale gold mining (ASGM) sub-sector is economically significant, accounting for 15 – 20% of annual global gold production. ASGM provides employment and income for an estimated 10-15 million miners globally

Despite the potential of ASGM to contribute to the well-being of workers in Ghana, the sector is often plagued with a bad image due to the dangerous nature of the work, poor working conditions and other decent work deficiencies, including child Labour. According to the 2014 National Child Labour Report, a key challenge in the informal economy is the exploitation of children (Ghana Statistical Service, 2017).

An ILO analytical study on child labour in mining and quarrying in Ghana indicates the engagement of a significant number of children 10-14 years in hazardous work. While there is yet no express national data on the number of child-Labourers in ASGM, anecdotal evidence exists on the observation of children engaged in hazardous activities.

While some progress has been made in addressing ASGM challenges, efforts have generally fallen well short of expectation and have been too small and too dispersed in registering significant positive impacts. Working conditions, including parameters of both fundamental principles and rights at work (FPRW) and Occupational, Safety, Health and Environment (OSHE) are generally challenging in ASGM operations.

It's on this premise the ILO implements the CARING Gold Mining Project funded by the U. S Department of Labor. The project has four complimentary objectives.

1. Laws, policies, and action plans to address child labour and working conditions in ASGM are strengthened, enforced, and/or implemented;
2. Access of vulnerable households living in ASGM communities to relevant social protection and livelihoods programs is improved in Ghana;
3. Mechanisms to increase monitoring of child labour and working conditions in gold mining supply chains, particularly ASGM, are developed and implemented in Ghana;
4. Global networks to reduce child labour and improve working conditions in ASGM are operational.

The project was implemented through the following activities to achieve the stated objectives:

1. Convening and engaging stakeholders to improve collaboration: The Project regularly convenes key stakeholders in the child labour and ASGM sector to address downstream and upstream inefficiencies in the supply chain.
2. Capacity Building: On child labour and working conditions for key stakeholders including monitoring systems and development of tools.
3. Improved access to livelihood and social support programs: Training on entrepreneurial development to allow for alternative livelihoods for miners, communities, and increased access to social protection programs.

4. Awareness and advocacy campaigns: Through durbars, town hall meetings, workshops and school activities such as debates, quizzes, health forums, community forums etc. These were carried out at school, community, district, and national levels. The stop child labour campaign was led by school clubs and Community Child Protection Committees (CCPCs).

Child Labour School Clubs

As part of the projects strategy, school clubs were formed in schools and teachers trained on child labour issues using Supporting Children’s’ rights through education, arts and media (SCREAM) methodology. The teachers created awareness on the rights of children and child labour activities through quizzes, drama, poems, dance and drawing. Through these activities, children have fun while learning and this has helped to keep children in school instead of working. The names of the clubs vary per school, however, due to the project’s objectives of reducing child labour in the project areas and thus point of entry into the schools, the clubs are commonly called child labour clubs as that is their focus.

The schools had no clubs prior to the project. The clubs were formed as part of project strategy for awareness creation in schools.

Table 1 below shows the number of students participating in club activities:

Table 1 Summary of school Clubs

Table 1: Summary of School clubs in project areas				
Name of School	Age range of members	Number of members per Sex		Total
		M	F	
Abedwum, Wai Adu Asare	10 - 17	50	60	110
Adomanu DA JHS	13 - 17	19	31	50
Adomanu Primary	10- 14	33	37	70
Sewum RC Primary	12 - 14	16	34	50
Sewum DA JHS	13 - 17	18	19	37
Mocheckrom Anglican Primary	12 - 17	29	29	58
Grand Total		132	173	375

The CARING Gold mining project commissioned a pre and post – KAP surveys within a period of two years to measure and track major indicators on knowledge, attitude and practices of individual targets including adult miners, child miners, non-miners, parents, employers and institutions within project sites where the Caring Gold project activities were undertaken.

The number of children in study communities who were involved in mining activities dropped by 5% comparing results of pre and post-KAP surveys (47% vs 42%) within a period of about 12 months. Interestingly, the motivations for child work swapped from the need to support personal income (40%) at pre-KAP to supplement family income (47%) at post-KAP. Further, the pre-KAP results indicated that about 83% of the children who were working at the mines

were not happy with it. Hence, surveying about 10% of children who had stopped working at the mines (lapsed workers) at Post-KAP provided reasons for which they quit mining. Namely, 26% of them indicated that they quit because of advice from their parents, 19% realized that the work at the mine was hazardous to their health and another 19% said they stopped because it affected their school days.

However, over half of the lapsed workers - 15 out of 26 - indicated that they intended to go back to work at the mines at a point in time if their ability to afford their daily upkeep or sustenance becomes a difficult again. At the time of the post KAP, 42% of the children who had stopped work at the mines were doing other forms of work such as selling/trading, farming, collecting water and firewood for pay for money to sustain their upkeep.

Based on these findings, the CARING Gold Mining project commissioned a further study to better understand the apparent shift in behaviour of the lapsed workers, their motivations for stopping work and possible reasons that may cause them to go back to work at the mines. Also, perspectives of teachers and caregivers were sought on motivation to child work, academic performance in the school environment and child's aspiration for the future. The main intent of the case studies was to bring out learnings on their journey from working at the mining sites as labourers to their current status as non-miners.

Research Objectives

The case study sought to obtain stories of children who had quit work at the mining sites. Specifically, the case studies sought to answer the following research questions:

- Is awareness creation or advocacy program at the community and school levels organized via the CARING Gold Mining project enough motivation to stop child labour?
- Has the motivation for child work changed across project communities?
- What accounts for the change?
- Is there social influence for change in behavior towards child labour? What role did society and parents play, if any?
- What else is needed to sustain their progress?

Research Methodology

The study was an intrinsic case study aiming to get a deeper understanding of the experiences of the children who had stopped working at the mines, what their motivations for working at the mines were and the factors that contributed to quitting work at the mines. The study employed an in-depth exploratory approach using a qualitative projective technique; journey mapping which aids to tell the story of the children's life-course journey by exploring:

- Earliest experience with mining work
- Actual experience with mining work
- Any available support for change from the work
- The possibility of re-lapsing into mining or other work as well as learning about their future aspirations.

The individual stories were complemented with narratives of mothers and teachers of case children. This technique visualizes the steps that an individual goes through in order to accomplish a goal.

The study was conducted in the two program districts: Adansi North and Aowin. The children included in the case studies were children identified as part of the listing exercise during the post KAP survey but have stopped working at mining sites for the past 6 months at the period of data collection. The following criteria guided the selection:

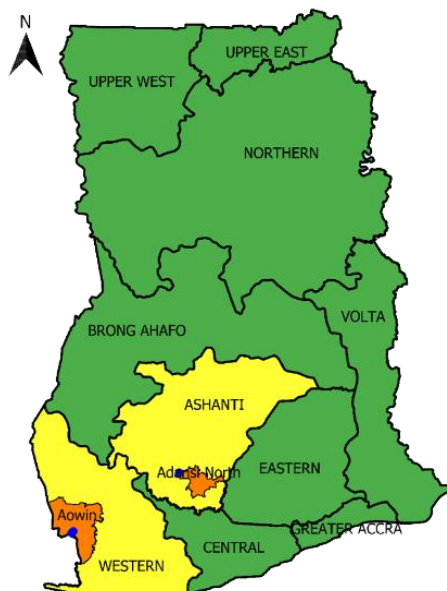


Figure 1: Study Districts

- The child should have stopped working at the mines for at least 6 months prior to the study.
- The child should be schooling or involved in some other type of work aside mining if not schooling.
- Parent or caregiver of the child should be willing to participate in the study.
- Teachers of the selected children must be willing to be interviewed if child is schooling.

Two children were selected from each of the study communities, Adumenu, Abedwum, Sewum and Morchekrom making a total of 8 children for the case studies. Prior to the commencement of data collection, the consent and assent of both mother and child were secured. The purpose of the study was explained to the children, parents and their teachers and on agreement parents and teachers signed a consent form while the children signed an assent form.

Data collection instruments were designed for each of the targets. For the lapsed children, interview guide and observation tool were developed, and separate guides for parents and teachers were equally designed. The interview guide for children sought to gain insights on the child's story from working in the mines, their experiences with work, the motivations for change and the needed support they had as well as exploring their future aspirations. Interview with parents focused on a couple of objectives: child's background and parents' aspirations for the child, understanding the motivation for parents to permit their children to work at the mines and its effect on schooling, and investigating any social influences that encourage child work. Interview guide for the teachers touched on issues of school environment, performance of the children and motivation required for children who had stopped working at the mines to stay in school.

Data collection was purely qualitative approach and we used in-depth interviews (IDIs) and observations of the daily activities of children in gathering evidence. The children were

observed along their major daily routines from the morning at home, at school or work and after school at home which provided a thorough understanding as we conducted in-depth conversations with children, their parents and teachers.

The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and coded for content analysis to bring out the significant patterns of life, motivation towards work and more importantly, the drivers for change.

Table 2: Details of child participation

District	Community	Name of the child	Educational level	Age(years)
Adansi North	Adumenu	Theresa	JHS	15
	Abedwum	Addai	Primary	14
	Adumenu	Stella	JHS	14
	Abedwum	Charity	JHS	13
Aowin	Sewum	Vincent	JHS	14
	Sewum	Godfred	Not schooling	13
	Morchekrom	Isaac	Primary	15
	Morchekrom	Ziga John	Primary	13

Findings

Case 1: Theresa from Adumenu: Quit mining and has resumed school.

Theresa is 15 years old and the first of 4 children of her parents; she has two brothers and a sister. Her father is involved in galamsey¹ and the mother is a trader. They live in a two-bedroom house in Adumenu. Apart from the routine household chores such as fetching water, cooking, cleaning and washing, which takes her about 40 minutes to complete each day, she does farm work like weeding, fetching water to the farms from time to time. At other times, she takes care of her siblings when the parents are away, sometimes on weekdays, especially when she is unwell and cannot go to school. She also has an additional duty of taking care of her bedridden aunty on weekends when neither her mother nor the caretaker is available.



Figure 2: Child cooking, Adumenu

During the interview, she lamented about how household chores affected her studies in terms of time to study and fatigue arising from chores.

She perceives her community to be developing and recounted progress made to include the completion of a community center and ongoing construction of a computer laboratory in her school which excites her. However, her school, Adumenu Junior High School (JHS) is in a deplorable state –roofs leak whenever it rained, flooding classrooms coupled with broken doors and windows. She also mentioned how children in the locality were no longer allowed to step outside the house after 8pm due to a new community bye-law that forbids children staying out late in the evening.

She is currently in JHS 2, she enjoys the company of mates and is excited whenever she can grasp what is taught in school. She loves sports and prefers to play volleyball. Her goal is to study well and get a good job in the future as either a nurse or medical doctor.

¹ Refers to open cast mining which is generally considered illegal; miners referred to as galamsey generally have no legal concession

Theresa's science teacher, who had taught her from JHS1 (at age 14), said she was zealous and enthusiastic in class. She attended school regularly and was punctual too and would always do all her homework and submit them. The teacher rated her among the top 10 in science class. The teacher knew Theresa's mother and wouldn't hesitate to talk to her about her performance in class. Teacher advised that to keep children in school, parents must be able to provide for their needs.

She was 13 years when she started going to the mining site. She first went there with friends and the motivation was to support her family's financial needs. She carried ore to machines to extract gold from mineral-laden stones. She earned \$13 per week.

She knew that the work was hazardous; getting hurt while carrying ore as they worked barefooted; could fall into mud and mine pits as well as getting hurt (e.g. cuts) from digging equipment (e.g. shovel).

Although her parents were not happy about her work in the mines, their inability to provide for her needs especially for school did compel her to work in the mine.

Theresa's mother described her as an extremely obedient child who did whatever she was instructed to do. She likes school and shows considerable enthusiasm about school. However, Theresa was not very healthy – experienced repeated episodes of malaria, the mother added.

She mostly did her work – both homework and household chores diligently. Mother knew about her work as a child labourer in the mines.

Theresa's father was involved in "galamsey"; as well as her uncle. According to Theresa's



mother, she got involved in mining on her own volition because the family was struggling financially. She approved Theresa's decision to work to support the family's income because they could barely survive on what she (the mother) earned since father had swollen leg and could not work for about 7 months in the mines. However, she always felt broken seeing her daughter abandon school to work in the mines, particularly so because of her poor health status. Unfortunately, the precarious financial situation of the family made it a necessity for the child to work as a

child laborer. That notwithstanding, she is now happy that Theresa is no longer involved in mining activities and focused on her schoolwork.

Theresa is now a member of school club supported by the CARING Gold Mining project, through whose advocacy led her to stop mine work. According to her, the club mostly educated members about their rights as children, emphasizing on activities children could be involved in and those otherwise. Also, her father contributed to her stopping the mine work. She mentioned her father told her to quit and concentrate on her schooling since he would now put in more efforts to provide for all her needs. She did not see any prospect of going back to the mines; her network of friends are also supportive of her decision to quit. To

children still in, she believes that former child mine workers could be useful advocates for them to stop.

At the school club, they discuss child's rights issues and teachers are supportive of their involvement. She knew of someone who stopped being a child labourer due to his involvement in the club and that motivated her join as well.

Case 2: Isaac from Morchekrom, stopped working at the mines and schooling



Figure 3: Isaac fetching water, Morchekrom

Isaac lives with his mother and 8 other siblings. His mother, a farmer is the primary caregiver and the head of their household. The family live in a plastered mud house with an aluminum roofing sheet located at Morchekrom and he shares a room with his other siblings. Isaac's father has passed away.

At the time of this interview, Isaac was 15 years old and was a former child miner. He was 14 years when he got involved in mining and worked for around 5 weeks, earning between GHs 20-30 (\$ 3.6 - 5.4) daily.

He stopped mining on his own volition when he realized concentrating on it will deprive him of education. He believed without working at the mines he could attend school regularly so he could learn and get employed in future. Also, he heard from a local radio station the campaign against children less than 18 years working at the mining sites which equally informed his decision to stop going to the mines.

He undertakes daily household routines that are like all children growing up in towns and rural areas – from morning to evening; early morning chores, preparation for school, school homework if any, helps in dinner preparation, usually pounding fufu. He got into mining through on-street recruitment by adult miners, apparently based on his physical stature. He supported machine operations in preparing ore for further processing to extract gold.

Nevertheless, he knows that education is necessary to getting into formal work, which is more sustainable than illegal mining. He considers himself an average student and knows that working in the mines is a potential threat to his educational prospects. He is not oblivious to the negative influences of friends too!

Isaac struggles to read in class according to his teacher, and his attendance to school during the previous terms was poor. However, his attendance was commendable at the time of interview. His teacher referred to him as a truant, who did not take his studies seriously. He complained of his absenteeism some time ago and decided to follow up to his house to meet the mother where he learned that Isaac's father is deceased. He admitted that Isaac has been regular in school after that visit to his home but added that his academic work had already been affected. Isaac can barely read at his grade. However, he is good footballer and athlete. The teacher suggested that any assistance to Isaac should be geared towards private extra tuition at home. He will also benefit from support to acquire relevant school needs (books and pocket money for feeding during school hours).

Isaac attests to the fact that teachers in his school do their best, they teach well but students are not always punctual to school partly due to mining engagements; some go to sell at the mines e.g. water, food and drinks.



Figure 4: Isaac in school, Morchekrom

Although Isaac recognized the dangers associated with mining activities, he did not consider machine operation to be as risky as going underground where the pits can cave-in intermittently.

His mother is excited that he does not work at the mine now but stands the risk to return to the mines in future if he does not get any sustainable source of financial support. She asserted: No parent desires their child worked in mines, but the situation sometimes is compelling since parents may not have enough money to support their children.

She is not worried about the boy working in the mine sites so long as it does not affect his school. She feels during vacation, it is better for the child to work at the mine than stay at home doing nothing. Nonetheless, she knows that children of her son's age are not allowed to go underground; there was no need to fear. Her narrative revealed that hazardous work in the mines largely involved children going underground. To the best of her knowledge, they were only sent on errands and sold petty items to miners, adding that the money Isaac made was mostly used to purchase his own items (clothes and shoes) as well as for pocket money.

Case 3: Meet Godfred from Sewum stopped working at the mines, not schooling and doing 'other' work



Figure 5: Godfred washing motorcycle, Sewum

Godfred, a 13-year old boy lives with the family of his friend. His caretaker has three biological children (a boy and two girls) and they all live in a house with 3 other households in Sewum. Godfred left school in class three when his mother passed away and he had to live with his father's girlfriend who threw him out of the house. He was compelled to sleep in an abandoned car till his friend's mother took him home. Being in school, learning and playing with friends brings him considerable happiness and excitement. He does the basic routine home chores – sweeping, fetching water and going to farm intermittently.

Unfortunately, the father has not shown commitment and interest in his welfare; he hardly supports Godfred's school needs. He works in a washing bay that belongs to the father of his friend. He's paid GHs 4.00 (\$ 0.73) per motorcycle and washes between two and four motorcycles a day depending on the number of clients available. He uses some of the savings to buy personal needs such as clothes and shoes.

He quit mine work about two years ago following disbanding of child mine labourers. He had been in the washing bay for about three months to the interview. At the mine site, Godfred mainly fetched water for the miners to wash ore and was earning between GHs 10.00 to GHs 15.00 (\$1.81- \$2.72) in addition to GHs 5.00 (\$ 0.91) for breakfast daily.

He stopped because they said: *"it is child labour, if you go there, the police will arrest you"*. With this in mind, together with the fact that he would have no one to bail him out alongside pieces of advice from Mr. Mensah (former teacher) to desist from the act, he stopped mine work.

He ventured into motorcycle wash to get money for food. He accuses the father as the cause of him stopping schooling because he's unwilling to supply his school needs whenever he approached him. He is clear that "Bonsuo" (where motorcycles are washed), is not sustainable as authorities have warned of closing it down, but currently he has limited options because there's no one to support him to return to school by helping with the purchase of school supplies. His caretaker mentioned that since he is an obedient boy, she would like to help him return to school. She plans to do that after harvesting her cocoa and enroll him at whatever grade school authorities will deem fit based on their assessment of his academic performance.

He knew very well the risks associated with child labour in mines; he'd often get tired and sometimes have body ache due to the strenuous nature of the job. Yet, circumstances compelled him. His father was aware but did not ask him to stop; however, a teacher advised him to stop because of the negative effects on his academic work. Some of his friends who introduced him to mine work still persuade him to return to the mines but always declines their influence. He noted: *I have already stopped working at the mines, so I won't go no matter what they say.*

Case 4: Charity from Abedwum, stopped working at the mines, schooling and working



Figure 6: Child in class, Abedwum

Charity lives in a house with her mother, father and four other children. Her father is a palm wine tapper who leaves the house early in the morning to the farm and later joined by his wife. Of the five children in the household, two elderly ones have completed school and three are still in school and Charity is one such children.

Charity was in school and left to live with her brother but returned to her parents due to maltreatment. She came back to continue schooling but needed school uniforms; then at class 5 going to class 6, she went to the mining site to work for money to buy uniforms. Charity was 12 years when she started working at the mine where she was required to carry eighty pans of ore to the processing location at the mining site for GHs 120. Terms of engagement were verbal, and she earned GHs 60 for a day's work depending on the load she carried. She worked for 4 months (but not every day) to make enough money to buy herself a uniform, a pair of shoes and writing pens for school. She stopped the mine work to concentrate fully on school after being advised by the school club known as Unity Club² (which she was a member of). Also, upon her own experiences of how often people fell into the deep dug mining holes put fear in her which contributed to her decision to stop working at the mining sites.

The account of her teacher indicated that she had been punctual: she had been in school throughout the year unless she is sick. Initially, she wasn't doing well in school and was repeated two to three times. She is now giving her best. Her teacher described her as an average student with enthusiasm to do more. According the teacher, she answers questions

² The unity club is the name of the school club in Theresa's school. This is a school-based club formed to campaign against child labour. They talk to the children and parents about the dangers of child labour and working at the mines.

in class and always does her homework. Teacher was of the view that Charity is talented in both soccer and athletics and mentioned that she has won medals at the local inter-schools' competition for three consecutive years.

Her mother described her as a good girl, committed to her schoolwork and very helpful in household chores. Her mother said: *"When Charity suggested she is allowed to work at the mines to raise funds for school, the family accepted because we were facing financial difficulties."*

She would like to see her daughter join either the Police or Military in future because she is tall and athletic. She is of the belief that if Charity could learn hard and perform well in school and as parents, if they have money to support her further studies, she can pursue any career in future.

Charity's current work involves the routine house chores such as cooking, washing and fetching water. Her father is a palm wine tapper, so Charity mostly goes to the brewery after school to help with the father's business. She explained that with her exit from the mine works, she would have to assist her father so he can provide all her school needs. Charity is currently focused on her studies and considers herself a good student. She expressed her profound likeness for soccer and athletics and likes the school environment; has good friends and considers her teachers to be good too. She goes to the community library usually around 4pm after helping her father at the brewery and the mother at home (for about an hour each) when school closes.

Case 5: Addai from Abedwum, stopped working at the mines and schooling



Figure 7: Image of a typical mining site

Addai is a 14-year-old former child miner, who lives with his mother and two other siblings in a compound house in Abedwum. The house is built with cement and blocks but has no electricity.

He was 12 years and in class 4 (when he should have been at class 6 based on starting age of enrolment) when his mum introduced him to mining work. At the site, he carried ore for washing. His family did not have enough money so together with his mother and brother worked in the mine operations and carried 90 trips of ore every day for a wage of GHs120.00 (\$21.8).

He is currently in class 6 and helps in household chores including washing. On Saturdays, he goes to farm with his mother to help with weeding. Addai sometimes does not go to school when there is no money to buy food or not allowed to write an examination if he is unable to pay the printing fees. Addai likes mathematics and sports and wished to be in school all the time.

His teacher described him as an average student but shows strong interest in extracurricular activities – he’s an athlete and has won medals for the school and certificate of excellence for himself. He thinks that Addai has potential to do well but needs financial assistance and help with his studies at home.



Figure 8: Addai in class, Abedwum

Addai's mother is a single mother. She describes him as a good, calm and a hardworking boy. She added that due to his calm nature, his teachers prefer to send him on errands and 'tip' him. He shows keen interest in school and makes time to study when school is in session and assists in household chores. The mother conceded, however that, she introduced him to the mine work primarily because she couldn't handle the financial responsibilities alone. She recounted her feeling of guilt and sadness seeing her son work in the mines – doing all the strenuous and difficult jobs a child shouldn't be doing. Her aspiration for Addai is to become a policeman or travel abroad and become a respectable person in future.

Addai stopped going to the mine site after he had received counselling from the school club teacher . According to him, he was told to: *stop doing galamsey and concentrate on my education if not my life can be chaotic*. He is currently part of the school drama club and believes that the activities are very useful to children in the community as it discourages them from working at the mines.

Case 6: John from Morchekrom who stopped working at the mine, doing “other” work and schooling.

John is 13 years and the 9th of 10 children of his parents. He lives with both parents and one of his siblings in a two-bedroom house in Morchekrom because his other siblings have moved out of their parent’s house. He supports his parents in household chores (e.g. fetching water) and his mother regularly applauds him for his willingness to serve.

John used to sell water for his mother at the mines at the age of 10, at the time all the money went to his mother. He did not like this arrangement, so he decided to work to make his own money and buy things he thought he needed. His work involved sieving gold dust for the pure gold and earned about GHs 100 (\$18) on some days. John is aware of the enormous hazards accompanying the work at the mines, such as physical injuries and long-term effects of exposure to mercury and other chemicals used to extract gold.

He is in class six and likes his school because the teachers do well in teaching. He is not a member of the school club but knows that the club performs plays about child abuse in mining sites and this has helped some child miners quit.



Figure 9: Child selling water, Morchekrom

John’s teacher has taught in the community for about 6 six years and is aware John was previously involved in “galamsey” and knows that he still sells water at the site after school. He considers John as an average student and he rates him around 6 out of 10 in his class. Teacher adds that John’s performance has improved relative to the period that he was fully involved in mining activities. He is enthusiastic about school and does well in football, his teacher said and feels John could do better if he had enough time to study at home.

John’s mother allowed him to work in the mines because of financial constraints of the household. However, she realised the harm the work was having on the child and asked him to stop. Mother saw the child’s health deteriorate and therefore prevailed on him to stop. He felt sick (mother does not know the disease) and when he recovered, John was banned

from working in the mines. Mother reiterates hazards to child miners as all other mothers have described – respiratory infections, physical and bodily deterioration, and risk of death

He is now happy that he’s no more involved in mining. Nonetheless, he goes to sell water at mining site after school and returns home around 5-6pm before doing any homework. John enjoys school and wants to study hard to be a soldier in future. He says he would advise any of his friends who work at the mines to stop and let them know of the dangers with working at the mines.

Case 7: Stella from Adumenu, stopped mining and returned to school

Stella lives in Adumenu with her divorced mother and two siblings in a walled family house. They live in a single room in the house with five other households who also occupy the other rooms. Her mother is a food vendor and prepares food in the evenings to sell to in the community. Stella helps her mother with the house chores such as sweeping, washing and fetching water for the house and helps her with her food business.

Her first experience at the mine was at the age of 13, when she was introduced into mining work by her sister. School was about to re-open and she needed items for school which her parents could not afford. At the mine she carried ore for processing and earned about GHS 12 (\$ 2.18) for 80 loads of ore per day. She described the work at the mine as tedious and could cause one to fall sick or get injured.

At school, Stella participates in class activities and comports herself well in class and her teacher considers her to be a good student even though she does not contribute much in class unless she is asked. Her best subjects are Religious and Moral Education (RME) and Science but does not perform particularly well in mathematics and may need positive mentoring among her peers to improve. She does not involve herself in extra-curricular activities like sports because of her quiet nature according to her teacher. Her teacher was not aware that Stella was involved in “galamsey”.



Figure 10: Stella in Class, Adumenu

Stella’s mother pays glowing tribute about her daughter’s good character – hardworking at school and home as well. She helps in household chores and takes her academic work seriously. She wishes that Stella becomes a nurse or travel abroad in future and is therefore doing her little best to help her succeed in school. She is also praying for her. According to

her, Stella stopped working at the mines about four years ago. Like other mothers have alluded, financial circumstances made her allow Stella to work in the mines, although for a short time – less than one month. Stella has been out of the mine job for the past four years. She does not contemplate allowing her return to mines again regardless of the circumstances.

Stella admits that her mother was not happy about her work in the mines, but she had no option than to go because she needed money for school. Teachers had similar sentiments and advised her to come to school instead. Now she is a member of a school club supported by the CARING Gold Mining project where they advise their peers against working at the mines.

She doesn't have intentions of going back to the mines, her academic work has improved, and she is pleased about that; *"I wasn't doing well when I was working"* she said.

Case 8: Vincent from Sewum: Quit work at the mine and now in school

Vincent is a 14-year-old who lives with his mother, his stepfather and sister. Even though Vincent resides with his mother, he spends the night at his cousin's house which is about 3-minute walk from his mother's place. He however comes to the mother's house immediately he wakes up to do house chores like fetching water and sweeping the compound. He has been living with and providing financial support to his sick mother who suffers from epilepsy for the past three years, but before then, he lived with his dad in another town. He's the third of his father's ten children and the oldest of his mother's children.

Vincent does not have any committed caregiver except a Christian mother who provides him with dinner, but he caters for himself during the daytime. He rarely takes breakfast in the morning and goes to school on empty stomach most days. Sometimes friends help him by giving him money to buy food at school. He narrates that the day before the interview, a friend gave him (GH0.36) for lunch. On days that he does not get the help of friends, he absents from school. Nevertheless, he enjoys school when he does attend. Vincent is discouraged when he is not able to pronounce a word while reading. He describes his teachers as good and they show interest in students' welfare

He has been out of mine work for the past two years. He started first as a petty trader at the mines – selling banana for an aunty. Without any provider, he joined mainstream miners at 12 years. Vincent worked carrying load for grinding. He went underground intermittently. He also cleaned/washed the machine after day's work. He earned GHs 10.0 (\$1.8) averagely but on good days, the boss paid between GHs 15-20 (\$ 2.7 -3.6). He describes work at the mine as follows: "It was a very difficult job, fetching the load into the machine with shovel, the load is not ore but rather gravels. The work really weakens your body, you could work the whole day and use the money you made for medicine to cure yourself. I remember when I was injured, my master asked me to go home and said he will come over to my house to check on me, but he never did. Luckily, for me, I had some savings and that was what I used to pay for my hospital bill. My master never came until I went back to the field.



Figure 11 Vincent in School, Sewum.

Vincent is in JHS 2 and his mathematics teacher is not aware he was involved in "galamsey". However, he's heard that some of the boys do work at the mines, but he doesn't know much because he moved to the community not too long ago. Vincent has been punctual at school according to his teacher, but he absents himself on some days saying he was not feeling well. He performs very well in mathematics and is one of the best in his class, he ranks

between 2nd or 3rd out of the 67 children in the class and attributes his commitment to school to the work of the CARING Gold Mining Project, which involves visiting schools to have talks about commitment to schooling.

Vincent's mother aspires for her son to complete higher education and find a better job. She supports Vincent's dream of becoming an artist, something he is good at. She narrates: I do not have money, I would not have allowed him to engage in such activities because that work is a death trap. I allowed him just because I do not have the money to take care of him.

He is a member of the child labour screen club at his school where they go to various homes to speak to parents to get their children into school. He also encourages his friend who still goes to work at the mine to go back to school. He says *"I use myself as an example because I have engaged more in mining than any other child and I know the bad effects that work could cause someone"*

Vincent recalls that the work at the mine affected his academic work, but he couldn't help but to split his time between work and school – sometimes, going to school for one week and another week to work to make money for the next week. Now that he doesn't go to the mines, it's been a difficult journey; especially on days that he does not have food to eat. It took the benevolence of his teachers to help him get uniforms and shoes.

He desires to study business and art at higher levels. and sometimes has a strong urge to return to the mines, In the absence of any meaningful help after JHS, Vincent feels he might return to the mines to gather resources for further education.

Conclusions

1. In all the cases, it is evident that financial difficulties drove all the school-going children into mine work. Although parents – in most cases, single mothers, were not comfortable with their children working with them or “alone” in mines, they felt compelled by weak financial basis to do otherwise. Consequently, they either supported implicitly or explicitly.
2. Also from the stories, in order for some children to survive and supplement their upkeep, they continue to engage in child labor by doing other forms of work when they stop working at the mines. Children were enthusiastic about going to school – affirmed by both parents and teachers although they were mostly average students”.
3. As the narratives showed, child miners appeared more excited about the prospects of getting education as a major internal boost to their decision to stop mine work. While threats of sanctions against defaulting children had in part instilled some element of fear in some children not to return to the mining sites, this induced behaviour change communication could be beneficial in the short to medium term, in the long term, they may not be effective.
4. Both mothers and children appreciate greatly their vulnerabilities to hazards working in mine sites. However, this was not often enough to deter them from quitting.
5. Based on the narratives and results from the post-KAP study and final evaluation of the CARING Gold Mining project, the school clubs and child labour awareness-raising campaigns had contributed to helping the children and their parents/families understand the hazardous nature of children working in mines. This realization is building positive resilience in the children with some resisting persisting pressures of the peers to return to the mines.