

**ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GHANA'S EFFORTS AT
ADDRESSING CHILD LABOUR IN COCOA GROWING COMMUNITIES
(A CASE STUDY OF WASSA AMENFI WEST DISTRICT OF THE WESTERN
REGION)**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work, “Assessing the Effectiveness of Ghana’s Efforts at Addressing Child Labour in Cocoa Growing Communities: A Case Study Of Wassa Amenfi West District of the Western Region” is the result of my own research and has not been presented by anyone for any academic award in this or any other university. All references used in the work have been duly acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

Child labour in the cocoa sector in some West African countries including Ghana has come under scrutiny in both the foreign and local media since late 2000 and early 2001. In response, a significant step towards addressing child labour in the cocoa sector in Ghana was taken in 2006 when the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) established the National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) in collaboration with other development partners to comprehensively work towards the elimination of child labour in all cocoa growing districts in Ghana.

This research work therefore seeks to assess the effectiveness of Ghana's effort at addressing child labour in cocoa growing communities in the Wassa Amenfi West (WAW) District. The study adopted five indicators, as the basis for assessing the effectiveness of the efforts at addressing child labour in cocoa growing communities in the WAW District. They include:

- Indicator 1:** *Awareness is raised and farmers understand the concept of a child, child labour and WFCL.*
- Indicator 2:** *Labour burdens on children lessen and farmers tap into alternative labour sources for their production to ensure that children are protected or removed from CL/WFCL.*
- Indicator 3:** *Children's access to education is improved (positive impact on enrolment, attendance and retention).*
- Indicator 4:** *Alternative livelihood projects introduced and have positive impact on household income*
- Indicator 5:** *Interventions to build local capacity to ensure ownership and long term sustainability of initiatives at addressing the child labour issue.*

Community leaders, cocoa farmers and other stakeholders interviewed demonstrated high level of awareness and understanding of the child labour concept. The people believe awareness creation has helped in reducing the number of children who are involved in hazardous cocoa farming activities. However, despite these notable reductions in the magnitude of the menace, it cannot yet be said that child labour is a thing of the past in the study area. There remains a minority of particularly vulnerable children mostly residing in the remote hamlets of cocoa growing communities requiring specific strategies to ensure that they are protected and nurtured. Again the

knowledge base of the non-permissible activities regarding children's involvement in cocoa production and their possible health effects was low.

On the basis of the findings, the study has made some recommendations for strengthening existing policies and to inform additional ones to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing areas. These include: sustaining awareness creation; need for local action and empowering community based structures; funding of child labour projects and sustainability; government action and collaboration; improving the quality of basic education; and improving access to basic services.

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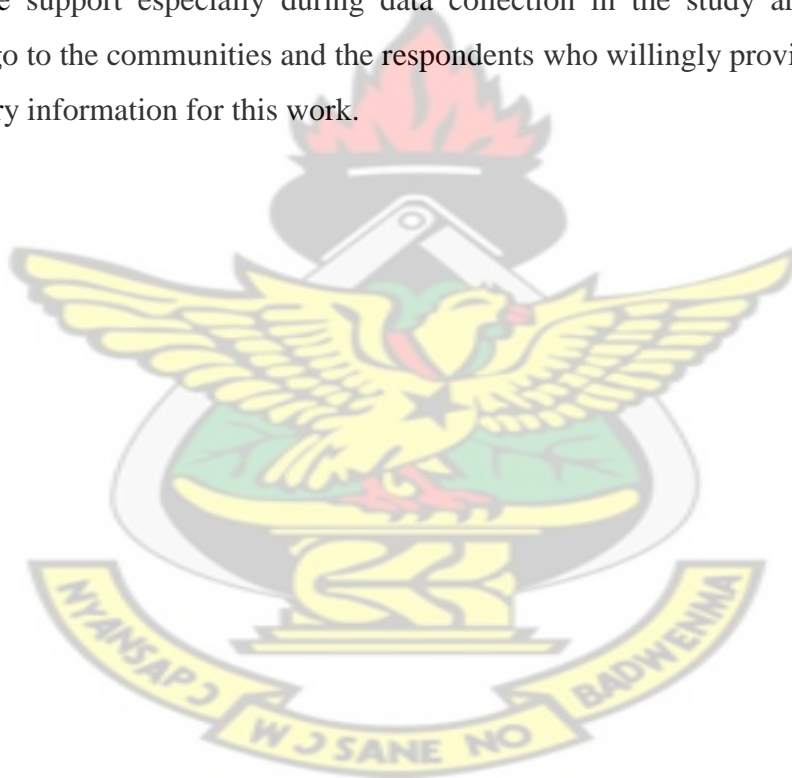
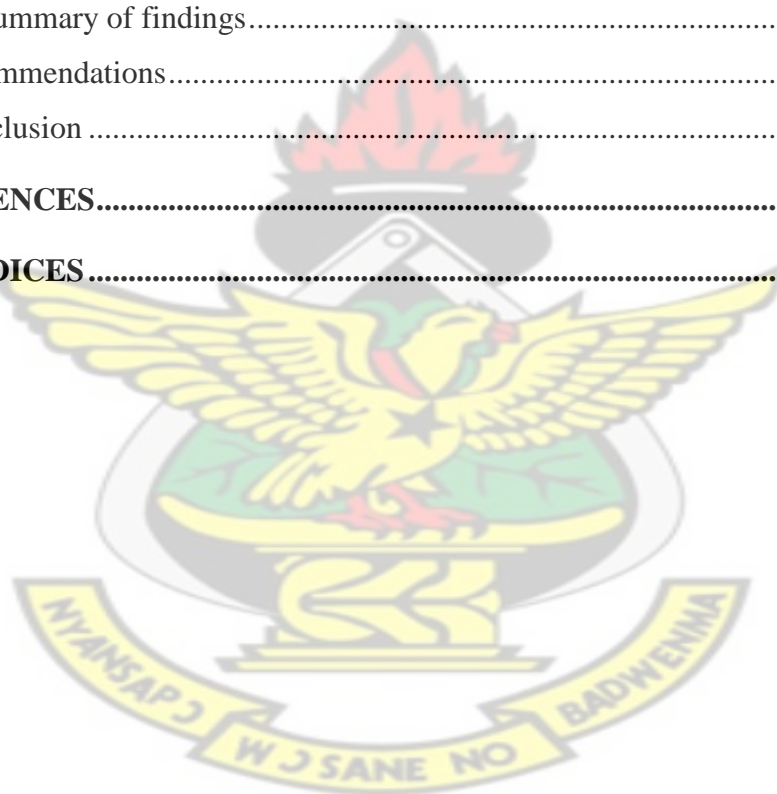


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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

CAP	Community Action Plan
CL	Child Labour
CMA	Chocolate Manufacturing Association
COCOBOD	Ghana Cocoa Board
CODESULT	Community Development Consult
DA	District Assembly
DEO	District Education Office
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
FFS	Farmer Field School
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAWU	Ghana Agricultural Workers Union
GES	Ghana Education Service
GLORI	Global Responses Initiative
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
HAF	Hazardous Activity Framework
ICI	International Cocoa Initiative
IFESH	International Foundation for Education and Self Help
IITA	International Institute of Tropical Agriculture
ILO	International Labour Organisation
iMPACT	Mars Partnership for African Cocoa Communities of Tomorrow
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
ISSER	Institute for Statistical Social and Economic Research

LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
MESW	Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare
MMYE	Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MTDP	Medium Term Development Plan
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGO	Non- Governmental Organisation
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NPECLC	National Programme for Elimination of Child Labour in Cocoa
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
STCP	Sustainable Tree Crop Programme
SWAC	Sahel and West Africa Club Secretariat
WAWD	Wassa Amenfi West District
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour
YDK	Yen Daakye (Our Future)

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The International Labour Organisation (ILO), which over the years has principally led the campaign against child labour, estimated that over 215 million children worldwide are child labourers and are engaged in activities that should be abolished. Amongst them, 152 million are under the age of 15, and 115 million engage in hazardous or dangerous activities (ILO, 2010). Most of these children work in the agricultural sector. According to the ILO, about 70 per cent of all children in employment are classified as child labourers because they are under the minimum age for work and engaged in work that poses a threat to their health, safety or morals, or are subject to conditions of forced labour (ILO, 2010).

In late 2000 and early 2001, the use of child labour (CL) in the cocoa sector in some West African countries came under scrutiny in the foreign electronic media (NPECLC, 2008). The claim of the foreign media is that, the cocoa and chocolate industries were profiting from the use of child labour on cocoa farms in West Africa. The International Labour Organisation's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) also reported on the trafficking of minors for work in cocoa farms under slavery-like conditions (ILO-IPEC, 2005).

Following these reports, civil society organisations began calling for a boycott and other punitive actions against the cocoa and chocolate industries (NPECLC, 2008). In response, representatives of the cocoa industry, in conjunction with the International Labour Organization, other non-governmental organizations, United State (US) government agencies, and affected African governments designed a strategy to deal with the problem (ILO-IPEC, 2005). This strategy was codified in the Protocol entitled *Protocol for the Growing and Processing of Cocoa Beans and their Derivative Products in a Manner that Complies with ILO Convention 182 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour* (CMA, 2001). This protocol was signed by representatives of the major stakeholders with the intention to end the use of child labour in cocoa production and to eliminate WFCL from the cocoa and chocolate sector (CMA, 2001; Salaam-Blyther, et al. 2005: 9). The Protocol, widely known as the Harkin-Engel Protocol

after Senator Tom Harkin and Representative Eliot Engel, both of the United States Legislature, outlines steps the stakeholders formally agreed to undertake to end child labour on cocoa farms by July 2005 (NPECLC, 2008).

A significant step towards addressing child labour in the cocoa sector in Ghana was taken in February 2006 when the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) established the National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) in collaboration with the Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD), Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), the Global Issues Group, ILO and other partners (NPECLC, 2008).

A joint study in 2002 by the ILO and the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) found that an estimated 284,000 children on cocoa farms in West Africa were involved in hazardous work, unprotected or have been trafficked mostly in farms in Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Cameroon and Nigeria (IITA, 2002). Also, a study conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) in 2001, that is the Ghana Child Labour Survey, estimated that out of the estimated 6.3 million children in Ghana, some 1.2 million or 20 percent of them were engaged in various forms of child labour (GSS, 2003). It is important to mention that the GSS (2003) did not provide any estimates for the number of children in the cocoa sub-sector as well as those who can be classified as child labourers. It however, indicates that an estimated 1.1 million children are engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing. These represent 57 percent of the working children, and among the children engaged in agriculture are those involved in cocoa production.

The Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment through the NPECLC undertook a pilot survey dubbed "Labour Practices in Cocoa Production in Ghana" in six cocoa districts in Ghana in 2007. The primary objective of this study was 'to provide empirical evidence about labour use and labour practices in Ghana's cocoa sector as a basis for establishing a certification system for the sector' (MMYE, 2007:13). The findings of this pilot survey represented the 2007 Cocoa Certification Report of Ghana. This meant that Ghana was able to fulfil an aspect of the Harkin-Engel Protocol which mandated affected countries to ascertain the extent to which child labour and trafficking occurred in cocoa production. Again, the findings also informed the MMYE and NPECLC of appropriate interventions to address the challenges of child labour in the cocoa communities. Notable among the findings

from the MMYE 2007 pilot survey were that, in terms of the involvement of children in cocoa production, it was observed that children of all age groupings were involved in the various cocoa activities. The involvement however differed by activity and age group, and as the children age, their involvement in cocoa farming activities also intensified. Also, the study found that children involvement in cocoa activities and therefore exposure to hazardous farm work was widespread and diverse. The high incidence of exposure in farm work and subsequent health problems elicited during the survey is suggestive of significant presence of hazardous work (MMYE, 2007).

For nearly a decade now, the global chocolate and cocoa industries have made extensive efforts to tackle the occurrence of child labour in the cocoa supply-chain. Efforts have been developed in collaboration with the Government of Ghana, development partners and international non-governmental organisations in helping to address the child labour menace in the cocoa producing areas of the country. The Wassa Amenfi West (WAW) District; the study area, is one of the cocoa producing districts that has benefited from efforts by the government of Ghana with the support of NGOs at addressing child labour in cocoa communities. The NPECLC initiative, the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI)'s Yen Daakye (YDK) Project and other government social protection programmes are interventions to curb the rate of child labour in the WAW District. This research therefore focused on assessing the effectiveness of these interventions in addressing child labour in Wassa Amenfi District.

1.2 Problem Statement

In recent years, concerns have been raised by civil society organisations about child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector and its consequences on children's education in particular and the country's human capital development in general. The ILO in its 2010 global report noted that, countries which have ratified the "Convention 182", which calls on governments to introduce laws and policies for the elimination of WFCL, are neglecting their obligation (ILO, 2010). ILO therefore claims that the pace of progress is not fast enough to achieve the 2016 target of eliminating all worst forms of child labour and has called for a re-energized global campaign to end the practice (ILO, 2010 p.xiii). This report raises concerns regarding the effectiveness of activities and projects that have been put in place by countries including Ghana in tackling the child labour menace which this study seeks to verify.

In Ghana, interventions have been put in place by the government since the establishment of the NPECLC in 2006 with the support of NGOs to improve the situation of children in cocoa communities, including the Wassa Amenfi West District, for almost a decade now. However, the problem remains as to what extent these interventions are effectively addressing the issue of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector and thereby helping to improve the socio- economic conditions of children and cocoa communities.

Children have been found to be involved in activities such as pesticide application without wearing protective clothing, handling of chemical fertilizers, cutting of cocoa pods with the harvesting hook locally known in the southern part of Ghana as “soso”, carrying of heavy loads, and usage of machete (GAWU, 2006; MMYE 2007, 2008). While children's involvement in agriculture may indeed be a normal and useful part of their socialization and development of work skills in many countries, the reality of farm work for many children is often harsh. Children involvement in the aforementioned activities poses physical harm to them. Furthermore, child labourers are often denied the opportunity (temporarily or entirely) of attending school, effectively limiting their development potential and jeopardizing their future. Casely-Hayford (2004), in a study in the cocoa growing areas corroborates many of the above findings. According to him, children reported that they often have red and itchy eyes for several days after the spraying has been carried out and are compelled to stay out of school for several days. Casely-Hayford (2004) also indicated that even children in school are sometimes pulled out to engage in the farming activities particularly during the cocoa seasons. Children involvement in these activities therefore affects their school enrolment, attendance and completion rates. Even though the 1992 constitution of Ghana as well as the Children's Act of 1999 (Act 560) are all against child labour, the practice still persist in most areas of the country including cocoa growing communities.

Again the interventions implemented are ultimately expected to eliminate child labour in the cocoa sector by addressing its causes and consequently improve the welfare of children in cocoa communities. Despite these interventions, there has been no empirical evaluation of their effects on child labour in the WAW district. Consequently, the situation in the field remains unclear as to whether they are effectively contributing to addressing child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. While

some studies such as MMYE (2008); NPECLC (2008); SWAC and OECD (2011) have found that the interventions in the cocoa sector have increased awareness on child labour, increased school enrolment, others such as Odonkor (2007); Casely-Hayford (2004); and ILO (2007) have also indicated the limitation of the interventions in addressing the underlying causes of the problem including poverty, poor accessibility and quality of basic education and thereby perpetuating child labour in cocoa communities. There is clearly a need for rigorous assessment of the interventions implemented in the WAW District to ascertain its effectiveness towards the elimination of child labour in Ghana's cocoa communities.

1.3 Research Questions

The broad question that the study attempts to explore is that: to what extent are the identified interventions effectively addressing the issue of child labour (CL) in Ghana's cocoa sector?

Specifically, the research questions that this study seeks to find answers to are:

- To what extent are the cocoa farmers in the WAW District aware of the child labour concept and its effects?
- What are the interventions addressing in the cocoa growing communities in WAW District?
- What factors, if any, are preventing the full realisation of the benefits of these interventions?
- In what ways can existing policies be strengthened and additional ones designed to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing areas?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to assess the extent to which Ghana has made progress in addressing WFCL through interventions by governments and NGOs and how the conditions of children in cocoa communities have improved. The specific objectives are to:

- Establish the level of awareness of cocoa farmers in Wassa Amenfi West District of the child labour concept and its effects

- Identify factors that prevent these interventions from meeting the aim of eliminating child labour in the target communities
- Make policy recommendations to guide future projects or interventions towards the elimination of child labour in cocoa growing areas.

1.5 Justification of the study

This study is expected to bring to the fore the effectiveness of Ghana's efforts at addressing child labour in cocoa in the study area and add to the knowledge base in fighting child labour in cocoa growing areas.

Again, this study will provide understanding and insight into child labour prevention mechanisms and child protection laws with regard to enforcement.

Further, this research will provide information for the Ghana National Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) to update their strategies, in the fight against child labour.

1.6 Scope of the study

Geographically, the study will be carried out in Wassa Amenfi West District of the Western Region of Ghana. It is bounded to the west by Sefwi Wiawso and Aowin Suaman districts, to the south by Jomoro and Nzema East, to the south-east by Wassa West and to the north by Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai and to north-east by Wassa Amenfi East. Agriculture employs about 75.6 percent of the active labour force and about 95 percent of the agric labour force is made up of cocoa farmers. The Wassa Amenfi West District has been purposively chosen for this study because as of 2009, this was the one district that produced the highest volume of cocoa in Ghana, revealing the intensity of cocoa work that takes place in this district (COCOBOD, 2010). Also the WAW District is one of the cocoa producing districts in Ghana which has been targeted by NPECLC and NGOs for interventions to reduce or eliminate child labour.

In terms of content, the study will assess to what extent the identified interventions are effectively addressing the issue of child labour (CL) in Ghana's cocoa sector and thereby helping to improve the socio- economic conditions of children and cocoa communities.

Specifically it will focus on assessing significant changes brought about by the identified interventions in the WAW District to curb child labour in the cocoa sector. In addition the study will investigate factors that prevent these interventions from meeting the aim of eliminating child labour in the target communities in order to make recommendations to guide future projects or interventions.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

This study is organised into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the research and outline the problem statement and asks the relevant research questions. It further states the specific objectives for the research, defines its scope and gives a justification for the research. This chapter is relevant to the study because it puts the study into perspective and helps to check deviations.

The second chapter presents a review of relevant literature on child labour and the definitions of relevant terminologies. The chapter provides the perspectives of the subject matter and Ghana's effort at addressing the child labour menace and help shape a methodology for the research.

Chapter Three provides a detailed description of the methodology for the study. It consists of the research design adopted, the data requirement and the sources of the data, the data collection tools and techniques, the sampling technique and the framework for data analysis and reporting. This chapter provides a guide as to the conduct of the field study.

Chapter four presents an analysis of the data gathered from the study area organised along the research questions. This is a very important chapter in the research because it provides the information to answer the research questions raised in chapter one. The findings are based on the data analysed in this chapter.

The fifth chapter constitutes the key findings of the study and a set of recommendations and a general conclusion for the study. This is very relevant to the study because it discloses information which hitherto was unknown and hence adds to the existing body of knowledge.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW ON CHILD LABOUR ISSUES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a review of relevant literature on the topic in order to get in-depth knowledge and views of other researchers on the child labour issue. It deals with concepts, relevant terminologies and perspectives of the subject matter as well as Ghana's efforts at addressing the child labour menace, particularly in the Wassa Amenfi West District. It looks at the definition of key terms and concepts such as intervention, effectiveness, Child Labour, Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) and Child Development. It also looks at an overview of national legal framework for the protection of children. The chapter ends with highlights of some social protection policies that are being implemented in Ghana to reduce poverty and by extension to reduce child labour and finally concludes the chapter with some emerging issues from the review.

2.2 Definition of Terms and Concepts

Since the study seeks to assess the effectiveness of efforts or interventions that have been put in place to address Child Labour in cocoa growing communities, there is the need to know what is meant by intervention, effectiveness, as well as the concept of Child Development, Child Labour and Worst Forms of Child Labour.

2.2.1 Child Labour Intervention

Intervention, according to Collins Gem English¹ dictionary, is a measure to save a situation or stop something, especially conflict or an unwanted situation. In the context of this study, child labour intervention could be in the form of a policy, approach, programme, project, or any line of action to address child labour in cocoa growing communities and improve the situation of children involvement in cocoa activities. For this study also both direct and indirect interventions will be considered. Direct intervention will include projects, programmes or any action that directly targets children in cocoa growing areas (i.e. children as direct beneficiaries),

¹ 10th Edition, 2009

particularly those between the ages of 5 to 17 years. Such interventions may include education, skills/vocational training, rehabilitation and remediation. On the other hand, interventions that indirectly target children between the ages of 5 to 17 years through intermediary structures, organizations or agents working or living with children will be considered indirect intervention. They may include community mobilisation, raising awareness and sensitisation, capacity building, infrastructure, health and micro credit.

2.2.2 Effectiveness

According to Collins English dictionary², something that is effective works well and produces the results that were intended. Effectiveness seems to have many different meanings. In terms of its definition, for Young and Levy (1999, p.3), “effectiveness” is *“a matter of contribution that institutions make to solving the problems that motivate actors to invest the time and energy needed to create them”*. Wimbush and Watsan (2000) consider that intended and unintended effects of policies, projects and programmes could be identified as a result of effectiveness evaluation. In the impact assessment field, Sadler (1996) defined effectiveness as *“how well something works or whether it works as intended and meets the purposes for which it is designed”* (p.37).

According to Rotary International (2011), effective service projects do more than just offer a quick fix for problems. Rather the most effective service projects should be able to:

- *Respond to real issues*
- *Improve community members’ lives*
- *Incorporate the abilities of those who are served*
- *Recognize the contributions of all participants as important and necessary*
- *Are based on a realistic assessment of available resources*
- *Aim for specific goals and objectives with measurable results*
- *Build effective networks*
- *Empower people and communities*

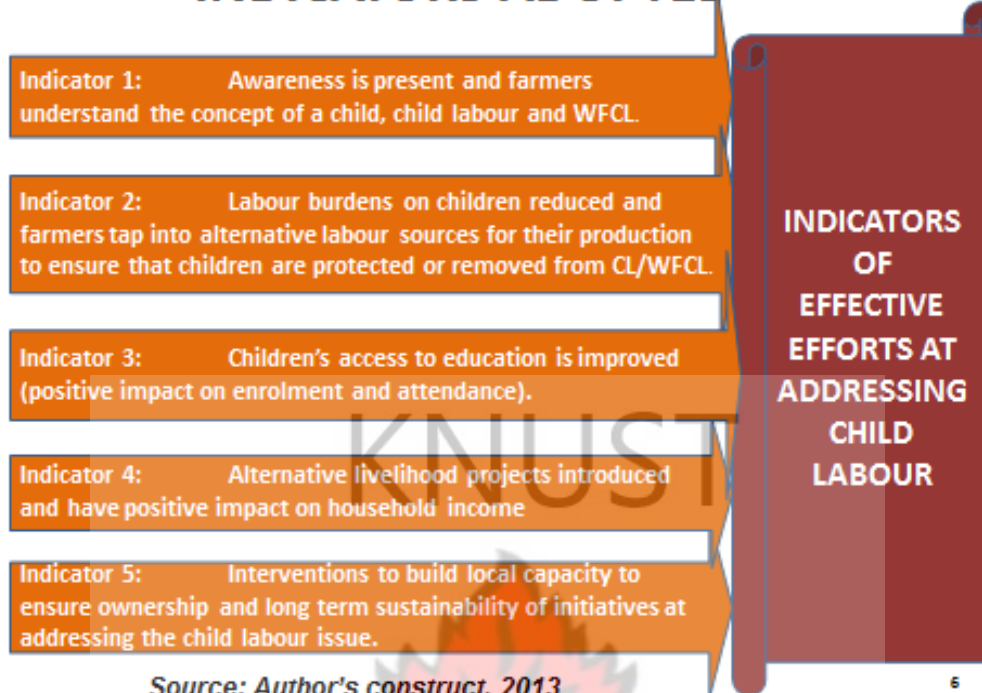
² 10th Edition, 2009

ILO-IPEC (2002) in a handbook published by the Regional Working Group on Child Labour in Asia (RWG-CL) has indicated that relevant programmes to eliminate the worst forms of child labour, including trafficking should facilitate relevant practical actions including working to:

- *Ratify international agreements and systematically monitor progress in complying with standards set in these agreements;*
- *Strengthen law enforcement and make it more child sensitive;*
- *Change national laws and policies in line with international agreements;*
- *Raise public awareness and change attitudes, behaviours and practices about the rights of abused and exploited children;*
- *Provide compulsory, free, flexible and good quality basic education;*
- *Raise awareness to prevent the worst forms of child labour, including trafficking;*
- *Identify children at special risk and take account of the special situation of girls in order to protect them;*
- *Remove children from the worst forms of child labour, including trafficking, through regulation and enforcement;*
- *Rehabilitate and re-integrate exploited and trafficked children;*
- *Provide vocational training, employment, and protected work schemes;*
- *Provide skills training for rural self-employment;*
- *Eradicate poverty and create alternative economic opportunities;*
- *Control and reduce the demand for child labourers.*

Effectiveness for the purpose of this study will be measured based on how the different components of the identified interventions or projects have contributed or contributing to the efforts in addressing child labour in cocoa growing communities. In addition, ‘effectiveness’ of the child labour projects for the purpose of this study, will be considering how well the interventions have addressed the child labour issue based on the following indicators;

INDICATORS ADOPTED



Indicator 1: *Awareness is present and farmers understand the concept of a child, child labour and Worst Forms of Child Labour.*

Awareness and social mobilization campaigns that promote understanding of child labour, its impact and potential solutions, including the importance of education to children's long-term welfare and future employability will be important in the fight against the child labour menace. Specifically, targeted awareness creation should provide information about specific dangers experienced by those working in the cocoa and agricultural sector in general. The awareness-raising strategies should be able to have a positive impact in promoting schooling or training of children and the youth that can be used to help reduce child labour and hazards in the cocoa sector. As a result effective child labour interventions or efforts directed at eliminating child labour have to develop strategies and ways of promoting awareness of the risks of child labour among children, households, and farmers in the communities.

Indicator 2: *Labour burdens on children reduced and farmers tap into alternative labour sources for their production to ensure that children are protected or removed from Child Labour/Worst Forms of Child Labour.*

The Convention on the Rights of the Child along with a host of other international agreements and national laws including the Children's Act of Ghana affirm the right of all children to live in freedom from exploitation. Effective efforts to eliminate child labour should therefore include taking pragmatic plans in ensuring that children are removed immediately from the worst forms of child labour and provided with care and education.

Indicator 3: *Children's access to education is improved (positive impact on enrolment and attendance).*

Education is pivotal to eliminating and preventing child labour, to establishing a skilled workforce and to promoting development based on the principles of social justice and human rights. ILO-IPEC has significant experience in using education as a principal means of combating child labour. It has done so by providing non-formal education opportunities for child labourers, mainstreaming former child labourers into the education system, and building national alliances to make education policies and systems more responsive to children at risk.

Children with no access to quality education have little alternative but to enter the labour market where they are often forced to work in dangerous and exploitative conditions.

On the other hand, child labour is a major obstacle to education, since children who are working full time cannot go to school. For those who combine work and school, their educational achievement will suffer and there is a strong tendency for them to drop out of school to go into fulltime employment. Primary education in most countries is not completely free and in most developing countries schooling is not accessible to all children. Parents who send their children to primary school must shoulder numerous indirect costs, such as uniforms and textbooks. Furthermore, they incur the opportunity cost, which is the wage that the child would earn if she or he was working instead of going to school. Effective child labour interventions should therefore work to increase enrolment and completion rates for former child labourers,

working children and children at risk, and through the provision of life skills and livelihood training for older children.

Indicator 4: *Alternative livelihood projects introduced and have positive impact on household income*

Studies including GSS (2003), ACHD (2004) and Casely-Hayford (2004) have all identified poverty and lack of sustainable alternative livelihood programs as some of the underlying causes of child labour. This study therefore supports the idea that, effective child labour intervention should be able to help promote improved and sustainable livelihood opportunities for poor households in order to offset income currently earned by children. Livelihood services may include education, training, income smoothing, social capital, and employment services, as well as economic strengthening and cooperatives.

Interventions should be able to help individual families to diversify livelihoods and create more sustainable incomes. Also the families have to be encouraged as part of the project to use these incomes to keep children in school and out of child labour. By diversifying livelihoods and increasing access to income generating activities families will be able to increase incomes and become more resilient, better able to weather minor crises and keep children out of child labour and in school.

Indicator 5: *Interventions build local capacity to ensure ownership and long term sustainability of initiatives at addressing the child labour issue.*

The capacity of existing structures such as community policing, child rights organizations, labour inspectorates, and village/community committees have to be strengthened. This will permit effective implementation of policy measures aimed at eliminating child labour.

Therefore, effective effort at addressing child labour issues should be able to identify capacity building needs for child labour law enforcers especially at the local community level and develop appropriate training tools to be adapted to each category of enforcers. Also existing child labour legislations, both national and international, provide a strong basis for protective actions. However, strong enforcement is needed to ensure that child labour legislations/ regulations that exist are well understood and implemented.

2.2.3 Concept of Child Labour

The 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana defines a child as anyone below the age of 18 years. A child in this study refers to anyone below the age of 18 years. The concept of child labour is based on the ILO Minimum Age Convention No. 138 of 1973, which represents the international definition of minimum age for admission to employment or work. The ILO asserts that work that does not interfere with children's education (light work) is permitted from the age of 13 years (ILO Convention 138). The worst forms of child labour according to the ILO Convention 182 includes enslaving children, forcibly recruiting children as prostitutes, trafficking and forcing children into illegal activities and exposing them to hazardous work. Also the Convention No. 138 sets 15 years as the general minimum age for employment. In effect any work in violation of the convention is considered child labour and should be eliminated. In Ghana, child labour is defined as all work that is harmful and hazardous to a child's health, safety and development; taking into consideration the age of the child, the conditions under which the work takes place and the time at which the work is done (MMYE, 2007). The import of this definition is that the mere involvement of a child in cocoa activities does not necessarily constitute child labour. As Baah (2010) puts it, it is the nature of the activity or task the child is undertaking, his or her age and the conditions under which the task is undertaken and the time in which it is done that provides indications of whether there is the incidence of child labour or not. Under the Ghana Children Act of 1998 (Act 560), minimum age for admission of children into employment is fifteen (15). However, children may be employed at the age of thirteen (13) to do light work whereas the minimum age for engagement of persons in hazardous work or work likely to be harmful is eighteen (18) years.

The ILO (2002) further clarifies that child labour is not the participation of a child in work that does not affect his/her health and personal development or interferes with his/her schooling. Such work includes helping their parents care for the home and the family, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays. It can be deduced therefore that children can undertake some activities in cocoa productions to support their parents/ families provided those activities are not going to have negative consequences on the child's health, safety and development.

For the purpose of this study, child labour is taken to mean the involvement of children in any work (economic or non-economic) that hinders the child's effective participation and attendance in school or has the potential to endanger their physical, health, safety or moral development.

2.3 National legal frameworks for the protection of children

Children are vulnerable, need special care and attention and need opportunities and support to develop their potentials. This vulnerability derives from the fact that they do not yet have enough information about society and how the systems of society function. Children therefore can be manipulated, exploited and abused and must therefore be protected. They have been provided with special rights through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC³). One of these rights is that all decisions taken on their behalf are taken in their best interests and with their opinions progressively taken into account as they develop the ability to express them.

To protect and promote the wellbeing of children in Ghana, the state has put in place a legal framework. The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana guarantees the protection of children from any work that constitutes a threat to their health, education or development and includes the concept of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education. Section 28 of the constitution guarantees children "the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to (their) health, education or development". Ghana has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and ILO Convention 182. The provisions of these various conventions have been enshrined in national laws such as the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560), the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694), and the Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (Act 732).

The government strengthened the legal protection of children by passing the Ghana Children's Act (Act 560) in 1998. This act brings together child-related laws from previous national legislations and it also includes amendments designed to meet the standards of the United Nations and that of the ILO. The Children's Act prohibits

³ UN Convention on the Right of the Child- accessed on 11.2.2012

exploitative child labour, defined as labour that deprives children of health, education and development.

The Children's Act, 1998, (Act 560) provides for the rights of the child, including quasi-judicial and judicial child adjudication, parentage, custody, access and maintenance, fosterage and adoption, employment of children and institutionalized care and miscellaneous matters affecting children. The Act consolidated and revised existing laws and constitutes the basis of Ghana's child protection system (Parliament of the Republic of Ghana, 1998). It seeks to protect the rights of the child including the right to education, health and shelter and proscribes the engagement of children in exploitative labour. It sets the minimum age for employment at 15 years, to coincide with the age for completion of basic education.

The Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694) seeks to ensure the safety of children from being used in exploitative activities such as child labour, child prostitution and pornography. The Act legislates for the prevention, reduction and punishment of human trafficking and the reintegration and rehabilitation of adults and children who have been trafficked (Parliament of the Republic of Ghana, 2005). The law prohibits trafficking.

These national legislations are to contribute to promoting children's rights and protection by addressing various forms of child labour and to ensure that every Ghanaian child has access to education and health as well as providing the enabling environment and opportunity for self development. However, some of these laws are not effectively enforced and there is no effective monitoring of abuses (SWAC and OECD, 2011). For example, corporal punishment in schools is still widespread. While the legal framework is among the most comprehensive in the region, weak institutional capacity and limited funding allocated to implement and enforce these Acts means that they are only one step towards promoting and protecting children's rights, including the elimination of child labour. The principal challenge seems to be implementing legislation at district and community levels. To give one example the Child Panels created by the 1998 Children's Act are gradually being established more than twelve years later and by April 2011 only 31 out of the target of 170 district Child Panels had been established (SWAC and OECD, 2011).

2.4 Child labour in cocoa growing communities in Ghana

Casely-Hayford (2004), in a study in cocoa growing areas, identified five major typologies or categories of children who can be described as being involved in child labour practices. The categories are:

- Children in school and engaged in cocoa farming during their off-school hours, some of whom are performing hazardous activities on the farm, but are not removed from school;
- Children who are in school but occasionally taken out in order to perform farming activities on the cocoa farms during peak seasons such as harvest time;
- Children who have dropped out of school before the end of completing basic education (JHS 3) due to lack of economic support by parents, death in the family etc; and are involved full time in cocoa farming with their families and sometimes hire their labour out;
- Children who have never attended school and are engaged in cocoa farming;
- Children, particularly from Northern Ghana, who are engaged in cocoa farming by a relation and or then given out to a neighbour, friend or cocoa farmer for farming purposes.

Also, a study by Mulls (2003:29) revealed that children of cocoa farm owners generally appear to fall into the category of child workers largely attending school and performing limited work tasks after school and on weekends. However, the children of sharecroppers and migrant children, who work as hired labourers attend school on a limited basis or not at all and are largely performing all tasks during the cocoa production process. The children of sharecroppers and of migrant families from Northern Ghana and Togo appear to begin work at an earlier age and are engaged in work for longer hours each day and are performing tasks that are more hazardous including pesticide application (Mull 2003:29 cited in Casely-Hasely 2004).

Furthermore, an evaluation of child participation in cocoa activities and conditions considered hazardous by the MMYE (2008) indicated that out of the total of 950 children evaluated, 446 were involved in hazardous activities during the 2007 cocoa season. Table 2.1 below shows the involvement of children in potentially hazardous cocoa activities in a survey conducted by the MMYE through the NPECLC.

Table 2.1: Involvement of children in potentially hazardous cocoa activities/work

Hazardous Activity or Condition of Work	Number	Percent
Working with agrochemicals (mixing, loading and spraying or applying)	14	1.5
Present in the vicinity during spraying	93	9.8
Clearing of virgin forest or thick bush or felling tress	24	2.5
Harvesting overhead cocoa pods with harvesting hooks	46	4.8
Carrying/lifting/handling heavy weights above age and size (i.e. more than 30percent of the person's body weight for more than 2km)	67	7.0
Working with noisy or dangerous equipment's (motorised spraying machine or chainsaw)	13	1.4
Working on the farm for more than 6 hours per day or more than 43hours per week	20	2.1
Working without adequate basic protective clothing	273	28.7
Working full time on the farm and not attending school	15	1.6
Working before 6:00 am or after	1	0.1
Using cutlass for weeding	126	13.2
Breaking cocoa pods	76	8.0
Burning bush	24	2.5
Climbing and working on trees higher than 9 feet in height	16	1.7
A child working in isolation	36	3.8

Source: MMYE (2008)

It's noted from table 2.1 that not all the potentially hazardous cocoa activities were covered and also the survey did not specify what the load carrying involved. An example is that the MMYE has not accounted for carrying or haulage of the fermented beans to the drying point as well as the haulage of dried beans to the sale point.

A recommendation from the survey was that children identified to be engaged in hazardous activities need to be investigated for remediation and occupational safety and health (OSH) interventions (MMYE, 2008). Also a farm safety initiative is required in dealing with the situation. Focusing solely on cocoa could move the children to other hazardous work areas or worse activities on other crops.

In the pilot survey (MMYE, 2007), the children were also asked to assess problems caused by their work on cocoa farms that might affect their health. Actual health complaints that were mainly reported as a consequence of carrying heavy loads and the application of chemicals included coughs, skin and eye irritations. Table 2.2 shows that nearly half of the respondents – especially children in the five to twelve age group – mentioned health problems. From the material presented in the study it is,

however, difficult to assess how serious they were and whether they were likely to have long-lasting consequences.

Table 2.2: Distribution of recent health complaints by age groups

Health complaints	5-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Head / neck pain from carrying load	129	89	77	295
Back problem from carrying load	74	62	54	190
Persistent pain after a day's work	64	51	49	164
Leg pain from carrying load	52	34	34	120
Respiratory / cough from pesticide and fertilizer	24	27	25	76
Stomach / chest / waist pain from carrying load	20	17	25	58
Skin damage from pesticides	11	7	10	28
Skin irritation / headache from fertilizer	7	4	8	19
Eye irritation	6	4	12	22

Source: Asuming-Brempong et al. (2007:103)

Despite these findings, the studies conclude that the largest part of the work done by children is acceptable and light work. In the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment's 2007 survey it is concluded that around 80 percent of the children interviewed undertook cocoa farm work in conditions of acceptable intensity – defined as one to three hours daily for one to five days per week or for four to six hours for one to two days per week (MMYE 2008). According to the surveys by Asuming-Brempong et al. (2007:90) and by the General Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU 2006), most farmers are selective and responsible in the engagement of children for activities on cocoa farms and try not to overburden them. It is mainly at times of labour shortages or when the cost of labour rises – especially at harvest time – that they involve children in activities that can be considered hazardous. In summary, it is estimated that only a few children are exposed to serious hazards or worst forms of labour. For these children “well-planned and organised interventions ... implemented as a matter of urgency ...” are recommended (Asuming-Brempong 2007: xviii; GAWU 2006). The need for urgent intervention is also seen with regard to the application of chemicals. Additional recommendations are: further awareness raising on potential hazards for children working on farms and the development of

technological innovations such as labour-saving techniques that could reduce the demand for children's work.

2.5 Causes of child labour in cocoa growing areas

Studies have identified diverse factors as the causes of child labour. The GSS Child Labour Study (2003) outlined the underlying causes of child labour to include: poverty and lack of income; lack of sustainable livelihood practices; lack of alternative forms of livelihood; poor parental care and break-up of family; loss of parent due to death; and poor quality of services such as education and health.

Also, in a study carried out by Casely-Hayford (2004), four prevalent reasons were given by different stakeholders interviewed as the causes of child labour in the cocoa growing areas of the country. They are:

- parents inability to engage and hire the services of casual labourers or adult labourers on the farms;
- parents want to train the children in a productive skill such as cocoa farming in case the child is not able to reach a higher level of education;
- working on the family farm is the responsibility of everyone including children and everyone in the household has to assist the family in order to survive;
- poor quality of education.

The ILO-IPEC Baseline Study (ACHD, 2004) found similar reasons. For instance, according to most employers (43%), the main reason for the use of children on their farm was due to financial constraints, which is making it difficult for them to hire adult labourers and or to educate their children. The study also found that 18.7% involve children on the farm in order to train them in farming and prepare them for their future. Again, 13.1% of employers explained that children are used on the farm in order to reduce the volume of work on the parents and 12.1% said it was because the children provide cheap, loyal and flexible labour compared to the adult labourers. Other reasons given were that children provide a valuable source of labour particularly when the farm is being expanded and a lot of planting and weeding is required (ILO-WACAP, 2004, p.54 cited in Casely-Hayford 2004).

The Cocoa Labour Survey commissioned by the Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment (MMYE) in 2008, attributed child labour in cocoa production areas in Ghana to multiple causes including poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, poor quality education, tradition and lack of family support.

Although various factors have been identified by different researchers as contributing to the child labour menace in cocoa growing areas, poverty or low income levels of farmers and poor quality of education appears to be common or the top most factors (GSS 2003; Casely-Hayford 2004; MMYE 2008).

GSS (2003) and Casely-Hayford (2004) have identified poverty as one of the underlying causes of child labour. Parents' inability to hire adult labourers due to their low income levels makes them settle on their children as an alternative and cheaper source of labour. Again, children are sometimes expected to help support themselves in the payment of school fees and ensuring that the basic needs of the family including food are sustained. Children are also expected to spend a large majority of their time out of school in performing tasks and traditional roles, which often contribute to the well-being of the entire family. These include activities such as working to generate needed income to support their education and family welfare including farming, both subsistence and cash cropping (GSS, 2003). Poor households also tend to have more children and with large families, there is high probability that children will work to contribute to the insufficient earnings of the household to guarantee the survival of the entire family. In many cases, participating in household, farm and off-farm activities gives children an opportunity to acquire the skills and knowledge they need if they are to succeed as farmers or in other occupations in the future. In addition, supporting the family business and livelihood strategy may give them self-esteem, social security and a sense of belonging to the community (Zdunnek et al, 2008). However, in many other cases children work under conditions which endanger their safety and health and even deprive them of an education.

The poor quality of education has also been cited as a major cause of child labour in Ghana's cocoa growing communities. The Poor quality of basic education in rural communities serves as a disincentive for parents and farmers to send their children to school. In schools with rigorous teaching and learning taking place, and high levels of teacher attendance, parents are less likely to take their children out of school and use them on the farm than in communities where teachers were regularly absent from the

school. Odonkor (2007) in her report on “Addressing Child Labour through Education” tried to examine the relationship between quality of education in cocoa growing areas and child labour. The study revealed that the social and economic cost of education is relatively high in rural areas. As a result, where the school environment is not conducive for children, parents rather tend to send their children to the farms instead of letting them go to school. Thus, educational quality serves as a key determinant of sending their children to work on the farm. The study further pointed out that illiteracy among parents and guardians do not permit them to assist their children to do their homework or even read their school reports. The study also attributes the low quality of education and incidence of child labour to the following:

- inadequate teachers
- low motivation of teachers
- unsatisfactory conditions on the part of teachers
- less GES supervision in rural areas
- inadequate learning and teaching material necessary for quality education

In the study area (Wassa Amenfi West District) in particular the issue of education has been a problem over the years. In the Medium Term Development Plan (MTDP) of the district in 2009, the poor quality of basic education in the district was highlighted and attributed to several factors including child labour. This study explores how effectively the child labour interventions have contributed in addressing these challenges.

2.6 Efforts at addressing child labour in cocoa in Ghana.

Ghana since ratifying the International Labour Organisation’s (ILO) convention 182 at its 87th session in June 1999, has undertaken various initiatives with support from the ILO’s International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), international and national NGOs to address the child labour problem. All these have resulted in the development of policies and legislations and the implementation of actions in identifying, withdrawing and rehabilitating children in various Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) including those in the cocoa sector. Convention 182 prohibits worst forms of child labour, defined to include all forms of slavery and

slavery-like practices; child prostitution and pornography; trafficking and forcing children into illegal activities; and exposing children to hazardous work.

In 2000, the government of Ghana signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), which had been initiated in 1992 with the goal of eliminating child labour by strengthening national capacities for addressing the problem (Zdunnek et al, 2008). Key among the initiatives by the government of Ghana to eliminate child labour are the National Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) and the National Plan of Action (NPA) for the Elimination of (the worst forms of) Child Labour in Ghana (2008-2015). The NPECLC and the NPA are in fulfilment of the requirement that ratifying states of the ILO convention 182 should put in place effective time bound measures to eliminate WFCL by 2016. Also, the NPECLC and the NPA provide a general framework and direction to all programmes and interventions geared towards the elimination of child labour in all sectors of the Ghanaian economy including those in the cocoa sector. The goal of the NPA is to eliminate worst forms of child labour in all sectors by 2015, with the NPECLC focusing principally on the cocoa sector of the country.

2.6.1 National Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector

In 2006 the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment in collaboration with the Ghana Cocoa Board and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), the International Cocoa Industry, ILO and other partners established the National Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) as Ghana's response to addressing the worst forms of child labour in cocoa (NPECLC, 2008). The NPECLC seeks to enforce ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour which Ghana ratified in 2000, and the Children's Act 1998 (Act 560). The overall goal is to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in the cocoa sector by 2011 and contribute towards their elimination in all other sectors by 2015. The strategic objectives of the NPECLC include:

- Enhancement of the knowledge base on child labour in the cocoa sub-sector to inform planning, project design and implementation, awareness raising and advocacy activities;

- Strengthening of the legal framework for dealing with WFCL in cocoa growing areas, with the main emphasis on the enforcement of existing laws and regulations;
- Mobilization of cocoa growing communities, district assemblies, the local cocoa industry and other key stakeholders to work together to eliminate child labour, with a particular focus on the WFCL;
- Development and implementation of interventions for eliminating WFCL in cocoa growing areas, with priority emphasis on the different stages of the cocoa production process;
- Promotion of universal basic education and human resource development among cocoa growing communities;
- Development and implementation of interventions that reduce the need for child labour in the cocoa sub-sector;
- Development of institutional, technical and organizational capacities at central, regional, district and community levels to effectively address child labour in the country, with particular emphasis on WFCL in the cocoa sub-sector (MMYE, 2007).

Among the strategic objectives of the NPECLC, this study places emphasis on enhancement of the knowledge base on child labour in the cocoa sub-sector; promotion of universal basic education through full implementation of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) with priority given to cocoa growing communities; development and implementation of interventions that reduce the need for child labour in the cocoa sub-sector; and strengthening of the legal framework for dealing with WFCL in cocoa growing areas with emphasis on the enforcement of existing laws and regulations.

The ILO Convention No. 182, which defines the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) to include hazardous work, does not define what this includes instead leaving it to the countries to do so in the form of what we commonly call the “hazardous work list”. In response, Ghana through the NPECLC has developed a hazardous framework for the cocoa sector as an effort to contributing to the enhancement of the knowledge base on child labour in the cocoa sub-sector. The Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework (HAF) for the Cocoa Sector of Ghana specifies activities considered hazardous for children working in cocoa production for the whole seasonal calendar.

The framework also provides other age appropriate permissible activities. Again, the number of working hours and the opportunities of education are considered. The list of prohibited work/ activities for children under 18 years (unless otherwise stated) in cocoa are listed below (MMYE 2008).

Box 1: List of prohibited work or activities for children under 18 years in cocoa

- *Clearing of forest and /or felling of trees*
- *Bush burning*
- *Working with agrochemicals, i.e. purchasing, transport, storage, use (mixing, loading and spraying/applying), washing of containers and spraying machine and disposal.*
- *Being present or working in the vicinity of farm during pesticide spraying; or re-entering a sprayed farm within less than 12 hours of spraying*
- *Using machetes/long cutlasses for weeding*
- *Climbing trees higher than 3 metres (9 feet) to cut mistletoe with cutlass*
- *Working with motorized mist blower, knapsack sprayer and/or chainsaw*
- *Harvesting overhead cocoa pods with harvesting hook*
- *Breaking cocoa pods with breaking knife*
- *Carrying heavy load beyond permissible carrying weight, i.e. above 30% of body weight for more than 2 miles (3km - see Table 10)*
- *Working on the farm for more than 3 hours per day or more than 18 hours per week (for children on weekends, holidays and/or have completed school).*
- *For children in school, working more than 2 hours/day on a school day*
- *Working without adequate basic foot and body protective clothing (e.g. long sleeves, trousers, Wellington boots and 'Afro Moses')*
- *A child working alone on the farm in isolation (i.e. beyond visible or audible range of nearest adult)*
- *Going to or returning from the farm alone or working on farm between 6.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m.*
- *A child withdrawn from school during cocoa season to do farm work*
- *Working full time on farm and not attending formal / non-formal school (applicable to children under 15 years)*

Source: MMYE (2008)

Against the background on community's perception of permissible work for children and taking cognisance of international and national laws that protect children, the table 2.3 below provides information about permissible work for various age groups of children in Ghana (MMYE, 2008). This list of permissible activities has been adopted for the guidance for cocoa farmers and enforcement by social institutions including NGOs, civil society organisations, department of social welfare, CHRAJ and the police.

Table 2.3: Permissible Work for Children in Cocoa and Recommendations

AGE GROUP	ACTIVITY/TASK	RECOMMENDATION
5- 7	May accompany parents to the farm during weekends or holidays but do not undertake any specific task	Under adult supervision
8-11	Assist in taking care of babies and toddlers on the farm	Under adult supervision
	Helping in cooking and serving food	
	Running farm errands	
	Picking harvested pods from under cocoa trees in the company of adults	
	Uprooting weeds around young cocoa plants	
12-14	Filling of Nursery bags with black soil	Adequate training
	Fetching water for spraying and leaving the farm before spraying commences	
	Gathering of cocoa pods	Under adult supervision
	Scooping and removal of beans	
	Carting minor loads	
	Watering of Seedlings at the nursery	
15-17	Assisting in planting cocoa	Adequate training
	Weeding/brushing undergrowth's with age – appropriate cutlass (Sua-ado or small cutlass)	
	Plucking within hand-reach pods	Under adult supervision
	Breaking cocoa pods with breaking mallet or hitting on the ground	
	Carting load	
	➤ Seedling for planting	
	➤ Water for spraying	Carrying weight should not exceed 30% bodyweight for more than 2miles(3 Km)
	➤ Cocoa pods for heaping	
	➤ Fermented beans to drying mat	
	➤ Dry beans for sale	

Source: MMYE (2008)

Thus the framework makes efforts to interpret international norms in relation to the realities of life in Ghanaian cocoa growing communities thus providing a framework that can claim to be scientifically rigorous, economically feasible and politically, socially and culturally acceptable while offering sufficiently well-defined standards to guide intervention and research (SWAC and OECD, 2011). With this framework in place it's expected that interventions in the cocoa sector either by the government of Ghana or civil society organisation, as it were, will work towards the promotion of the standards by addressing children involvement in the activities categorised as hazardous.

In carrying out its objectives, the NPECLC also collaborates with other government agencies, NGOs and civil society organisation at the district level as implementing partners who sometimes implement their own interventions to contribute to the nation's effort at addressing child labour in the cocoa growing areas. In the study area (Wassa Amenfi West District) for instance, NPECLC is collaborating with the Department of Social Welfare and the District Labour Office in reaching out to the cocoa growing communities with their remediation activities. Major activities of the NPECLC through its implementing partners in the district include mobilising community members to design and implement initiatives to contribute to the prevention and elimination of child labour in the target communities; identifying, withdrawing and rehabilitation of trafficked children and children working under hazardous circumstances; facilitating processes to enhance improvement of educational situation of all children; and facilitate processes to enhance the reduction of poverty in the project communities (RECA, 2008).

A research conducted by the Tulane University in 2009 and 2010 revealed that many children have been reached in the cocoa growing areas with the NPECLC's remediation interventions including withdrawal, rehabilitation, education and vocational training services. However, inadequate funding and over reliance of external funds has prevented the program to reach out to all cocoa growing communities and districts and provide support to more needy children in the communities (Payson Center, 2010).

The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) is also implementing the Yen Daakye⁴ Project to augment the effort of the NPECLC in eliminating child labour in the cocoa growing communities in the district. The ICI project employs a community-based approach to enable cocoa farmers, their families and communities to make the necessary changes in their labour practices and understand more about child developmental and educational needs. Each community develops and implements an action plan and seeks support as needed from district authorities, ICI and other potential partners (Upton and Asuming-Brempong, 2009).

⁴ The Yen Daakye (our future) Project is ICI's community based project being implemented in Ghana through local NGOs to eliminate child labour in selected cocoa growing communities mostly in the Western and Ashanti Regions of Ghana.

An evaluation of the project in 2009 described the ICI's approach as an emerging good practice because it enables communities to take responsibility for changes in child labour practices and other aspects of their lives; builds on what already exists to enhance the nation's capacity to eliminate child labour; and its usage of participatory community development techniques enables communities to be actively involved in analysis, discussion and decision making that affects their lives. Nonetheless, the evaluation was also clear of the limited scope and focus of the ICI's programme. The evaluation report indicated that *"the evaluation has served to underline the need for economic opportunity alongside sensitisation so that all farmers are in a position to invest in their farms to produce enough cocoa to use acceptable labour practices and support their children in school. It has also highlighted the need for community systems to identify and work to identify and protect particularly vulnerable children, including those who are potentially trafficked. The need for community based systems to identify and support vulnerable children is a priority that the programme needs to address"* (Upton and Asuming-Brempong, 2009. p.25). Out of a total of 242 communities in Wassa Amenfi West District, only 80 of them are currently covered by various child labour interventions by various development partners in the district (ICI, 2010). From the above it can be said that most of the child labour interventions have limited scope and focus in supporting children identified in WFCL and to improve the economic capacities of vulnerable families and their children.

Poverty has been cited as a major factor influencing child labour including those in the cocoa sector. To lessen the effect of poverty on the Ghanaian child and also as a means of complementing the effort of the NPECLC in addressing child labour, a number of social protection policy interventions have been put in place by the government. The section below discusses some of the social protection policies helping in the fight against child labour in the Ghanaian economy.

2.6.2 Social Protection Policies in fighting Child Labour

According to ODI and UNICEF (2008), social protection policies are mainly public interventions that are designed to assist individuals, households and communities better manage risk. Such policies also include measures to provide support to the critically poor and the vulnerable in society. There is increasing evidence that the vulnerability of household to risks is an important determinant of child labour. These

policies are, therefore, essential driving forces behind every good strategy that seeks to effectively combat child labour. It must be stressed that such policies are not directly targeted at child labour, but aim at addressing household vulnerability in general. Hence, if well targeted, they might contribute to address child labour. This stems from the fact that households without adequate social protection may rely on their children's work to supplement the family income to make ends meet. Social protection measures are believed to be particularly important in curbing child labour because they could serve to prevent vulnerable households from having to resort to child labour as a buffer against negative shocks in the economic environment (ODI and UNICEF, 2009). Also, they support in easing household budget constraints and supplementing the incomes of the poor. These instruments offer a means of alleviating current income poverty and of addressing the under-investment in children's education that can underlie poverty. From the perspective of child labour, the main strength of the social protection approach is that it tends to address the roots of the problem including poverty, vulnerability to economic shocks, and difficulties of access to education.

Social protection has featured prominently in Ghana's poverty reduction strategies and key among them being the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper I (GPRS I- 2003 to 2005) and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II- 2006 to 2009). The GPRS II, for instance, emphasised the need to give priority to special programmes to combat the worst forms of child labour under which the government established the Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty (LEAP) programme to support families to fight against child labour. Also, several policies have been formulated and legislations passed with a strong focus on children and to confront challenges children face in Ghana. They include the Children's policy, under five child health policy, early childhood development policy, the Domestic Violence and Human Trafficking Acts and their corresponding national action plans, national action plan on child labour, and several social protection initiatives such as the National Health Insurance Scheme, capitation grant for public schools, free school uniforms, free bus-rides for school children, school feeding programme, and LEAP social grants to households with children involved in child labour (NDPC, 2010). Below are the highlights of some of the policies.

National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS): The Government of Ghana established the NHIS under the Act 650 in 2003 to provide equitable health insurance for all Ghanaian residents. The scheme was launched in order to replace the former cash and carry system which forced the people to pay money in cash when they needed to see a doctor or to go to a hospital. Ghana's NHIS has been structured to provide coverage for a significant population of the poor and vulnerable. This includes children under the age of 18, the elderly, pensioners of the Social Security Scheme, pregnant women and indigent. These groups together constitute about 70% of the total registered membership of the NHIS. Evidence at most public health facilities indicate that between 70% and 80% of Out-Patients Department (OPD) attendance is by NHIS card bearers while about 59% of admissions are also NHIS cards bearers (NHIA, 2011). Special fiscal measures have been taken to provide financing for the NHIS. These include a National Health Insurance Levy, which consists of a 2.5% addition to Value Added Tax (VAT) and import duties, as well as payments from Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), the premiums paid by members of the NHIS 'mutual health' schemes and resources provided by the Ministry of Health and donors. Realizing the need for further improving coverage of the poor, the NHIS through collaboration with the Ministry of Employment & Social Welfare under the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty Project (LEAP) and other initiatives such as faith based projects is expanding coverage of the poor within the informal sector. The NHIA is further seeking a redefinition of poor and vulnerable in the context of an ongoing legal reform of the NHIS to ensure their effective coverage (NHIA, 2011).

Education Capitation Grant: Many children in Ghana do not attend school because their parents simply cannot afford to pay levies charged by the schools. The Education Capitation Grant was introduced in 2005 and expanded nationwide to all public basic schools in 2006 with the objective of improving enrolment and retention by providing schools with grants to cover tuition and other levies that were previously paid by households. The initiative sought to help poor parents meet the cost of primary education, especially poor children. This Grant is to provide quality, affordable education to pupils, irrespective of their socio-economic, geographical and cultural backgrounds. It is to also give true meaning to the concept of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) as a feature of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). School enrolments are considered in the disbursement of the Grant.

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning releases funds to the Ministry of Education for onward pay-out to the Ghana Education Service (GES). The GES then distributes them to the various Metropolitan, Municipal and District directorates of education which, in turn, disburse them to the schools. These funds are expected to support sports, culture and school internal development such as minor repairs, teaching and learning materials and in-service training for teachers. When the policy was introduced in 2005, every public basic school (Kindergarten, Primary and Junior Secondary School) received GH¢3.00 per child per year. Currently the capitation grant per child in public basic school is GH¢4.50. However the amount is still not adequate. Despite the policy of fee-free tuition in basic schools coupled with the introduction of the capitation grant, many schools still charge levies as a means of raising funds, for example for school repairs, printing, cultural and sporting activities which has the effect of deterring many families particularly the poor from sending the children to school. From a report⁵ on a monitoring exercise conducted by Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) in 2011, the commission revealed that a large number of schools especially, basic schools in rural communities lack adequate teaching and learning materials notwithstanding the government's Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education policy. According to the report, despite government's provision of the capitation grant, about 60% of schools monitored continue to charge fees to support their operations due to the inadequacy of the grant. This it says has resulted in a good number of Ghanaian children being out of school despite the free education at the basic level. The commission therefore has recommended to the government for an increase in the grant from the current amount to GHC7 per child for the start of the 2012 academic year which is yet to be considered.

Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP): The Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP) was launched in 2005. The Programme is part of Ghana's efforts towards the attainment of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UN-MDG) on hunger, poverty and primary education. GSFP is consistent with other major policies and development strategies of the Government. The costs of the GSFP are shared

⁵ Highlights of the 2011 CHRAJ Report on the State of Human Rights in Ghana, December 9 2011, delivered by Commissioner Laretta Lamprey on Friday, 9th December 2011 at the climax of the 2011 Human Rights and Integrity week in Accra, Ghana.

between the Government of Ghana and donors. The programme is meant to increase school enrolment, attendance and retention and reduce hunger and malnutrition by providing children, particularly those in deprived public primary schools and kindergartens, with a hot nutritious meal at school. The programme started with 10 pilot schools drawn out of each region of the country. The pilot phase ended in 2006 covering 64,775 beneficiary pupils. The first phase was rolled out in 2007 spanning a period of four (4) years (2007-2010). The number of beneficiary pupils at the inception of the first phase was 413,498. In 2008 the number rose to 441,189 pupils. By 2009, coverage had reached 580,025 pupils. At the end of 2009 academic year, beneficiary pupils had shot up to 697,416, representing about 24% of all kindergarten and primary school pupils in the country, indicating a consistent upward rise over the period (GSFP, 2011). Notwithstanding the good intention and success of the GSFP, issue of funding still poses a challenge to the expansion and sustainability of the programme. Release of funds to various Districts as feeding grants are often fraught with challenges especially delays which goes to affect the timely delivery of quality meals to the beneficiary pupils. With the Dutch government pulling out, the burden of funding the Programme has become the sole responsibility of Government. Even though the government was able to solely fund the Programme after the withdrawal, there is neither a guaranteed source nor a consistent approach to funding under this new arrangement (GSFP, 2011).

Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP): The Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty programme (LEAP) was launched in March 2008 by the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE). The LEAP programme which is a component of the National Social Protection Strategy was introduced to provide both conditional and unconditional cash transfers to targeted populations to support extremely poor households. Currently beneficiaries or the main target groups for this programme includes the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs), older persons over 65 years and People living with severe Disabilities. The programme provides cash transfer which ranges from GHS 8 (\$6.90) per month for one dependent to a maximum of GHS 15 (\$12.90) for four dependents (DSW, 2008 cited in ODI and UNICEF, 2009). The OVC component of LEAP is intended to be a conditional cash transfer programme, whereas the transfers to the elderly and persons with severe disabilities are unconditional. The cash grants are conditional on households ensuring

the enrolment and retention of school-age children in school; birth registration of new born babies and their attendance at postnatal clinics; full vaccination of children up to the age of five; enrolment of family members on the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS); non-trafficking of children and their non-involvement in the ‘worst forms of child labour’ (ODI and UNICEF, 2009). As at the end of 2010, the total cumulative enrolment under the regular LEAP was 39,423 households with an estimated population of 157,689 and covering 83 districts in all the regions of Ghana (NDPC, 2010).

From the above, it is clear that Ghana has managed to develop and implement a number of social protection related policies and programmes in the last five years such as the NHIS, education capitation grants, school feeding, and the LEAP. These programmes have achieved modest gains and have gone through improvements and refinements over the years. The impact of these social protection related programmes on the poorest has been limited because they have not been well targeted towards this group and also because the various programmes were not linked to form a comprehensive package. Despite the substantial progress made there is still much to be done to reach the poorest and most vulnerable, especially in terms of effectively operationalising policy commitments at scale, addressing the multidimensionality of childhood poverty and vulnerability and strengthening programme synergies (ODI and UNICEF, 2009).

2.7 Emerging issues

The efforts by the government and its development partners suggest their commitment to the issue of child labour and its elimination process. It is however noted from the literature review, especially from ILO, that the rate of decline in the number of children in child labour has been slowing over the years and has therefore called for a “re-energized” global campaign and effort to end the practice (ILO, 2010).

- According to ILO Global Labour Report (2010), the rate of decline in the number of children in child labour has been slowing over the years, with 215 children in child labour and 115 in hazardous work registering three per cent decline as against 10 per cent in 2004. Again the Ghana Child Labour Survey (GCLS 2003) shows that out of the estimated number of 6.36 million children

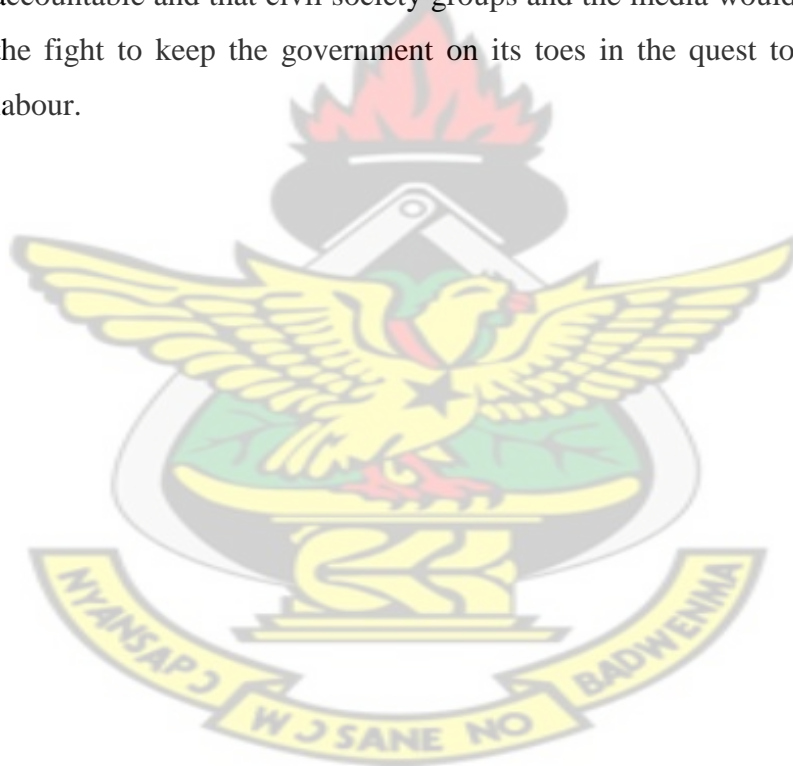
between 5-17 years, representing 2.47 per cent (half of rural children and one-fifth of urban children) engaged in economic activities.

- It's been shown by various child labour surveys in Ghana's cocoa sector that children are involved in work or activities in cocoa production considered hazardous (i.e. *"work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children"*, ILO-C182). As a result interventions have been put in place in response to the recommendations by the surveys and international pressures and further protect the health, safety and wholesome development of children. For instance, the NPECLC has coordinated the development of the Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for Ghana's cocoa sector which has helped to define activities considered as hazardous as well as permissible work for children in cocoa production. With this there is the need for a comprehensive communication strategy to disseminate the Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework to all cocoa districts and communities.
- On legal framework for child labour enforcement, the Government of Ghana has enacted so many legislations but their enforcement is a challenge. The country boast of comprehensive legal framework for addressing child labour and child protection issues but enforcement appears to be weak and uncoordinated. There is also lack of clarity about mandates for social welfare services, low staff capacity and limited funding. Law enforcement agencies need to be supported to better understand the pertinent issues pertaining to child labour and the existence of child labour laws to be well-informed in their judgments.
- Education in the cocoa growing communities is constantly declining and does not promote the wholesome development of children. The absence of educational teaching and learning materials coupled with the woefully inadequate and trained teaching professionals has contributed to low educational achievements and loss of interest by both parents and children. It is reported that only 40% of teachers at the pre-school level in the Wassa Amenfi District are trained teachers, the rest are non-professional teachers. In 2005 and 2006 academic year, 33% of the teachers at the primary level were professionally trained while 68% of teachers at the JSS level were professional

teachers (Wassa Amenfi West District Medium Term Plan, 2006-2009). Odonkor (2007) argued that where the school environment is not conducive for children, parents rather tend to send their children to the farms instead of letting them go to school. Thus, educational quality serves as a key determinant of sending their children to work on the farm. Deprived cocoa growing communities therefore need aggressive and continuous educational sensitization to promote and improve the education of children.

- Poverty is considered a major determinant of child labour in Ghana. Therefore solution to the child labour problem should go beyond enactment of laws to include initiatives to empower vulnerable families and parents economically to be able to provide the basic needs of their families and cater for children's education. It has to be mention that since cocoa production in Ghana is dominated by smallholder farmers cultivating mainly small farm sizes, returns are small and therefore inadequate to cater for the family needs, especially that of the children.
- Furthermore, most of the child labour interventions have limited scope and focus in supporting children identified in WFCL and to improve the economic capacities of vulnerable families, parents and empowering women in general. For instance, out of a total of about 242 communities in Wassa Amenfi West District (the study area), only 82 of them (representing 33.9%) are currently covered by various child labour interventions by the government and other various development partners in the district.
- For all these years the famers embrace interventions introduced or implemented by the various agencies and when the period elapses they go back to their old ways of doing things (SWAC and OECD, 2011). It is high time these farmers understand the concerns been raised and support government and other stakeholders to fight the menace once and for all. The farmer should also be made to know that their children are the future leaders of this country and denying them of the needed quality education means the future of the nation will be thrown into jeopardy.
- The government, for its part, has put in place some initiatives to fight the child labour menace. The National Plan of Action (NPA), to eradicate child labour,

covering the period 2009 – 2015 is supposed to be at its implementation stage now. Unfortunately, it looks like there are some aspects that have not been seen to be working, especially with regards to the production and dissemination of the relevant laws on child labour in English and translated into the major local languages. In addition, there is not much enforcement of the child labour laws. Reading through the NPA, one gets the feeling that the government really knows what is wrong in the efforts to eradicate the practice but is at a loss as to what to do or how to go about it. For instance, the NPA has identified various programmes including the LEAP to assist the poor but whether or not it is being properly implemented to reach the very poor in society is another matter. There is the need to hold the government accountable and that civil society groups and the media would have to take up the fight to keep the government on its toes in the quest to eliminate child labour.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

According to Silverman (2005), methodology involves the choices we make about cases to study, approaches of data gathering, and the forms of data analysis in planning and executing a research study. These methods can be in the form of quantitative techniques or qualitative techniques depending on the research problem or issue. This section therefore describes and justifies the methods and processes that were used to collect data in answering the research questions. It explains the research design adopted, sampling techniques, and the sources of data and methods of data collection as well as methods of data analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

The study has employed the qualitative research approach using a combination of data collection methods. Qualitative research is a type of scientific research that consists of an investigation that systematically uses a predefined set of procedures to answer a question; collects evidence; produces findings that were not determined in advance and produces findings that are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of the study (FHI, 2010). Additionally, it seeks to understand a given research problem or issue from the perspectives of the units being studied. Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Even though the study is largely qualitative, some level of quantitative approach was adopted especially in selecting the sample for the study.

This research approach has been adopted because it is effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion, whose role in the research issue cannot easily be captured through statistical approaches. Although findings from qualitative data can often be extended to other cases with similar characteristics, a key strength of this approach is that it offers researchers the opportunity of gaining a rich and detailed understanding of a specific social context or phenomenon.

The choice of this approach will allow for an in-depth enquiry process of understanding of a social phenomenon such as the subject of this study and further

provide detailed views of informants from their natural setting through observation, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Key informant interviews.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

Kumar (1999) explains that a sample is a sub-group of the population which is an ideal representation of the entire population. Researchers usually cannot make direct observations of every individual in the population they are studying if the size of the population being dealt with is large. Instead, they collect data from a subset of individuals (a sample) and use those observations to make inferences about the entire population (Zickmund 1991 cited in Muzinda 2007). For this reason, the study used a sample from the participating communities, beneficiaries of specific interventions, staff of NGOs implementing interventions addressing child labour, and key district and national level stakeholders.

According to Jupp and Sapsford (1996) sampling can be categorized into two broad basic methods which are probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling procedure gives every element in the target population a known and nonzero probability of being selected. If this condition is not satisfied, the sampling procedure is a non-probability sampling procedure. Non-probability sampling is a sampling procedure that does not give some elements in the population a chance to be in the sample. Probability samples are usually more representative and therefore provide the basis to make valid generalization to the population from which the samples are drawn or have higher external validity than non-probability samples because there is less bias. However the probability sampling procedure is generally not suitable when descriptive comments about the sample itself and participants own interpretation of reality are desired as in qualitative research.

The focus of qualitative research is to understand the world as the participant in the research process does. It also focuses on creating procedures that help to study behaviour in everyday contexts. According to Jamison (2010), in qualitative research the goal of sampling is to select participants who are informative or useful for the topic under investigation. Generalization of findings is less important and therefore random sampling is not used. The objectives of the research and the characteristics of the population under investigation often influence the choice of sampling technique. In the light of the above this study employed the non probability sampling technique.

Also, according to Delport et al (2005), the varieties of non-probability sampling techniques are accidental, purposive, quota, dimensional, target, snowball and spatial sampling methods.

The study employed the purposive sampling procedure. Purposively, all cocoa growing communities in the WAW District benefiting from efforts by the government with the support of NGOs towards elimination of CL were considered potential candidates for the study. The purposive sampling method was preferred because the information required could be obtained by virtue of their involvement and their in-depth knowledge concerning the research issue. Again, four (4) beneficiary communities were sampled in the study area for the focus group interviews.

3.3.1 Sample Size and Basis

According to the WAW District Development Planning Officer in an interview, out of a total of 242 communities in Wassa Amenfi West District, 80 of them have benefitted or were covered by three major child labour in cocoa interventions by the government of Ghana and its development partners in the district since the year 2006. These interventions or projects are the Yen Daakye project; the NPECLC project and the iMPACT project all working with different communities in the district to address child labour in cocoa farming. Also in the interview, the Planning Officer added that the ILO in collaboration with the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare and the WAWD Assembly in August 2012 launched a new Cocoa Community Project (CCP) to be implemented in ten (10) new communities also to help eliminate the worst forms of child labour in Cocoa growing communities in the district. It's important to note that since the implementation in these ten new communities has just started, the study focused on taking sample from the 80 communities where child labour interventions have been in place since the year 2006.

Out of the 80 communities receiving various child labour interventions in the district, 20 of the communities were reached by the NPECLC, 41 by the Yen Daakye project and 19 by the iMPACT project. In selecting communities for the interviews, consideration was given to the different projects or interventions in the communities, the process in terms of the dynamics of the projects, the duration of the projects and their impact. Further, to enhance fair representation in the selection of the communities, the 80 beneficiary communities were clustered depending on the project

or intervention type and simple proportion applied in choosing the final communities for the study. Due to financial and time constraints, the study decided that with intervention or project covering up to a maximum of 20 communities, one of them was selected for the study. Therefore four communities were selected for the study using a simple proportion. As a result the main field work took place in four communities namely Amoamang, Dwantoa, Sika Nti and Sureso (see annex 1 for community profile). The table 3.1 below outlines the intervention type, total number of communities reached and the number of communities sampled from each of the project categories, using a simple proportion, for the study.

Table 3.1: Child Labour Interventions in WAW District and Sample taken

Name of Project/ Intervention	Number of communities reached/ covered by the Project/ Intervention	No. of Communities Sampled (<i>using simple proportion</i>) for the study
NPECLC (MESW)	20	1
Yen Daakye Project (ICI)	41	2
iMPACT Project (Mars Incorporated)	19	1
TOTAL	80	4

Source: Author's construct, November 2012.

Four communities were therefore selected for the study. Specific individuals within the community or key informants who have information, knowledge and experience about issues related to the study were also interviewed for information.

3.4 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

Two main data sources were used for the research, which are Primary and Secondary data sources. Primary data was gathered through semi- structured/ open ended interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Specifically, data was collected from community leaders, children, farmers, parents and project implementers (refer to Table 3.2 on page 44 for the number of people interview). Also, information was gathered from specific district level institutions that are into addressing child labour in cocoa and improving the welfare of children in the study area such as the Wassa Amenfi West District Assembly, District Education Office (DEO) officials and the District Social Welfare (DSW) officials and local NGOs

helping in the implementation of the child labour projects in the district. It is important to emphasise that because the issue concerns children and their welfare, children were also interviewed to ensure that they express their own views, experiences and perceptions on the subject. Consent was sought from the children, their parents and school teachers by explaining the purpose of the study to the children, the parents and their right to decide either to participate in the study to be interviewed or withdraw from the study.

Secondary information (both published and unpublished) was obtained from articles, journals, newsletters and institutional records, thesis, books, annual reports as well as the internet. National Policy documents such as the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, the Children's Act of Ghana (Act 560), the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA), the District Medium Term Development Plans of WAWD as well as international laws on CL and WFCL like the ILO Convention 182 among others were considered.

3.4.1 Interviews

Kvale (1996) explains that qualitative research interviews involve an effort to understand something from the subjects' point of view and to uncover the meaning of their experiences. Interviews allow people to convey to others a situation from their own perspective and in their own words. Thus an interview is a conversation with a structure between or among people with the aim of generating information from the respondents. In this research, the face-to-face type of interview was used. This process was facilitated by the use of semi structured/open-ended interview guide.

Semi structured/open-ended interview:

This form of conducting an interview involves two persons, the interviewer (researcher) and the interviewee (respondent/informant) based on predetermined questions or schedule. In using this interview approach, the interviewer prepares a list of topics and questions rather than a fixed or closed-ended questionnaire (Kvale, 1996). It must be pointed out that the quality and usefulness of the information given by the respondent is dependent on the quality of the various questions asked by the interviewer and how the questions are asked. Semi-structured interviews can be held with individuals for representative information i.e. interviewing a number of different individuals on the same topic; key informants for specialized information; and groups

or members of the community for general community-level information. In this research work, respondents from the beneficiary communities were asked the same questions in order to provide uniformity and be able to compare responses of each group at the end of the study. The open-ended questions were used in order for me to be able to probe further, based on the responses of the interviewees and the questions were confined to the issues relating to my research objectives.

Key informant interview:

Key informants according to Kumar (1999) are specific group of individuals who are supposed to possess needed information, ideas and insights on a particular subject. In this research key informants considered and interviewed included the District Planning Officer, the District Social Welfare Director, the District Labour Officer, the Head teachers of the schools in the intervention communities, the Executive Director of Codesult Network, the Project Coordinator of GLORI and cocoa purchasing clerks in the selected communities. Their interviews were based on a semi-structured interview guide or questions and their responses recorded.

Focus group discussions:

A focus group is made up of people who share similar characteristics or experience and are therefore in a better position to give useful information to questions on a specific topic they are familiar with. In using the focus group approach, the researcher becomes more of a facilitator/moderator than an interviewer (Bell, 2005). According to Eliot and Associates (2005), a focus group is a small group of six to ten people led through an open discussion by a skilled moderator. The group needs to be large enough to generate rich discussion but not so large that some participants are left out. This method was used in soliciting information from the children, teachers, men (cocoa farmers), and women (cocoa farmers) in the selected intervention communities. The participants were nominated by the community leaders as people who are familiar with the topic, known for their ability to share their opinions, and willing to volunteer their time for the meeting.

3.5 Respondents

The respondents of this study were made up of five (5) different groups comprising of:

1. Cocoa farmers (men and women) from selected communities benefiting from the efforts of the Government with support from NGOs towards addressing child labour
2. Representatives of the NGOs in the District implementing interventions in collaboration with the Assembly in addressing child labour in cocoa growing communities
3. District Level Government institutions responsible for children welfare, labour issues and developmental concerns of rural communities. Such bodies included the Social Welfare Department, Labour Department, the District Education Directorate and the District Planning and Coordinating Unit (DPCU).
4. Cocoa Purchasing Clerks or Cocoa buyers who are not necessarily into cocoa production directly but make use of the services of children in the cocoa purchase business
5. Children between 10 and 17 years and are capable of providing various support in the cocoa farming business or are victims of child labour. Such children were identified and located through the help of school teachers, community opinion leaders and NGOs implementing interventions in the communities.

From the table 3.2 below, the study interacted with 200 people in 15 focus groups discussions (FGDs) in the four selected communities with participants in each focus group ranging between 6 and 10. With the total of 15 FGDs, four separate FGDs were held with each of the children, men and women groups in the four selected communities as well as three different FGDs with teachers. Also 50 semi-structures interviews were conducted with individual key informants from the selected communities and district stakeholders. In all 250 respondents or participants took part in the study. Of these 16% were children from Upper Primary and Junior High School (JHS), 32% men (80 men in eight different focus groups discussions in the selected communities), 24% women (60 women in seven different groups) and 8% teachers

(20 teachers from primary and JHS at Amoamang, Dwantoa and Sika Nti). The remaining 20% of the respondents were key informants interviews conducted with 20 community opinion leaders (4 chiefs and 16 child labour committee members), 8 District level stakeholder (District Labour Officer, District Planning and Coordinating Officers, District Social Welfare officer and representatives from the District Education Office), 16 cocoa purchasing clerks and 6 NGO representatives or project officers of both Codesult Network and Global Responses Initiative.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Respondents

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)	No. of People interviewed	Percent
Children	40	16.0
Women (<i>cocoa farmers</i>)	60	24.0
Men (<i>cocoa farmers</i>)	80	32.0
Teachers	20	8.0
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>200</i>	
Semi-structured Interviews with Key informants.		
DA Officials- Social welfare, Labour, DEO and Planning	8	3.2
NGO Reps.	6	2.4
Cocoa Purchasing Clerks	16	6.4
Community Opinion Leaders	20	8.0
<i>Sub-Total</i>	<i>50</i>	
Total	250	100.0

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

Most of these focus group discussions took place in the evenings after farmers had returned from their farms. This was necessitated by the fact that the community members were in the process of beginning new farms and were therefore busy working on their farms at the time the field study was carried out. In selecting the children at the schools, the study was mindful of only those who have experience in cocoa farming and have been involved to certain extent hazardous farming activities. The identification and location of the children was facilitated by the community opinion leaders, teachers and the NGO staff working in the area.

3.6 Data Analysis

According to Kawulich (2004), analysing qualitative data typically involves immersing oneself in the data to become familiar with it, then looking for patterns and themes, searching for various relationships between data that help the researchers to

understand what they have, then visually displaying the information and writing it up. There are many different techniques for analysing qualitative data. In her article, *data analysis techniques in qualitative research*, Kawulich (2004) identified five categories or stages of analysis in qualitative research. They include narrative, coding, interpretation, confirmation and presentation. This study adopted these techniques to do the analysis.

Good analysis largely depends on understanding the data. As a first step, to get to know the data, the researcher and his assistant had daily debriefing sessions, read and re-read the text gathered through the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to be able to write-up field notes, create summaries of the interviews and discussions, as well as making list of meaningful quotations.

Secondly, categorisation of the data gathered was done which involved organising and reorganising the data into categories to identify patterns, themes, relationships between and among the categories. However, it's important to note that categorizing the data in this study did not involve assigning numerical codes to exclusive variables as usually done in quantitative analysis. Specifically, the responses generated were grouped into the key themes, which constituted the specific research questions of the study i.e. all the data from each question was put together. This was helpful in summarizing the information pertaining to one theme, or capturing the similarities or differences in people's responses within a category.

Also, the next stage in the analysis process of this study involved the interpretation of the categorised information to make meaning from the narratives and develop a list of key point or important findings discovered as a result of categorising and sorting the data. The techniques used included extracting significant statements related to the phenomenon under study and building logical chain of evidence out of the data gathered.

Further, to be confident that the interpretations derived are from the data gathered and not from researcher construction, triangulation was used to increase the credibility of the conclusions and for confirmation and representativeness.

The analysis process outlined above enabled this study to provide a vivid description of the extent to which cocoa farmers in the WAW district are aware of the child labour concept as well as whether the interventions are effectively addressing

underlying cause of child labour in the communities and the prevailing challenges for the realisation of the benefits of the interventions. The analysis of data also brought to the fore the efforts made by the state institutions, NGOs and individuals in curbing this menace as contained in chapter four and five of this study.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

Informed consent was obtained from all the respondents including the district level government officials such as the District Social Welfare Officer, the District Labour Officer, the District Planning Officer, representative from the District Education Office and the cocoa farmers. In achieving the informed consent of the participants in the selected communities through the opinion leaders and letters to the heads of the district level institutions, they were informed about the purpose of the research, what is expected of them as research participants including the amount of time likely to be required as well as the fact that participation is voluntary and that one can withdraw at any time with no negative repercussions. Anonymity and confidentiality of respondents was assured, and their names were not asked during data collection.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations of this study. The study was conducted only in the Wassa Amenfi West District, one out of over 60 cocoa growing districts in Ghana. Further, primary data was collected in only 4 communities benefiting from various child labour interventions. The study may have yielded more detailed results if the study area had been extended to cover more communities and respondents. Also, the findings coupled with the use of a non-probability sampling in this study is not enough in making a general conclusion of the situation in the other cocoa growing communities in Ghana.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This section discusses and analyses the extent to which cocoa farmers, teachers, children, community leaders and other key informants (see Table 3.2) in the WAW district are aware of the child labour concept in Ghana. It ascertains whether the interventions addressing the underlying cause of child labour are working, the prevailing challenges for the realisation of the benefits of the interventions as well as how to come up with new policies and further strengthen the existing ones to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing areas. The section is organised along the research questions.

4.2 Understanding of child labour concept and its effects

4.2.1 Concept of child

Successful implementation of child labour projects will require the target population/communities to have an in-depth understanding of the concept of a child. The need to separate the local/traditional definition of a child from the specifications of the constitution of Ghana is a crucial step in awareness creation.

The definition of a child given by various stakeholders was largely centred on age. It's important to mention that the percentages as in Table 4.1 below were calculated on the absolute numbers or responses per group or category in relation to the sample size of that same category. Out of the 140 cocoa farmers (men and women) interviewed (see Table 3.2), 118 of them representing 84.3 % were of the opinion that a child is someone below 18 years. Similarly 90% of the teachers and 65% of the children interviewed share the same opinion (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Definition of a child

Groups	Responses	Sample size	Number of respondents	% of respondents
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Anyone below age 18	140	118	84.3
Children		40	26	65
Teachers		20	18	90
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Other responses	140	22	15.7
Children		40	14	35
Teachers		20	2	10
Total			200	

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

At Amoamang both men and women groups used age as a yardstick to categorize children. *'A child is anyone who has not yet reached the age of 18 years'* (Community Leader, Amoamang). At Sika Nti, even though their definition is synonymous to the age, they also used the eligibility of a person to vote to identify a child. This is how one of the respondents explained it: *'A child is anyone who is too young to vote, i.e. a person who has not yet reached the voting age of 18 years'* (Female Cocoa Farmer, Sika Nti). Upper primary children at Amoamang considered a child to be someone who is under the care of his/her parents and cannot do difficult or hard work. Junior High pupils at Sureso who were more matured showed appreciable understanding by defining a child to be a person who is below the ages of 18 years. From these responses, it can be said that respondents in the communities interviewed have knowledge of who a child is, as per national and international definitions. This data is useful in the sense that having majority of the respondents, particularly the cocoa farmers (as shown in Table 4.1), being well informed of who is a child, is a good step in recognising the interest of the child, appreciating their needs, rights and responsibilities as well as all that the child require to develop.

4.2.2 Child development

Various characteristics were outlined by respondents as factors that influence child development. Generally most of the respondents understanding of child development is characterised by the changes that a child goes through right from birth to adulthood. This is how one of the respondents explained it: *'The period when a child is born, when he/she learns how to crawl, walk, talk, grow until he/she is considered an adult*

is the period of child development' (Cocoa farmer, Dwantoa). Also, according to one of the teachers interviewed, *'since development means improvement, child development can be summed up to be the positive changes a child goes through up until he/she becomes an adult.* Guided by the UN Convention on the rights of the child and the Children's Act (Act 560), the needs of the Ghanaian child could be categorized to include:

- **Survival** - the basic needs of the child such as health, nutrition, shelter and clothing are considered;
- **Growth or Development** - which includes the cognitive development as well as socialization processes of the child that will culminate in the development of the full potential of the child;
- **Protection** – focuses on protecting the child from all forms of discrimination, abuse, exploitation, harmful traditional practices and anything that infringes on the human rights of the child and
- **Participation** – entails the need for the child to feel a part of everything by being involved in some decision-making, feeling wanted or accepted, being listened to, enjoying the right to recreation amongst others.

The table below presents the perspectives of the groups interviewed on factors that influence child development. For the study to be able to establish the level of understanding of each of the categories or groups interviewed, the percentages as in Table 4.2 below were calculated on the absolute numbers or responses per group or category in relation to the sample size of that same category.

Table 4.2: Factors that influence Child Development

Groups	Responses	Sample size	Number of Respondents	% of Respondents
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Basic needs for survival- food, clothing, shelter and health	140	125	89.3
Children		40	32	80
Teachers		20	20	100
Community leaders		20	18	90
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Protection from all forms of abuse	140	92	65.7
Children		40	28	70

Teachers		20	17	85
Community leaders		20	14	70
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Participation	140	71	50.7
Children		40	26	65
Teachers		20	18	90
Community leaders		20	12	60

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

Respondents presented numerous views with regards to factors influencing child development ranging from access to basic necessities of life which includes food, clothing and shelter to protection from all forms of abuse and participation. Majority of the cocoa farmers (89.3%), children (80%), teachers (100%) and community leaders (90%) interviewed (see Table 4.2) mentioned food, clothing and shelter as the basic needs for a child's survival. These the respondents argued are very essential in promoting the growth and development of the child. One of the farmers explained that: *'The most important factors that influence the development of a child are food, clothing, shelter, good upbringing and protection from harm'* (Cocoa Farmer, Sureso community). It was also added that factors that influence child development must be appreciated at the individual, household community and district level. This was summed up by one of the community leaders as: *'At the household level, access to good food, shelter, clothing as well as protection from harm by parents, at the community level, freedom to roam, play, explore the environment and be protected by the laws of the community all influence the development of the child'* (Community leaders & a cocoa farmer, Amoamang). Similarly, at Dwantoa it was stressed that at the community level a child's development is also influenced by the fact that he or she is seen as the child of every adult in the community and not just the parent. *'A child is loved and protected by everybody, is corrected when he/she is wrong, motivated when he/she does something right, and disciplined when he/she disobeys orders'* (Cocoa farmer, Dwantoa). This is in a sense that every community member can freely without hesitation correct and can contribute to the development of the child. Factors that influence the development of children include the community in which the child grows in, the kind of family and friends he/ she relates to as well as the culture, norms and the tradition of the said community.

The responses given by most of the respondents interviewed on the issue of child development and factors that influence child development, as per table 4.2, is a demonstration of some level of understanding of the needs of the child to prepare them into adulthood. However, some of the respondents' understanding of the needs of the child and their development fell-short of the need for protection from all forms of abuse, exploitation and harmful traditional practices, as these did not feature prominently in their explanations. It is noted from Table 4.2 above that, almost 34% of the cocoa farmers interviewed did not see protection from all forms of abuse as important factor in child development. Also participation, an important factor in child development and growth, which makes the child to feel a part of everything by being involved in some decision-making, feeling wanted or accepted, being listened to, enjoying the right to recreation amongst others did not feature prominently in the responses as about 49.3% of the cocoa farmer did not see this as key factor in child development. This therefore calls for further sensitisation or awareness creation.

4.2.3 Child work

There was no varied difference in the definition of a child's work by the various respondents. Generally, like the name depicts, both adults and school children understood child work to be any work which is not beyond the strength of the child. Majority of about 92% of the cocoa farmers (men and women) interviewed, representing 129 out of the 140 respondents, were of the view that child work should not affect the health, safety and school attendance of the child. Also such work should enable the child to acquire skills to support the family economic activity and for their future use. Their view point as explained by one of the cocoa farmers is as follows: *"child work is work children undertake to support the household and to learn the trade of the parent for their future endeavours. This work should not affect the health and school of the child"* (Cocoa Farmer & Child Labour Committee Member, Amoamang). Some of the factors that make any kind of work classified as child's work, as mentioned by the respondents, are;

- i. The child should be able to carry it out without any harm and under supervision
- ii. It should not involve the use of any equipment that can harm the child for instance, sharp object, heavy object, poisonous objects

- iii. The child should not spend longer periods of time carrying out the said work and should be under adult guidance
- iv. It should not involve the exertion of massive strength beyond that of the child
- v. It should not lead to any immediate or future health problem to the child.

From these responses, one gets the idea that these communities have been well informed and understand what constitutes child work. They all recognised that children should work to support the family and also to prepare them for adulthood but not all work are suitable for the child to perform. They added that the work should not negatively affect the health and school of the child. In developing countries children participating in family economic activity is practiced also as a family tradition to teach children skills and the family trade. In most cases it is to ensure that as the children grow up they will have a trade to survive on and such work is not defined as child labour by the ILO convention 182 and the Children's Act of Ghana, 1998. The type of work where children go to school and work for short periods a day under supervision by parents or guardians is not defined by ILO as child labour. In fact, ILO acknowledges that this type of work helps to develop the skills of a child and encourages them to learn family responsibility. However, this type of work should, be limited for a few hours, should be done under the supervision of adults and should not be allowed to interfere with the child's education, health, safety, morals or general development.

4.2.4 Child labour

The understanding of child labour by respondents was generally centred on the strength of the child *vis a vis* the magnitude of the work he or she is involved in, the harmful nature of the task as well as the effect the work has on the child's school attendance and well-being. Table 4.3 below presents the respondents understanding of child labour.

Table 4.3: Respondents understanding of Child Labour

Groups	Responses	Sample size	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Work beyond the strength and ability of the child	140	122	87
Children		40	29	72.5
Teachers		20	19	95
Community leaders		20	16	80
District Officials		8	8	100
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Work harmful and can cause injury to a child	140	130	93
Children		40	34	85
Teachers		20	20	100
Community leaders		20	18	90
District Officials		8	8	100
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Work that affect the child school attendance and well-being	140	101	72
Children		40	28	70
Teachers		20	20	100
Community leaders		20	17	85
District Officials		8	7	87.5

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

Child labour is seen by most of the respondents as engaging a child in any kind of work that is above the strength and is inimical to the health of the child. Majority of the cocoa farmers (87%), community leaders (80%), children (72.5%) interviewed indicated that work beyond the strength and ability of the child is child labour. Also greater percentage of the respondents, cocoa farmers (72%), children (70%) and community leaders (85%) added that child labour affect the child's school attendance and well-being (see Table 4.3). This was how one of the cocoa farmers put it: "*Child labour is involving a child or children in any kind of work either by force or persuasion that may be harmful to their health and school attendance*" (Cocoa Farmer, Sureso). The answers provided by the respondents on what constitute child labour as seen in Table 4.3 shows an appreciable level of knowledge and understanding of the various community stakeholders of child labour.

The teachers at Amoamang also tied in child trafficking issues into child labour. According to the head teacher, to a large extent, trafficked children are those who are

used to do difficult and hazardous labour activities in various sectors of the economy for financial and economic gains. In essence child labour was seen to be synonymous to child trafficking. However it must be pointed out that child labour is not synonymous to child trafficking as mentioned by some of the people interviewed. The Human Trafficking Act of Ghana (Act 694, 1999) defines trafficking as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, trading or receipt of persons within and across national borders by a) the use of threats, force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, the abuse of power or exploitation of vulnerability or b) giving or receiving payments and benefits to achieve consent. This definition also applies to all boys and girls below 18 years. Trafficking in children is defined as one of the Worst Forms of Child Labour which is prohibited and must be eliminated as a matter of urgency under Article 3a of ILO Convention No. 182.. The UN protocol to prevent, suppress, and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children defines child trafficking in Article 3(c) as ‘the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation. Thus a child is regarded as a victim of trafficking whenever he/she is recruited or transported with the intent of being exploited. Notwithstanding most of the people interviewed demonstrated understanding of work considered as child labour and the fact that children should not be forced into any work that can affect their health and school attendance.

4.2.5 Major activities on cocoa farms

Cocoa farming in Ghana is a very tedious and labour intensive economic activity. Right from the onset of the cocoa season, series of activities are carried out at specific period to facilitate better productivity. The major activities carried out during the main stages of the cocoa production process mentioned by respondents as shown in table 4.4 below are land preparation, planting, farm maintenance, harvesting and post harvesting activities.

Table 4.4: Major activities on Cocoa Farms

1) Land Preparation/ Pre-planting Activities	• Land clearing
	• Felling of trees
	• Burning
	• Removal of tree stumps
	• Nursery establishment
	• Lining and Pegging
2) Planting Activities	• Sowing at stake
	• Planting of seedlings
	• Planting of shade crops
3) Farm maintenance Activities	• Weeding
	• Pruning
	• Removal of mistletoe (<i>parasitic plants on cocoa trees</i>)
	• Fertilizer application
4) Harvesting Activities	• Plucking of Pods
	• Gathering and heaping of pods
	• Breaking of pods
	• Scooping of cocoa beans
5) Post Harvest Activities	• Carting of fermented cocoa beans for drying
	• Drying and sorting of beans
	• Carting of dried cocoa beans for sale

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

Each of these activities according to the respondents is very labour intensive and requires certain farm tools/implements to carry them out. About 90% of the cocoa farmers interviewed stressed that most of these activities are carried out by the adult household members. If the household labour is insufficient extra labour is hired at a cost to carry out these activities. Often times the *nnoboa*⁶ system is sometimes used for activities such as land clearing, pruning, harvesting, weeding and spraying and these are mostly done by adult farmers. However, children were also mentioned to support in carrying out some of these activities on the farm. Specifically, nursery establishment, planting of seedlings and shade crops, weeding, gathering of pods

⁶ Nnoboa system: This is a system where a group of farmers come together to provide farm labour to each other in turns without any direct financial benefit but host farmers prepare meals for the group when it's their turn.

during harvesting and carrying of fermented beans for drying were the major cocoa activities that respondents said their children help them in carrying out.

Cocoa farmers interviewed argued that most of the activities carried out on the farm have elements of hazards associated with them. However, there are certain farm activities that are hazardous in nature. The health effects are more pronounced on children than adults when they carry out any of these activities. For instance an adult will be more careful when using sharp implements such as cutlass, pickaxe or a hoe than a child. Furthermore, activities including land clearing, burning, tree felling, pruning, spraying, application of agricultural chemicals, plucking and breaking of pods are amongst the key hazardous activities carried out on the cocoa farm. *“Working for longer hours, spraying of chemicals without protective gear, carrying of heavy load (big basket, full fertilizer sack) and carrying of loads for long distances are some of the hazardous activities on the farm”*-A Cocoa farmer in Sika nti community. The table below captures the list of both hazardous and non-hazardous cocoa farming activities identified by the respondents.

Table 4.5: Cocoa Farmers perspectives of hazardous and non-hazardous farming activities

Respondents	Non- hazardous farming activities	Absolute number	% of Respondents
Cocoa farmers (men and women)	Fetching of water for spraying of farms	128	91
	Scooping of cocoa beans	116	83
	weeding	108	77
	Breaking of pods	97	69
	Carting of pods and cocoa beans	121	86
	Hazardous cocoa farming activities		
	Land clearing for new farms	98	70
	Felling of trees	126	90
	Bush burning	133	95
	Plucking of cocoa pods	72	51
	Pruning	131	94
	Spraying	128	91
	Removal of tree stumps	114	81

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

Table 4.6: Children's perspectives of hazardous and non-hazardous farming activities

Respondents	Non- hazardous farming activities	Absolute	Percentage
Children	Filling of bags for cocoa nursery	32	80
	Watering of seedlings	32	80
	weeding	22	55
	Fetching of water for spraying and leaving the farm	34	85
	Hazardous cocoa farming activities		
	Plucking of pods	29	72.5
	spraying	34	85
	Bush burning	37	92.5
	Load carting	28	70

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

The table 4.5 and 4.6 above distinguishes the perspective of the respondents on hazardous and non-hazardous cocoa farming activities. According to the respondents children are not to be engaged in the list of hazardous activities but mostly support parents with the activities the respondents consider as non-hazardous cocoa farming activities. Cocoa farming activities considered as non-hazardous by majority of the cocoa farmers interviewed (see Table 4.5) included fetching of water for spraying, scooping of cocoa beans, weeding, and breaking of pods. Also activities such as land clearing, tree felling, bush burning, plucking of pods, pruning, spraying and removal of tree stumps were considered as hazardous activities. Similarly, majority of the children interviewed (see Table 4.6) considered plucking of pods, spraying, bush burning and land clearing as hazardous activities and are therefore not engaged in those activities.

The *Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector in Ghana (HAF)* which was developed by the Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment (MMYE) in 2008 classifies carrying of heavy loads, weeding, children present on farms during spraying and plucking of cocoa pods with the harvesting hook as hazardous activities. However, some of the respondents, mainly cocoa farmers, in this study thought otherwise. An appreciable number of the cocoa farmers interviewed (refer to Table 4.5) indicated that children still support in some cocoa farming activities that are considered hazardous by the HAF such as breaking of cocoa pods

with knife, carrying of heavy loads, weeding, and supplying water during and for spraying as indicated in Table 4.5 above. They contended that it was part of the socialisation process to introduce the children to these activities early in life so as to be able to inherit the family business in future and to help equip those interested in farming with the necessary skills.

This study is of the opinion that, in as much as children can work as part of the socialisation process and their development they have to be protected and not to be engaged in any task that is likely to have negative consequence on their health and education. Child labourers are susceptible to all the dangers faced by adult workers when placed in the same situation. However, the results of exposure to workplace hazards and safety risks can often be more devastating and long-lasting for them. Also, because children are still growing they have special characteristics and needs that must be taken into consideration when determining activities or work children can support and the hazards as well as the risks associated with them in terms of physical, cognitive and behavioural development and emotional growth. Again, the consequences of some health and safety problems do not develop or show up until the child is an adult. There is therefore the need for intensive community sensitisation on the Hazardous Activity Framework and the relevant child protection provisions of the Children's Act.

The Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560), has established age-appropriate work standards in Ghana. The Act (Act 560) permits light work to be performed by children from age 13. "Light work constitutes work which is not likely to be harmful to the health or development of the child and does not affect the child's attendance at school or the capacity of the child to benefit from school work" (Act 560, Clause 90, subsection 2). The Children's Act sets the minimum age for employment at 15 and explicitly applies it to both the formal and informal sector. This Act prohibits children younger than age 18 from engaging in certain activities deemed hazardous. This study acknowledges that the passing of the children's Act 1998 constituted a very important legislative reform and a turning point in terms of child rights and protection in Ghana. However, not in agreement with these provisions of the law are entrenched socio-cultural practices and beliefs in some communities in the study area. Some respondents in this study attested that children are used in activities that have been prohibited by the law including weeding, harvesting of pods and breaking of cocoa pods with knife. Their

involvement in these activities is seen as helping the children to acquire skills and to learn the trade of their parents. This challenge to the implementation of the protective demands of the law has to do with traditional values, beliefs and customs that conflict with the demands of national laws. More often little attention is given to the knowledge and cultural strengths of rural communities including cocoa growing communities. Cultural practices are often cited to include factors contributing to child labour but fail to acknowledge the many parts that enhance the wellbeing of individuals and communities. This is not to deny that negative or damaging practices exist, but to emphasise the need for development process that builds on communities' strengths to enhance ownership as a strategy for sustainable change.

4.2.6 Source of labour for farming activities

Cocoa farmers adopt different kinds of labour to do their farming activities. Table 4.7 below present the sources of labour for cocoa farming as indicated by the 140 cocoa farmers (men and women) interviewed.

Table 4.7: Sources of Labour for cocoa farming

Labour Type	Absolute Numbers	Percentage
Family labour (<i>wife, husband and children</i>)	84	60
Nnobia	24	17
Hired labour (<i>by-day</i>)	32	23
Total	140	100

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

From table 4.7 above, family members, most especially the husband, wife and children represent the most important source of labour in cocoa farming as this dominated the labour types usually employed for cocoa farming. In this study, 60% of the cocoa farmers interviewed indicated that they depend mostly on their family labour (husband, wife and children) for undertaking most of the activities on their cocoa farms. The other sources of labour for cocoa farming, as per this study, were nnobia (17%) and hired labour⁷ (23%). Hired labour, is dominated by people from the three northern extractions and a fraction of the inhabitants themselves who have

⁷ Hired labour: this is referred to the hiring of labourers for farming purposes which is referred to in local parlance as by-day.

special labour skills in cocoa production. Such labour is usually contracted for specific task including weeding and preparing new farms. However, the 23% of the farmers interviewed who mentioned hired labour as their main source of labour added that, increasing cost of hired labour in the area has made the use of family labour the most convenient and cost effective source of labour for most farmers. It was further specified that, averagely a 'by-day' worker charges GHC10.00 daily in addition to meals provided by the farmer. This according to them was relatively very costly especially during the offseason periods when the cocoa farmers had exhausted all their earnings from the sale of cocoa beans, coupled with other competing family demands including payment of children's school fees and other housekeeping expenses. Some farmers (17%) also indicated employing the *nnoboa* system to do their cocoa farming. The *nnoboa* system is employed under all stages of cocoa production right from the beginning of the cocoa season but most especially for harvesting and weeding.

The involvement of children as part of farm labour has been a common practice in farming across Ghana. This is justified by the fact that as culture demands parents are expected to transfer their livelihood activity to their children. This was summed up by one of the community leaders and also a cocoa farmer as: *"It is our duty to make sure that the children have a trade to survive on when we the parents are no more. Just like our parents did for us, we are also expected to do so for our children"* (Community leader & a cocoa farmer, Sika nti). This practice helps children to acquire skills and prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life.

Some of the children also mentioned that it is a good thing to help parents or guardians on the cocoa farm. Neither the children nor the adult respondents made any attempt to deny the fact that children still work on cocoa farms. However the emphasis of the children was on getting access to their educational needs as against learning a trade mentioned by the cocoa farmers. In order for them to get all their educational needs from their parents whose livelihood is cocoa farming, they need to play their role by helping parents work on the farms.

Majority of the community leaders and all the district stakeholders interviewed were of the opinion that the community sensitization activities carried out as part of the child labour interventions have been very helpful in changing the practice of

depending on children for labour. They added that most Parents are currently mindful of how they engage their children on the farm. This is how one of the NGOs representative implementing the child labour intervention put it: *“The involvement of children is now mostly limited to only activities that will not harm them in any form or way and also under close supervision”* (The Executive Director, Codesult Network).

4.3 Initiatives for the eradication of child labour at the community level

4.3.1 Interventions/ projects in the study communities

Through key informant interviews with the District Social Welfare Officer, the District Planning Officer, the Executive Director of Codesult Network and the Project Coordinator of GLORI, three major projects were identified in the study area all working towards addressing child labour in cocoa. These were the Yen Dakaye (our future) project, the iMPACT Project and the NPECLC intervention.

Besides the overarching goal of reducing child labour in cocoa growing communities in Ghana, these three major study projects (YDK, iMPACT and NPLCLC) implemented in the Wassa Amenfi West District share certain commonalities. These commonalities are mostly evident in key components (interventions) of the individual projects, project implementation and management style, as well as how it complements with other social intervention projects implemented by other organisations as well as the government of Ghana. Very little was visible with respect to the differences between these projects as they all adopt a similar approach towards change.

Education at the heart of the project

These projects have education as the heart of the key interventions targeted at reducing the incidence of child labour. Improving access to quality education functions as one leg of the tripod stand working together with reducing poverty and improving decent work deficit. It has been established that children who are out of school are more vulnerable to child labour either in their home communities or away from home. These projects prioritized interventions that helped improve educational infrastructure, increase teaching and learning materials, improve pupil teacher ratio as well as making education accessible to most of the children who hitherto had very limited or no access.

People centred

Another notable similarity is people centeredness approach of the projects i.e. putting the people behind the wheel to drive the processes of change within their community setting. Many projects implemented at the community level in Ghana and elsewhere aimed at influencing change normally comes with tailor made intervention with little input or contribution of the key project beneficiaries. Often times some communities find themselves worse off after the project. However, these projects adopt a participatory approach which recognises the potentials of community stakeholders to make change happen. What these projects did and continue to do is to facilitate the change process which has led to community ownership as well as sustainability of the projects.

Implementation and management style

As a social, economic and environmental development intervention working to support sustainable improvements in the lives of cocoa growing communities in Ghana, these projects adopt similar key components driven by poverty reduction, decent work deficit and access to quality education. In addition to getting the children into classrooms, other key interventions are targeted at enhancing capabilities, widening choices and enlarging freedoms amongst the people living in cocoa growing communities. The STCP's farmer field school and other model farm schools for strengthening rural communities and preventing exploitative child labour are some of the approaches that make these projects uniquely similar. Similarly, these projects ride on the back of motivated and enthusiastic implementing partners, who are closer, understand the terrain and have the trust of the people to implement the project.

Differences

As observed, the commonalities are more pronounced than the differences. However, one major difference observed between the iMPACT project and that of the Yen Daakye project and NPECLC project is in the area of infrastructure and other support for the communities. For the iMPACT project all the communities were provided with some infrastructure such as KG and primary school blocks, health facilities (CHPS compounds) and water & sanitation facilities such as hand dug wells and KVIP toilet facilities. These helped solve some of the deficits in terms of social amenities of the communities in the area of health, education and water/sanitation. However, much

was not seen when it comes to the provision of these facilities under Yen Daakye and NPECLC projects communities. In the Yen Daakye project communities, although some grants were given to provide micro project, not all the communities benefited and even the communities which benefited did not receive enough funding to complete the proposed projects. For the NPECLC project, some school children were identified in the beneficiary communities and were given free school uniforms and bags.

4.4 Impact of interventions in reducing child labour on cocoa farms

4.4.1 Level of awareness of child labour concept among cocoa farmers

Majority of the respondents in this study demonstrated extensive understanding of the child labour concept as earlier shown in Table 4.3 on respondents' perspective of child labour. They were able to give a clear distinction between child work, child labour, worst forms of child labour, and Ghana's constitutional definition of a child as has been explained earlier in this report under section 4.2. As earlier shown in Table 4.1, 84.3% of the cocoa farmers interviewed defined a child to be anyone below 18 years which is in line with the definition as contained in the Children's Act (Act 560) and the Republican Constitution of Ghana. Also child labour was understood by majority of the respondents to include work which is beyond the ability of the child; work that is harmful and can cause injury to a child as well as work that can affect child school attendance and well being (see Table 4.3). These responses are a demonstration of high level of awareness and understanding by the cocoa farmers of child labour concepts. According to the District Labour officer, District Social Welfare officer and the Implementing partners of the iMPACT, the NPECLC and the YDK projects, community stakeholders including opinion leaders, men, women and children were engaged under different level throughout the period of the implementation of the project. They called the community engagement process as dialogue and sensitisation. According to the district stakeholders, even though the primary targets were households that are involved in cocoa farming, every member of the beneficiary community was offered an opportunity to contribute to the implementation process. The District Labour Officer explained that *"the community dialogue and sensitization activities carried out by the child labour projects have helped to close the information gap amongst community members. There is a common*

sense and understanding with regards to the type of hazardous activities on the farm, how they affect the personal wholesome development and how they endanger children's physical health, morals and safety. The project has enhanced people's understanding about the circumstances under which simple activities such as harvesting of pods can endanger the health of a child"(Labour Officer, WAW District).

Majority of basic primary and Junior high school children interviewed also demonstrated high understanding of the concept of child and child labour (see Tables 4.1 & 4.3). They were able to identify most of the major and minor activities carried out on the farm on a normal cocoa farming season. Beside that most of them were able to separate the hazardous from the non-hazardous (see Table 4.5) activities with a clear explanation of why they differ from each other.

Cocoa farmers interviewed attributed their knowledge and understanding of the child labour concept to various sources of information including community dialogue and sensitisation meetings, training workshops, farmer rallies and radio discussions carried out by NGOs and government agencies including the District Assembly and Ghana COCOBOD. According to the farmers and community leaders interviewed, the community dialogue and sensitisation meetings facilitated by the NGOs and the DA as well as the radio discussions on child labour education has been the most effective sources of information to cocoa communities and farmers in the study area. With the radio discussions for instance, the respondents said, currently most farmers have mini radio sets and are seen most of the time listening to the discussions even when working on their farms. This disclosure is therefore a good lesson for shaping current child labour projects and for designers of future child labour programmes.

4.4.2 Protection of children from hazardous activities

Majority of the respondents in this study were of the opinion that increased awareness and knowledge of child labour issues through the child labour interventions in the communities have brought about improvement with regards to the protection of children from hazardous cocoa farming activities. The data in Table 4.5 and 4.6, as earlier presented in pages 56 & 57, suggest that many of the cocoa farmers interviewed have information about cocoa farming activities that are hazardous and non-hazardous. Hazardous cocoa farming activities listed by the respondents included

land clearing for new farms, felling of trees, bush burning, plucking of cocoa pods, pruning, spraying and removal of tree stumps (see Table 4.5 and 4.6). They added that because of the hazardous nature of these activities, children are currently not allowed to be involved in such activities. For instance, majority (91%) of the cocoa farmers interviewed said spraying is hazardous and therefore do not involve children in this activity at all. Similarly 94% of the farmers indicated that pruning including the removal of mistletoes is hazardous and therefore do not allow children to be part.

In explaining the changes and how children are being protected from hazardous activities, this is how one of the respondents put it: *“Now we do not allow our children to participate in chemical spraying because we have been informed and educated of the negative effects the chemicals can have on the children and even us the adults. Again we know their involvement can even cause their death and for us the women, the chemicals can cause us miscarriage”* (a female cocoa farmer, Sika Nti community). This was further corroborated by teachers who attributed the positive outcome or improvement regarding child protection to the sensitization of farmers on child rights issues. He explained that: *“some of our school pupils were not regular to school at all but since the NGOs came to our community and held series of meetings with the community members, school attendance has improved greatly even during the peak cocoa harvesting period of October to December”* (School Teacher, Amoamang DA Primary). Further, one of the District Stakeholders interviewed added that *“Internal and external structures including instituting and enforcing child protection bye-laws, child protection committees, improving of educational infrastructure, involving and resourcing the district social welfare department and close collaboration with the police has helped to keep people in check. For some of these internal and external structures, whilst it is less difficult to implement these checks in communities with households living close to each other, same cannot be said about households who live in remote farms”* (Social Welfare Officer, WAW District).

The District social welfare officer was of the view that the existence of child protection committees at the community level is an expression of the community's commitment to tackle the issue. People check on each other and report to the chief and the child protection committees of any incidence of child abuse. Offenders are

summoned by the chief and are made to face the appropriate penalties including fines and even sometimes arrest by the police.

Even though children still play supportive role in providing labour on the farm, they are now made to undertake activities that will not harm them. For instance, 85% of the children interviewed indicated that they fetch water for the spraying long before the activity (see Table 4.6) which is a positive improvement in protecting children from hazardous activities. They have also been stopped from carrying out major activities such as weeding, pruning, removing of tree stumps, spraying and plucking of cocoa with the harvesting hook.

Access to education has also helped in protecting children from labour exploitation. The community members indicated that most of the children now go to school. The claim of increase in school enrolment over the past years could not be verified from the school register mainly because the period of this study coincided with school vacation.

4.4.3 Improving access to quality basic education

Some studies (Casely- Hayford 2004 and Odonkor 2007) have identified poor educational standards and performance as one of the main factors fuelling child labour in cocoa growing communities. Therefore improving access to quality education is universally acknowledged as a key intervention in eliminating child labour. In addition to proximity, vulnerable children and families often require additional support to ensure regular school attendance.

In the first instance a lot of people now appreciate the importance of education in these communities. Since children who are out of school are particularly vulnerable to child labour, the project has helped improve access to education. In the study area, new schools have been constructed at Dwantoa, Amoamang and Sika Nti as support from the child labour intervention. The schools at Sureso and Amoamang have also benefited from some educational interventions including teaching and learning materials and recruitment of additional teachers paid by the community with support from the project. Another strategy which has been adopted by cocoa farmers in communities is to send their children to relatives in near-by towns like Asankrangua, the district capital, where they can have access to good quality education.

At Dwantoa which is a beneficiary of the iMPACT project, community members identified the construction of a school as one of the interventions that has helped to address child labour issues in the community. However, the school is currently challenged by inadequate number of teachers. Junior high pupils in the community have to commute over 8km every day to Oda Kotomso to attend school. At Amoamang however, the school is fully functional with teachers at all levels including pre-school. Also through other partners like Cadbury Cocoa Partnership, some children who commute long distance to school every day have benefited from free bicycles which have improved their school attendance especially during the rainy season.

Improvement in quality basic education as well as school enrolment and attendance was not solely attributed to the child labour interventions. Community members further attributed this improvement to other government social intervention programs such as (i) school feeding program (ii) free school uniforms and (iii) free exercise books (iv) capitation grant for public schools.

4.4.4 Level of awareness and understanding of child labour and child protection laws

The government of Ghana has demonstrated a strong sense of commitment to the protection of the rights of children. This commitment is backed by the ratification of various treaties including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the enactment of the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560). Many child rights advocates and researchers believe that the ratification process is but one of the numerous means to the desirable end i.e. protecting the rights of the child.

The dialogue and sensitization component of the projects in the study area educated community members about what constitutes child labour and how to recognise and identify tasks that are safe and tasks that are hazardous for children of different ages. This is the most crucial stage where the information gap is bridged and misconceptions cleared. Without the understanding of the concept of child labour and where it occurs in the community, no effective strategy can be formulated to deal with the situation.

Community members could not quote the specifics of Ghana's Children's Act (Act 560) and the other laws which protects the rights of children but tried explaining the message that the laws and the Act entails and what they seek to achieve. Table 4.8

below presents the respondents awareness of some of the child labour and protection laws.

Table 4.8: Respondents Awareness of Child Labour and Child Protection Laws

Groups	Responses	Sample size	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Aware of the Children's Act (Act 560)	140	97	69.3
Children		40	18	45
Teachers		20	17	85
Community leaders		20	13	65
District officials		8	8	100
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	Aware of the Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for cocoa sector (HAF)	140	92	66
Children		40	16	40
Teachers		20	12	60
Community leaders		20	13	65
District officials		8	7	88
Cocoa farmers (Men and women)	The Human Trafficking Act (Act 694)	140	75	54
Children		40	15	38
Teachers		20	12	60
Community leaders		20	11	55
District officials		8	8	100

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

The study revealed that 69.3% of cocoa farmers, 55% of community leaders, 45% of children and 85% of teachers interviewed were aware of the existence of the Children's Act as one of the child protection laws in Ghana. Similarly 66% of farmers, 40% of children, and 65% of community leaders know of the HAF. This data suggest an appreciable level of awareness of some of the relevant child protection laws in Ghana by the community leaders, cocoa farmers and teachers but same cannot be said for the children. Most of these respondents indicated they had information of these laws through radio education and community forums mostly organised by the child labour projects and other stakeholders from the WAW District Assembly. In the opinion of the District Social Welfare Officer, understanding of the child labour laws

encouraged community members to recognize child labour problems in their communities. This subsequently led to the establishment of the community child protection committees. He further added that, the awareness creation has also encouraged work site protection including the use of protective gear and age-appropriate tools and equipment for children who are engaged in permissible activities.

4.4.5 Reducing poverty and improving income levels of parents and cocoa farmers

As established in the literature review, one major underlying cause of child labour in Ghana is poverty and decent work deficit. It has further been established that focusing resources to address these issues will ultimately contribute to the elimination of child labour not only in cocoa growing communities but all the other informal sectors where children are exploited and abused. To address the issues of poverty, not only is alternative livelihood necessary but also the requisite skill to manage the cocoa farming as a profitable business venture just like any other business.

While most of the interventions are concentrated in raising awareness, community and institutional empowerment as well as community led implementation of the project, the inadequate income levels is also being addressed through Farmer Field School (FFS) and alternative livelihood programs in the study area. The FFS intervention is a cocoa integrated crop and pest management (ICPM) practice and an effective method of improving cocoa farming practice and increasing productivity. With this approach local farmers meet regularly with an instructor, who can be an agricultural extension worker or another farmer who has already participated in a FFS. The course follows the cocoa farming calendar and at each stage farmers learn and use best cocoa farming practices during the session and then return home to carry out the same operations on their own farms. Sessions are participatory and interactive, including lectures, demonstrations and group work. The farm serves as a demonstration plot where others in the community can witness what is taught and the results. The table 4.9 below indicate the number of respondents who were cocoa farmers and participating in the FFS.

Table 4.9: Farmers participation in FFS and impact on Income

Category	Response	Absolute	Percentage
Cocoa Farmers participating and practicing FFS methodology	Participating and practicing FFS methodology	94	67
	Not participating in FFS	46	33
Total		140	100
FFS has led to increased yield and income of cocoa farmers.	FFS has led to increased yield and income	94	100
		-	-
Total		94	100

Source: Author's Field study, March 2013

The study found that 67% of the cocoa farmers interviewed were participating and practicing the FFS methodology on their farms. Most of the farmers not participating in the FFS initiative said though they were interested in the FFS, it has not reached their area. However due to the positive changes they have seen in the farms of those participating in the FFS initiative, their leaders have started engaging the NGOs and the District Agriculture Extension Unit for such support. Those part of the initiative said that, the FFS approach has brought about increased production which the farmers indicated have translated into increased income and has helped to cover the costs of children's education and alternative labour source which is one of the underlying causes of child labour. According to Moses, a cocoa farmer in Dwantoa community, the increased yield from his four acre farm from 12 bags to 19 bags over the last two cocoa seasons has enabled him to build a two bedroom house at Dwantoa. He explained that, *"I have not extended my farm, it is the same farm size but the new farming practices have helped me to get more money to build my house and regularly pay the fees of my brother in secondary school at Asankrangwa"*. The FFS participants further stressed that the FFS in addition to helping farmers to increase their production has also provided the forum for raising awareness about child labour. Farmers are therefore able to discuss the issues at their meetings and strategies to tackle it.

The study also noted that, other aspects of some of the child labour intervention directed at contributing to improving the income levels of farmers was the introduction of additional livelihood opportunities and business skills training.

Through the business skills training and start up funding which targeted the youth and women, some community members have been able to increase their incomes by entering into additional livelihood support activities aside their cocoa cultivation. At Dwantoa, farmers were particularly happy about the initiative to start a Gari processing plant in the community. Again, most people have adopted the cultivation of pepper and other vegetables which were introduced as an alternative livelihood strategy in the community by the iMPACT project.

4.5 Factors preventing the full realisation of the benefits of child labour interventions in the community

The following were indicated as some of the reasons or factors preventing the full realization of the benefits of child labour interventions in the study area:

4.5.1 The use of suspected trafficked children for child labour activities

Community members were of the view that some people still use children to do hazardous work on cocoa farms because these children are not their biological children. This revelation was corroborated by basic and junior high school children interviewed who indicated that most of these children who are living and working especially on remote farms are suspected trafficked children especially from the Northern and the Volta Region. This was explained by one of the children that: *“One of my friends in my father’s village who recently came with the senior brother is not attending school but always go to the farm with the brother to work”*- a JHS Pupil at Amoamang. According to the farmers interviewed, these children mostly between fifteen and seventeen years are staying with some farmers on their cocoa farms, working with them and in some cases attending school as well. They added that most of these remote hamlets unfortunately have not benefitted from the community sensitisation activities by the NGOs and the District Assembly. This was corroborated by the representatives of the NGOs interviewed, Codesult Network and GLORI, who attributed the challenge to poor road network and inadequate resources and staff. Child trafficking issues and trafficking in general is a broad area that would require a detailed study, as a result further research is needed to establish the link between migration, child trafficking and the degree of child labour. New strategies would also have to be developed for future interventions to be able to reach out to children and cocoa farmers in remote cocoa hamlets.

4.5.2 Poor enforcement of child labour by-laws

Effective community decision making processes for protecting vulnerable children are more likely to lead to sustainable change if by-laws that emanate from these decisions are equally applied to every member without fear or favour.

Cocoa farmers interviewed were of the view that those who have been put in charge of enforcing the by-laws at the community level have not lived up to expectations as they sometimes bend the rule to favour certain people in the community. This situation has resulted in apathy on the part of community members. Individuals mandated to enforce the laws have lost their power due to certain dangerous precedence they have set in the community.

4.5.3 Non-functional child protection committees

Another initiative to tackle the problem of child labour within the community was establishment of community child protection committees. The District Social Welfare Officer stressed that many projects arrive in the communities with a mission to ‘create committees’. These committees lose the motivation to continue when the project finishes. The problem is that these projects often lack the strategy to make these committees sustainable on their own for a longer period. He further stressed that, numerous community committees have been set up to protect children in the cocoa growing areas. Their members are invariably enthusiastic and committed to put in many hours of work to protect the welfare of children. However, most of these committees in the long run fall short of the support and recompense of their work and few remain active in the long term once the project that created them wraps up. This is what is apparent in these communities as almost all the committees created during the iMPACT and YDK project have all gone into temporal hibernation.

4.5.4 Entrenched perceptions about children being the property of the parents

Some community leaders interviewed were of the view that some people still hold on to the belief that the children are their property and they can engage them in any work they so wish. This problem is an offshoot of two main problems which are:

Lack of adequate labour: some households depend largely on the labour of these children and are not financially sound to acquire labour from outside the household.

They therefore are left with very little option than to still use children despite their awareness of the hazards they are exposing these children to.

Diverse views about hazardous activities: the community leaders at Amoaman and Dwantoa for instance indicated that a lot of people inherited the cocoa farming skills from their parents/guardians. These people who went through similar upbringing strongly believe that if they have survived, these children can also make it. Even though this is debatable, they still conceded that there are people who still hold that perception.

4.5.5 Poor resource capacity of district child welfare institutions

The District Social Welfare Officer and the District Labour Officer all mentioned resource constraints as the biggest challenge hindering the successful implementation of the project. The Social Welfare Officer summed it up that: *“As the provider of child labour protection services representing the state at the district and the rural communities, resource constraints makes outreach work very limited. Also since communities are still not self- sufficient in terms of on-the-spot child protection, child labour problems continue to persist despite all the positive efforts”* (District Social Welfare Officer, WAW District). District child welfare officers also mentioned that this problem has also resulted in poor linkage between community child protection committees. Committee members fail to report to the community on any meeting or capacity building training they attend on behalf of the community.

4.5.6 Poor commitment by government institutions (education)

Lack of quality education is widely acknowledged as a factor contributing to child labour. There is a substantial evidence to support the fact that children pulled out of farm and are not sent to the classroom eventually end up back in the farm. To address the issue of access to quality education, some communities that hitherto had no school and were not in close proximity to any school through the support of partners and other government agencies initiated and constructed their own schools. To run these schools there was an understanding with the district education directorate to supply them with quality teachers. However, at Dwantoa, community members bemoaned the absence of teachers for over eight months in the school and several visits to the education directorate have not yielded any positive results.

The District Education Directorate indicated that, they were currently understaffed and are unable to respond to the needs of every community. They highlighted the refusal of teachers to accept postings to remote communities due to the lack of social amenities and lack of accommodation for teachers in these communities as some of the challenges hindering postings of teachers. Community members on the other hand attributed the problem to poor supervision by the Circuit supervisors. They indicated that, these supervisors hardly visit these schools to monitor the attendance and the activities of these teachers thereby resulting in high absenteeism of teachers in those remote cocoa growing communities. This, the farmers said, served as a disincentive for parents to send their children to school and would rather ask the children to support them on their farms.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the summary of findings organised along five key indicators this study adopted to assess the effectiveness of the child labour interventions in the study area. It also presents recommendations and conclusion to guide future interventions towards the elimination of child labour in cocoa growing communities.

5.1 Summary of findings

Indicator 1: Awareness is present and farmers understand the concept of child, child labour, child work and worst forms of child labour

Access to information by all stakeholders is a key factor to implementation, outcome and impact of a project. The child labour projects under review in this study (Yen Daakye, iMPACT, NPECLC) employed vigorously sensitization and awareness creation as part of the key components of the projects.

Implementing Partners of the child labour interventions in the study area including the NGOs (Codesult Network and GLORI) and the District Social Welfare office outlined sensitization and awareness creation amongst the first batch of activities that took place right at the onset of the project. This was the first attempt to promote ownership and community led growth by first understanding the local contextual issues and building on it through the introduction of new ideas. Awareness creation helped to identify the root cause and the contributory factors to the problem. Through this process the project was able to ascertain how much is known about the issues of child labour, how much of this information available to the people is accurate and the information gap that needs to be covered.

Community leaders, cocoa farmers and children interviewed in the study area demonstrated appreciably high level of understanding of the child labour concept. The definition of a child was concise and was recounted with little effort. Majority of the stakeholders interviewed, Cocoa farmers (84.3%), Children (65%) and Teachers (90%) continuously referred to the constitutional definition of a child. There was no arguments and respondents wasted no effort in specifying age 18 as the line that separates a child and an adult. Children's work' was seen as a general term covering the entire spectrum of work and related tasks performed by children, and 'child labour' as a subset of children's work that is injurious to the children and that is

targeted for elimination. Farmers and community leaders interviewed mentioned that child work should be limited to a short period not more than three hours per day. It should be performed under adult's supervision and not to be allowed to affect the child's education, health and safety. Further, majority of the cocoa farmers (84%), children (76%), community leaders (85%), teachers (98%) and District officials (97%) interviewed said they have been educated on effects of child labour. They defined child labour to include work beyond the strength and ability of the child, harmful and can cause injury to the child and or work that affect the child school attendance and well-being.

Community members could not quote the specifics of Ghana's Children's Act (Act 560) which protects the rights of children but tried explaining the message that the laws and the Acts entail and what they seek to achieve. The study found that cocoa farmers (69.3%), children (45%), community leaders (65%) interviewed were aware of the existence of the Children's Act as a child protection law in Ghana. The interviews revealed that people in the community were educated and informed about the children's Act through radio and community forums. It was also found that most of the farmers interviewed were not having enough information of the specific permissible and non-permissible activities regarding children's involvement in cocoa production as has been established in the Hazardous Activity Framework for Ghana's cocoa sector.

Most of the stakeholders interviewed including the District Social Welfare Officer, District Labour officer, and community leaders were of the view that the sensitization of people on the concept of child labour as well as the need to educate children should be a continues process. This study strongly shares this view in the sense that even though a lot of people now understand the concept of child labour, there is the likelihood that they will go back to using children to do hazardous work on the farm if they are not regularly reminded. Further there are still some people with very little information about the child labour issue. As the chief of Dwantooa literary puts it *"people will stop dancing when they stop hearing the sound of the music"*.

Indicator 2: *Labour burden on children reduced and farmers tap into alternative labour sources for their production to ensure that children are protected or removed from CL/WFCL.*

The main goal of these projects, the study found, is not to discourage the use of children in cocoa farming activity but rather to prevent children's involvement in hazardous activities on the farm. As already indicated involving children in the livelihood activity of parents help to build their mental capacity as well as prepare them for the future. The projects had an overarching goal of pulling children out of the farms and sending them to the classrooms. Parents are to reduce the labour burden on children by accessing other alternative labour sources and to stop children participation in hazardous farming activities. The study found that the vast majority of community members and children (see Tables 4.5 and 4.6) who were interviewed were able to differentiate between hazardous and non-hazardous cocoa farming activities with reasons. This is in line with the HAF for the Cocoa Sector in Ghana published by the MMYE on behalf of the Government of Ghana. The people believe awareness creation has helped in reducing the number of children who are involved in hazardous cocoa farming activities. Majority (85%) of the Children interviewed further indicated that they are not made to be present during spraying. For instance, the children indicated that they fetch water for the spraying long before the activity is carried out which is a positive improvement in removing and protecting children from hazardous activities. They have also been stopped from carrying out major activities such as land clearing, pruning, removing of tree stumps, spraying and plucking of cocoa with the harvesting hook.

However, despite these notable reductions in the magnitude of the menace, it cannot yet be said that child labour is a thing of the past in the study area. It was found that 60% of the farmers interviewed largely depend on family labour including the use of children as their main source of labour for cocoa farming. With majority of farmers still dependant on the use of family labour there is the likelihood that some children may still be involved in hazardous farming activities as 77% of the farmers interviewed did not see weeding as a hazardous activity and therefore downplayed its negative effect on children. Again, there remains a minority of particularly vulnerable children mostly residing in the remote hamlets of cocoa growing communities requiring specific strategies to ensure that they are protected and nurtured. The study

found that most of the remote cocoa hamlets in the study area unfortunately did not benefit from the sensitisation activities carried out by the NGOs and the District Stakeholder. This was corroborated by the representatives of the NGOs interviewed, Codesult Network and GLORI, who attributed the challenge to poor road network and inadequate resources and staff. New and specific strategies would therefore have to be developed for future interventions to be able to reach out to children and cocoa farmers in these remote cocoa hamlets.

Indicator 3: children's access to education is improved (positive impacts on enrolment and attendance)

As already indicated one of the key components of these child labour projects is pulling children out of the farm and sending them to the classroom to have better education. Prior to these projects, there were no schools at Sika Nti and Dwantoa communities. The school at Amoamang and Sureso communities were also up to primary six. The study found that currently, through the intervention of the Ministry of Education through the DA and the NGOs, a JHS has been built at Sureso community. The inhabitants of Sika Nti community through a joint initiative with the YDK project have built a primary school to improve access to education in the community. At Dwantoa, the community has also tapped into the assistance offered by the project to build a pre-school or KG and a primary school in the community. The schools at Sureso, Amoamang and Sika Nti are fully functional with class sizes exceeding the GES teacher pupil ratio of 1:35. Most importantly all the primary schools in the study communities have pre-schools supported by the projects. Children are also currently benefiting from the capitation grant, free school uniforms and school feeding which encourages them to regularly attend school.

The availability of classrooms and teachers is an indication of improvement in educational infrastructure. Unlike before, there were no schools in three (3) out of the four (4) communities in the study area prior to the project intervention. These communities can currently boast of their own school and children from these communities do not have to commute long distances to access school in other communities. Parents are also investing a lot of time and money in their children's education unlike before. Some parents send their children to live with relatives in Asankragua to attend Junior High whilst others make transport fare available to their children to commute every day.

School enrolment and retention has also increased at Amoaman, Sika Nti and Sureso, although there was difficulty in accessing reliable data. The teachers and community leaders interviewed, tracing back to the year 2006 when some of these projects started indicated that, the schools have witnessed tremendous increase in enrolment. A teacher at Amoaman DA Primary explained that: *“not only do children come to school for the most part of the season but their retention rate has also improved”*. Teachers interviewed at Sureso and Sika Nti mentioned that before the intervention, some parents were coming to the school during school hours to call children and take them to the farms but this has now stopped. They also said there has been increase in enrolment of migrant children. Even though this could be as a result of an increase in migration in the area, they regard it as a positive change because in the past, a lot of migrants were rather engaging their children on the farm rather than sending them to school. One of the NGO’s representative said that: *“At the community level, community education activities by the projects coupled with the availability of child protection committees in the project area has resulted in some level of awareness of the importance of education and as well as restriction on the part of parents who abuse the rights of their children”* (Project Coordinator, Global Responses Initiative).

Despite all the educational improvements made in the community, some children are still not benefiting fully from the project whilst others are not benefiting at all. Some of the school children indicated that sometimes they go to farm very early in the morning before they go to school. Children who live in remote cocoa villages or hamlets do not have the opportunity of attending school due to lack of educational facilities in those areas. Also the community members were concerned about the quality level of education in the cocoa communities. One of the farmers summed it up that: *“Many of our children who have completed school are still in the house doing nothing because their grades were not good to be able to get placement in Secondary school. But because I still want my children to further their education to the SHS level, I have sent two of my children to Asankragwa (the district capital) for their JHS education where I believe the quality is better than what we have in this village”* (Cocoa Farmer, Sureso Community). On the basis of existing evidence, educational infrastructure has improved to enhance access even though more has to be done for parents to take advantage of the facilities to enrol all school aged children. However the issue of poor quality of education in the cocoa communities need

addressing, since continuous dissatisfaction can serve as a disincentive for parents in enrolling their children in the schools thereby perpetuating child labour.

Indicator 4: Alternative livelihood projects have positive impact on household income

The introduction of the farmer field school (FFS) by the iMPACT and YDK projects, was one of the effective means of promoting sustainable cocoa farming, increasing household income and contributing to addressing the issue of child labour in cocoa growing communities. Majority (67%) of the cocoa farmers' interviewed were found to be participating and practicing the FFS methodology. The FFS concept has built the capacity of farmers to enable them make well informed crop management decisions through increased knowledge and understanding of the agro-ecosystem. Cocoa farmers indicated that they have been able to triple their production through the experimentation of what they learnt as all the farmers participating in the FFS said it has led to increased yield and income of cocoa farmers (see Table 4.9). With increased income from high cocoa yields, farmers indicated that they are able to provide the educational needs of their children and also to keep the home. In addition to the benefits, the FFS initiative has sharpened farmers' ability to make critical and informed decisions which has made their farming activity more profitable. One farmer at Dwantoa indicated that they have now become 'experts' on their own farms and are very confident in solving their own problems.

Again, alternative livelihood projects introduced such as cultivation of vegetables (pepper, tomatoes, and cabbage), honey production, soap making, and poultry have also helped improve household income in some of the communities particularly at Dwantoa where the women especially do a lot of vegetable cultivation during the off season for additional income. This aspect of the project is aimed at lessening the household's dependence on cocoa farming as the sole source of income. The Director of one of the NGO's explained that: *"the additional livelihood projects were necessitated by the fact that a lot of resources such as land, labour and time were not fully utilized by the people to generate extra income. For instance, most households would remain idle after the harvest until the new season begins. Again farmers were not making use of available lands for the production of crops other than cocoa and therefore was an opportunity to help the farmers diversify their income sources"* (The Executive Director, Codesult Network). These livelihood projects made a very significant impact on household's income and nutrition especially during the

implementation phase of the project. However, some of these alternative livelihood projects introduced have not been sustainable largely due to the discontinuity of funding from the project donors which has resulted in most people reverting back to depend on their cocoa production as the sole household income source. This is what one of the cocoa farmers had to say: *“some of the women in this community who were initially supported to go into poultry and vegetable production to generate additional income to support their children education have stopped because they no longer receive money from the NGOs since they left”* (Cocoa Farmer, Dwantoa community). This raises concern of over reliance on donor support in financing child labour projects vis-a-vis their sustainability and the ability of the projects in achieving the desired impact.

Indicator 5: *Interventions to build local capacity to ensure ownership and long term sustainability of initiatives at addressing the child labour issue.*

In terms of local capacity building, the study found that communities in the study area were guided by the projects to come up with their own Community Action Plans (CAPs) directed towards addressing child labour issues in their respective communities. This enabled the communities to identify their resource potentials and constraints and strategies to implement the components of the plan. It also enabled the community to devise strategies to solicit for external support for their prioritized interventions. According to one of the community leaders *“Our community identified the lack of education provision as a challenge to the development of our children through the engagement processes we had with the NGOs and the Assembly and went on to build a primary school block to ensure that children who have reached school going age are enrolled. The community provided communal labour and received financial support from the NGOs for the school”* (Community Leader, Sika Nti). Therefore with the help of the projects, community’s capacity to identify, plan and support the implementation of activities was enhanced.

Cocoa farmers from the Yen Daakye and the iMPACT Project communities (Sika Nti, Dwantoa and Amoamang) interviewed, mentioned benefitting from the Farmer Field School (FFS) in the area of knowledge and capacity strengthening in maintaining healthy and sustainable cocoa farms. The FFS is among the most effective components of programmes working to eliminate child labour in cocoa communities since they enable farmers collectively understand and commit themselves using new

and improved farming practices. This initiative has introduced farmers to modern techniques of cocoa farming which has resulted in an increase in production and income. One of the NGOs officials explained that: *“The farmer field school concept employs tried and tested agronomic technologies for better cocoa farm management. The school is so practical by design and sessions are held on the farms where theory is complemented with demonstration, observation and participation. In all these child labour education is well integrated in the FFS modules”* (The Executive Director, Codesult Network). The testimonies from farmers interviewed were a demonstrable positive impact of the FFS intervention which has built the capacity of the cocoa farmers in maintenance, management and sustainability of the cocoa farms.

Also as part of the initiatives to build local capacity to ensure ownership and long term sustainability at addressing the child labour issue, the study discovered that communities came up with their own Community Child Protection Committees (CCPC) and community child labour monitoring committees and received capacity building training from the DA and the NGOs. Among their responsibilities is to work with the community leaders to enforce community rules and regulations aimed at protecting the child from all forms of abuses. However some of the community leaders and teachers interviewed felt the committees had not lived to their expectation in checking child abuses. This viewpoint was explained by one of the teachers that: *“People who were put in charge of enforcing the by-laws in the community have not lived up to expectation as they sometimes bend the rule to favour certain individuals and their close associates in the community. Also some of the committee members are ignorant of the laws. This situation has resulted in apathy on the part of community members”* (School Teacher, Amoaman DA Primary).

5.2 Recommendations

The main findings from the study have raised various issues on the interventions for addressing child labour in cocoa growing communities which need to be tackled or addressed. It has also brought to the fore some laudable measures which should be strengthened and continued. The following recommendations have therefore been suggested:

Sustained awareness creation:

Continuous dialogue and sensitization is being recommended to strongly complement already established structures like the community child protection committees to operationalize all agreed by-laws in the community. By-laws should also be reviewed on timely basis to make it reflect the current state of the child labour problem in the community.

The government as well as donors should place a lot of importance on continuous sensitization by appropriately allocating resources to implementing partners and communities to continuously sensitize people about child labour and the rights of children. Also sensitisation on the Hazardous Activity Framework and the relevant child protection provisions of the Children's Act is necessary. Sustainability of awareness on child welfare issues can be greatly enhanced if the District Assembly could commit to it by ensuring that it features strongly in their short, medium and long term development plans. Most importantly, but there should be a greater sense of commitment to sticking to the plan by making sure resources are assigned to appropriate interventions that are in the plan. This will ensure that the activities on awareness creation will get some portion of needed resources if not all to execute its activities.

Also the media should be encouraged and motivated to help disseminate information on child labour in the district through television, radio, and print media. Radio has proven to be an effective tool for information dissemination and as such the messages at community sensitisation sessions should be well-thought through and devoid of partisan politics. Furthermore journalist should be given the necessary training to ensure that they have a very good understanding of child labour issues to enable them report appropriately. The project could also make good use of community information system which is now common or can be found in most rural communities and also very cheap compared to other means to sustain the awareness of child rights in the communities.

Further, the acquired skills, knowledge and experience in child labour and child right issues by local NGOs should be sustained by empowering implementing partners with the necessary resources to carry on with their activities within the project communities. With these skills and knowledge, little resource in terms of funds will

be required to continue with certain key components such as awareness creation on child labour.

Local action and empowering communities:

This study is of the view that strong and active child protection committees at the community level, with clearly defined responsibilities will contribute immensely in curbing the child labour menace. The DA has to strongly support the District child protection body to undertake periodic visits to the cocoa growing communities to assess the child labour menace and support local structures to take appropriate remedial actions. Again, the District Assemblies through the District Planning and Coordinating Units should build upon the CAP to promote greater coordination in the use of projects that support community empowerment to promote equitable development opportunity to all communities. Through this approach, the DA should make their resources more accessible to underserved communities that show a high sense of commitment and motivation.

Funding and Project sustainability:

Government should shift from depending largely on external donors to fund child labour projects in all sectors of the economy. Adequate funds should be committed in the national budget to implement child labour interventions. Therefore the need to attach greater importance to the generation of funds locally is highly recommended. Over reliance on donors has led to the collapse of many interventions while others are struggling to survive. The NGOs (Codesult Network and GLORI) as well as the DA implementing interventions in the study area mentioned a break in donor support as one of its main problems. The institutions should embark on consultancy services and other activities that can fetch them money. For self-reliance, there is the need to exhaust the internal sources of funding before looking outside for assistance. Having exhausted the internal sources, assistance could be sought from the international community and donors as supplementary to the local efforts.

Government action and collaboration:

Government should commit itself to building a very comprehensive and reliable data base to enable easy tracking of progress of all the interventions to be able to assess or evaluate the impact of the various activities undertaken in combating this menace. To facilitate this there should also be an effective and efficient collaboration between the

government ministries responsible for the welfare of children, including the Ministry of Gender and Social Protection, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, and the various NGOs involved in child labour issues and interventions. This will help bring coherence, alignment and efficiency to the multiple efforts and initiatives at addressing child labour and the advancement of the welfare of children in the country. Again, this will support the integration of child labour concerns into policy initiatives in the education, social protection and labour market spheres.

The government should also focus its attention on eliminating the root causes of the child labour problem which includes poverty by providing basic amenities to deprived rural cocoa growing communities. Also, creating additional livelihood opportunities and jobs are necessary to provide reliable sources of income for parents and the youth in those areas so as to reduce the level of vulnerability of the poor households, especially the children, to child labour practices. In this study it was found that the cocoa Farmer Field School approach adopted by some of the interventions is simple, cost-effective and popular approach to increasing the productivity and profitability of cocoa farming. Replicating this in all cocoa farming communities will help improve the income levels of farmers and contribute to addressing poverty.

In addition, the law enforcement agencies and institutions that are responsible for implementing the various provisions of the Children's Act and the Human Trafficking Act should be adequately resourced and empowered to carry out their mandate effectively in order to address this menace. Further, there may be the need for review of the minimum age provision in the Children's Act taken into consideration the traditional values, beliefs and customs. Also, implementing the law does not only require enforcing the law but educating parents and community members of the benefits of the law to children's welfare and optimal development. Given that a considerable number of the farmers are illiterate, education campaigns should be through local Ghanaian language and usage of media accessible to all such as the local radio discussions, community information centres and community fora.

Improving the quality of basic education:

The poor quality of basic education in the rural cocoa growing communities need addressing, since continuous dissatisfaction can serve as a disincentive for parents in enrolling their children in the schools thereby perpetuating child labour. The government through the District Education Office and the District Assembly, as a matter of urgency should pay special attention to improving the quality of basic education in the rural communities and in the district as a whole through effective school supervision by the Education office, periodic training for the school teachers, provision of enough classrooms and providing the schools with all the needed teaching and learning materials.

Further, this study recommends that, the Government through the DA and DEO investigate strategies to enhance the number of trained teachers working in cocoa communities as a contribution to improving the quality of the education on offer.

Monitoring:

Monitoring is a vital tool in the child labour elimination and community empowerment process which should not be taken for granted. Once an individual is given training and other support, constant monitoring is crucial to ensure that the right thing is done. The NGOs involved in the study area have a well-structured mechanism for monitoring, which is highly recommended for the public institutions as well. The study found that the DA had no plan to continue to monitor and support the communities after the departure and withdrawal of the NGOs support. The government should equip the public institutions particularly the Department of social welfare at the district level to do effective monitoring of the beneficiaries. In addition, the study recommends a well-constructed system for monitoring of progress of the child labour interventions for reliable information and conclusions on progress and achievements.

Reaching out to children in remote hamlets:

The study found out that most of the remote hamlets in the study area unfortunately did not benefit from the sensitisation activities by the NGOs and the District Assembly. This was attributed mainly to poor road network and inadequate resources and staff. Government should help improve the road network and other social amenities in cocoa growing areas including the hamlets. Also new strategies would

also have to be developed for future interventions to be able to reach out to children and cocoa farmers in remote cocoa hamlets.

Reviving the Nnobia system to free children from hazardous labour:

In the past, the *nnobia* system used to be one of the most reliable sources of labour especially to medium and large scale farmers which do not involve the use of children. However, much cannot be said about now as very few people/households make use of this method. The *nnobia* system is not as functional as it was decades ago because cocoa farming has become more lucrative and people feel reluctant to offer their services for free whilst they could also make some income from it.

According to the farmers interviewed, the system was reliable, effective, and less costly and mostly involved adults who could contribute equally to any of the members. It enhanced cohesion amongst community members and promoted social protection as in most instances the benefit of being part of the group goes beyond the labour benefit.

Reviving the *nnobia* system will to a large extent solve part of the household labour problems. Community sensitisation and interventions that bring farmers together as a group such as the FFS should inculcate within it beside its prime objective of helping improve production how farmers could also benefit from each other in a way such as the *nnobia* system and to help free the children from being used for hazardous farming activities.

5.3 Conclusion

The issue of child labour in recent times has become one of the growing concerns of developing countries. In this regard, the last decade has seen a number of interventions aimed at addressing child labour in cocoa growing communities. Some progress or successes have been made but there is more to be done and to sustain the gains made. Most significantly, the success of the interventions depends mostly on the strategies adopted in reaching out to the beneficiaries, the commitment on the part of beneficiaries and the environment in which they operate. Again awareness creation, sensitisation and capacity building through training have been identified by this study as effective means in the child labour elimination and community empowerment process.

There are good prospects for eliminating child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector and in the Wassa Amenfi West District in particular. It was found that some effective and relevant approaches to eliminating child labour in the cocoa communities have been employed. The interventions have made significant progress towards addressing child labour in the cocoa growing communities. There was increased awareness of the effects of child labour by the farmers and parents interviewed and the willingness to support the development of their children. Many children are now better protected due to their parents' greater understanding of their developmental needs. Most of the children in project communities are no more involved in hazardous labour and many more are attending school but further measures are still needed to pick up on particularly vulnerable children in cocoa farming hamlets or neighbouring villages where the interventions have not been working and to sustain the changes. Other key areas that need further attention and support is seeking effective collaboration with relevant agencies towards improving the quality of education in rural cocoa communities and increasing economic opportunities for parents.

There is the need for a broad based consensus in addressing worst forms of child labour in our cocoa growing communities. Policy response to child labour are unlikely to be effective in the absence of household awareness and active participation of civil society and of social partners in implementing them or a high level political commitment to ensure they are accorded priority in all national development agenda.

Finally, this study is not in any way condemning all forms of work performed by children. Tasks such as helping parents out in the farm devoid of hazardous activities and helping in household chores with no effect on their school are not considered under child labour. Work paid or unpaid which are appropriate for the children's age, maturity and will not interfere with their education and development must be allowed in order for them to gain the requisite skills, knowledge and experience needed for their future wellbeing.

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APPENDICES

ANNEX 1: SITE PROFILE

Name of site	Type of project	Description of location	Reasons for selection
Amoamang	YEN DAA KYE (Our Future) Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A rural community on the edge approximately 8kms the district capital Asankragwua. • Major livelihood activity includes cocoa farming and galamsey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was one of the child labour prone communities • Have very active community leadership • Showed a lot of commitment towards the child labour project • The introduction of galamsey in and around the community is raising serious concerns about child rights • One of the preferred location for migrants
SIKA NTI	YEN DAA KYE (Our Future) – YDK Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A small rural community which lies 10km north western part of Asankragua • Major livelihood is cocoa farming • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the active communities during the implementation of the YDK project • Has one of the active child protection committees • Visibility of physical infrastructure acquired from the YDK project.
SURESO	NPECLC Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distance from the city centre to the community is about 8km and located on the northern part of the district capital Asankrangua • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recommended by the District Social Welfare Officer • One of the recently considered communities for the National Child Labour Project • Cocoa farmers are mixture of migrants and natives making it possible to hear diverse experiences • One of the child labour prone areas in the community • Has one of the most functional schools in the district

Name of site	Type of project	Description of location	Reasons for selection
DWANTOA	iMPACT Project	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Located about 20km western part of the district capital. • Major livelihood includes farming and galamsey • Very remote with limited social amenities • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the furthest project communities • Very active during the project implementation phase • Benefited from a number of interventions including alternative livelihood projects, educational infrastructure • Visibility of physical infrastructure acquired from the project



ANNEX: 2 LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

NAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION
Mr Obiri Yeboah	Executive Director	CODESULT NETWORK
Mr Ebenezer Osei	Project Coordinator	Global Responds Initiative
Mr Prince Appiah	School Headmaster	Amoamang L/A primary
Magaret Ackah	School Headmistress	Sika Nti L/A primary
Mr Vitalis Kaniwala	District Labour Officer	WAWDA
Mr Ernest Addae	District Planning Officer	WAWDA
Mr Boadi	District Social Welfare Officer	WAWDA
FIELD SITES		
Amoamang Community FGDs with men, women, school children, teachers KII with chief, child protection committee members, Headmaster, cocoa purchasing clerks		
Sika Nti Community FGDs with men, women, school children, teachers KII with head mistress, cocoa purchasing clerks		
Sureso Community FGDs with men, women, school children (Junior high), teachers KII with child labour committee members, cocoa purchasing clerks		
Dwantoa Community FGDs with men and women cocoa farmers KII with chief, child labour committee members, cocoa purchasing clerks		

ANNEX: 3

SEMI -STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE COMMUNITY FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

- To what extent are the cocoa farmers in the WAW District aware of the child labour concept and its effects?

Who is a child?

.....

.....

.....

What is child development?

.....

.....

What factors influences the child's development and why?

.....

.....

What is child work?

.....

.....

What is child labour?

.....

What are the major activities on the cocoa farm?

.....

Who performs these roles?

.....

.....

Do children work on the cocoa farm?

What roles do children perform on cocoa farms in this community?

.....
.....

Why do children have to undertake these activities on the cocoa farms?

.....
.....

What is a hazardous or harmful activity?

What are the potentially hazardous activities children engage in?

.....

What are the kinds of work that children can do that are not harmful to their health and their development

.....
.....

Which of these labour activities do you think are harmful to the health of children and therefore shouldn't be engaged in?

.....
.....

What makes these works very harmful to the health of the children?

.....
.....

- **What are the interventions addressing in the cocoa growing communities in WAW District?**

Have you heard of any project or program that has been sensitizing cocoa farmers against the use of children?

Yes

B. No

If yes, what are the projects (If they know any?)

.....
.....

What are some of the initiatives that have been carried out in this community in an effort to eradicate child labour with respect to?

- a. Community engagement

.....

.....

.....

b. Dialogue and sensitization (awareness raising and information sharing)

.....

.....

.....

c. Community empowerment (e.g. local capacity building, additional livelihoods etc)

.....

.....

.....

d. Infrastructure development (e.g. education)

.....

.....

.....

How have these interventions helped in reducing child labour on cocoa farms with respect to?

a. Level of awareness of the child labour concept among cocoa farmers

.....

.....

b. Protection of children from hazardous activities on cocoa farms

.....

.....

c. Improving access to quality basic education

.....

.....

d. Improvement in school enrolment, attendance and performance

.....

.....

.....

- e. Level of awareness and understanding of child labour and child protection laws

.....

.....

.....

- f. Reducing poverty and improving income levels of parents and cocoa farmers

.....

.....

- g. Others

.....

.....

Are you aware that there are laws in Ghana that prescribe the kind of work that children can engage in?

- A. Yes B. No

If yes, what are some of the laws and what do the law say?

.....

.....

.....

- **What factors, if any, are preventing the full realisation of the benefits of these interventions?**

Why do you think some people still use children to do hazardous work on cocoa farms despite all these interventions?

.....

.....

What do you think are some of the weaknesses, if any, of the interventions implemented so far in this community to address child labour?

.....

.....

.....

- **In what ways can existing policies be strengthened and additional ones designed to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing areas?**

In your opinion, what do you think should be done to help address some of these challenges that the child labour initiatives are facing?

.....

What new measures do you think should be put in place to help eliminate child labour in cocoa growing areas?

.....



INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DISTRICT STAKEHOLDERS (Social Welfare, Education Office, Labour Office, NPECLC, NGOs)

1. What is child labour?
2. To what extent in your view is child labour in cocoa in your district?
3. What activities have you been carrying out to fight child labour in your district?
4. What punitive measures or incentives to motivate people to limit these activities?
5. What kind of support does the NPECLC give to the Wassa Amenfi West District Assembly (WAWDA) to fight child labour?
6. Which NGOs are working in this district and what are they doing in relation to the fight against child labour in the cocoa growing communities.
7. How many communities in your district are benefiting from the child labour interventions?
8. What are contained in the interventions to combat this problem?
9. What changes are you beginning to see in the communities as a result of your work and the interventions? In terms of:
 - Child labour awareness among cocoa farmers
 - Children involvement in hazardous activities
 - Child protection
 - Improvement in school enrolment, attendance and performance
 - Improving income levels of parents and farmers
 - Others.....
10. What challenges have you encountered in your efforts to fight child labour in the communities?
11. What new measures do you think should be put in place to strengthen efforts at addressing child labour in cocoa growing areas?

ANNEX: 4

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AGAINST ADOPTED INDICATORS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AGAINST ADOPTED INDICATORS

Dialogue and sensitisation component of the project key in promoting awareness of CL and WFCL

Majority of cocoa farmers (84%), community leaders (85%) and children (76%) indicated receiving education on CL and its effects on children.

Radio and community fora mentioned as effective means of CL education campaign.

High awareness of the existence of CL and child protection laws, but children have limited information.

Indicator 1:

Awareness is present and farmers understand the concept of a child, child labour and WFCL

Source: Author's construct, 2013

1

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AGAINST ADOPTED INDICATORS (Cont..)

Farmers and parents have good understanding of hazardous and non-hazardous cocoa farming activities.

Majority (85%) of children interviewed indicated they are not made to be present during spraying of farms

Majority of farmers do not involve children in land clearing, bush burning, pruning and removal of tree stumps.

However 60% of farmers largely depends on family labour for their farming activities.

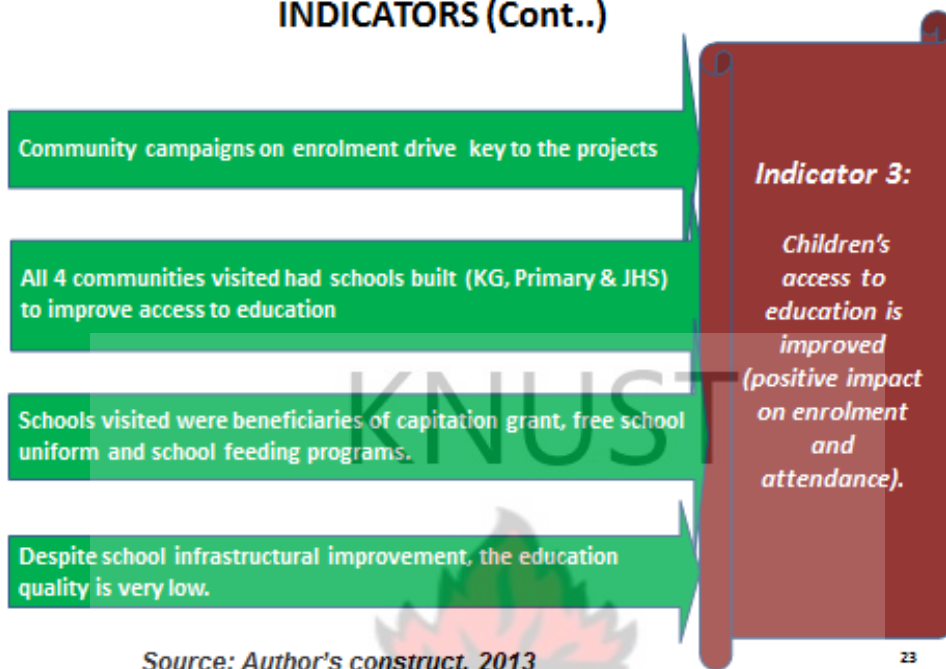
Indicator 2:

Labour burdens on children reduced and farmers tap into alternative labour sources for their production to ensure that children are protected or removed from CL/WFCL.

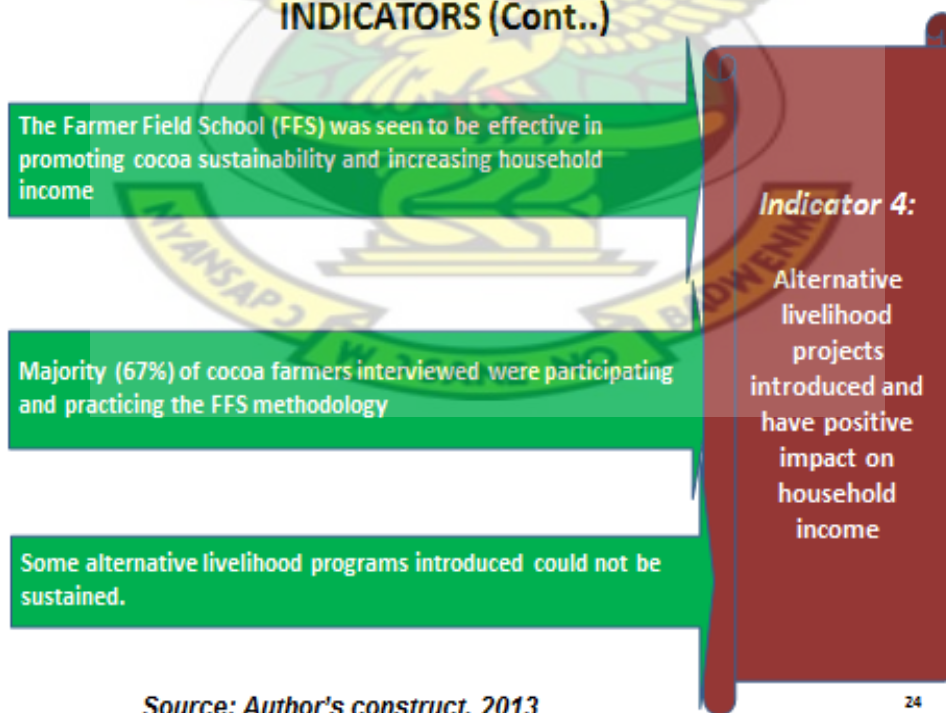
Source: Author's construct, 2013

22

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AGAINST ADOPTED INDICATORS (Cont..)



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AGAINST ADOPTED INDICATORS (Cont..)



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AGAINST ADOPTED INDICATORS (Cont..)

