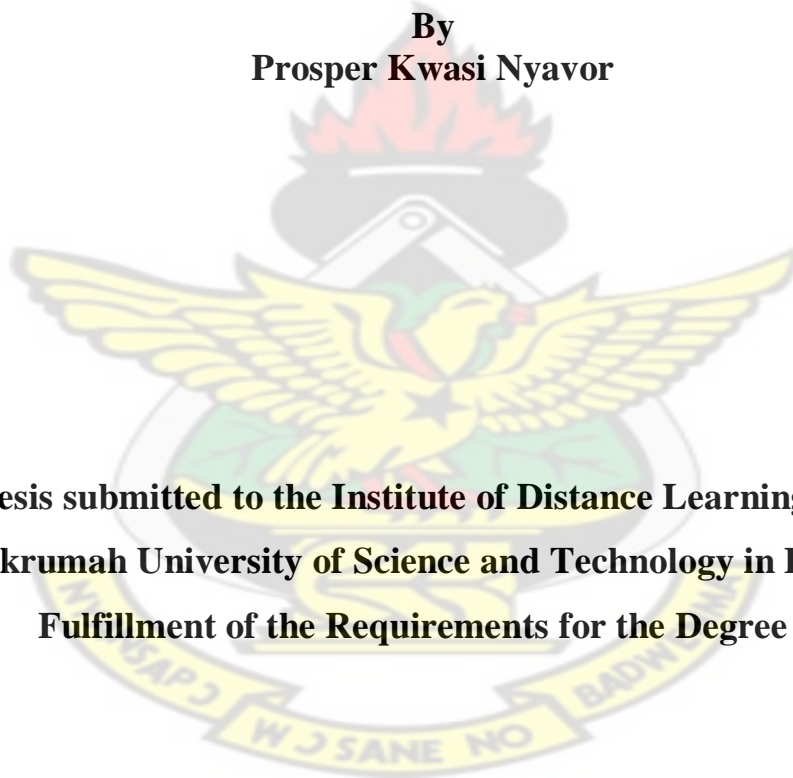


**The Challenges and Prospects of Eliminating Child Labour in
Ghana's Cocoa Sector: The Case of Asunafo South District.**

KNUST

**By
Prosper Kwasi Nyavor**



**A Thesis submitted to the Institute of Distance Learning, Kwame
Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of**

Commonwealth Executive Masters in Public Administration

July 2011

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work towards the Commonwealth Executive Masters in Public Administration (CEMPA) and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree of any institution, except where due acknowledgement has been made in the text.

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.....
Head of Department
Signature
Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Ethel and our two sons Edem and Elorm

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I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to individuals who have made significant contributions towards the success of this work.

Firstly, my sincerest gratitude goes to God Almighty whose unfailing love and protection have sustained me till now.

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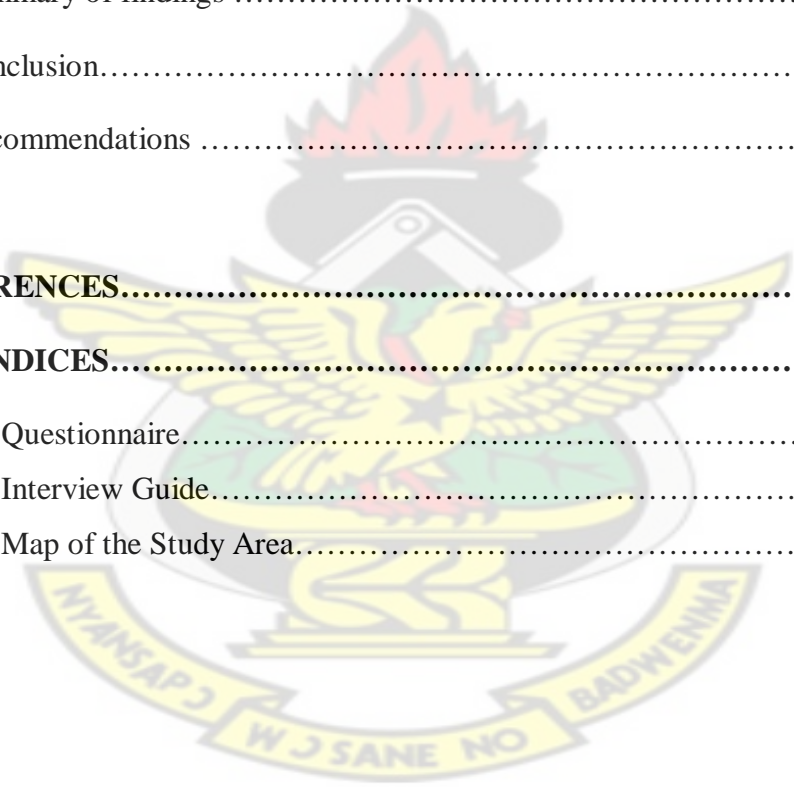
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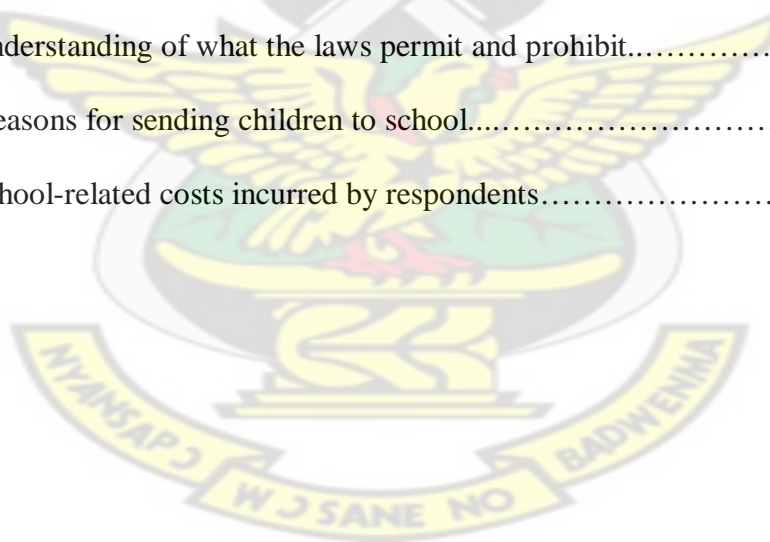
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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

CBE	Complementary Basic Education
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CEP	Complementary Education Programme
CG	Capitation Grant
DCPC	District Child Protection Committee
DEO	District Education Office
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNECC	Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition
GPRS	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSFP	Ghana School Feeding Programme
HAF	Hazardous Activity Framework
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INSET	In-service Training
LEAP	Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty
MESW	Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare
MMYE	Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOESS	Ministry of Education Science and Sports
MOFA	Ministry of Food and Agriculture
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NPA	National Plan of Action
NPECLC	National Programme for Elimination of Child Labour in Cocoa
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
SfL	School for Life

UCW.....Understanding Children’s Work

UTDBE.....Untrained Teachers’ Diploma in Basic Education

WFCL.....Worst Forms of Child Labour

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ABSTRACT

The incidence of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector and its consequences have become a focus for attention in the international and local media since 2001. Consequently, the Government of Ghana through the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW) launched the *National Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa production (NPECLC)* to comprehensively eliminate all forms of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. The programme is targeted at all the 69 cocoa growing districts in Ghana including Asunafo South District. This study seeks to ascertain the perspectives of cocoa farmers in the Asunafo South District on the child labour concept, its causes and effects. It also seeks to explore the policy options for addressing this menace. In all 60 cocoa farmers were interviewed in 6 communities and 5 hamlets. The results indicate that the level of awareness of the child labour concept among the cocoa farmers in the Asunafo South District was appreciably high. In all, 78.3 percent of the respondents said they had been educated on effects of child labour. However, their knowledge base of the possible health effects of child labour was quite low. A few policy options were identified as possible solutions to child labour in the district. These include: improving access to quality basic education; implementing social protection schemes such as: i) unconditional transfers, and ii) conditional transfers; and improving access to services such as potable water, schools and clinics to reduce the time spent by children and their families in accessing them.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

International Labour Organisation (ILO)'s Convention 138 defines child labour as work that harms children's well-being and hinders their education, development and future livelihoods; and any economic activity performed by a person under the age of 15 years. Further, the Convention (Article 3) states that minimum age should be 18 years for work which is likely to be harmful to children's health, safety or morals, whereas 13 or even 12 years may be an acceptable age for 'light work' which is not likely to be harmful to children's health and development, and does not prevent their school attendance. Thus, not all work can be considered harmful to or exploitative of a child. Child labour is, therefore, the involvement of children in any work that prevents them from attending and participating effectively in school or is performed by children under hazardous conditions which is likely to adversely affect their health and development physically, intellectually or morally.

1.1.0 Child Labour in the Ghanaian Context

In the traditional Ghanaian society, the upbringing of the child is not just the responsibility of the biological parents but the entire community. Thus, the activities children are involved in such as house chores and light work on the farm during weekends and holidays are considered normal and indeed healthy for the proper upbringing of the child. Traditionally, working on family farms and with family enterprises is seen as part of the socialisation process by which

children are trained towards adulthood. In this vein, from childhood, children of cocoa farmers are trained to acquire the knowledge and skills required in keeping flourishing cocoa farms so as to maintain the family legacy when the elders pass away. In a study commissioned in Ghana by ILO (2007), more than a third of focus groups reported that one of the reasons why children work is to gain experience so as to become responsible citizens in their adulthood. The examination of the socio-cultural setting within which *child work* or *child labour* occurs is important since it helps in the correct interpretation of the various activities that the child is engaged in, and the circumstances of the child involved in such activities (MMYE 2007, Casely-Hayford 2004).

The 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana has explicit provisions that prohibit child labour. The Children's Act 1998 (Act 560) has specified minimum age for employment as:

- 1) 13 years for light work
- 2) 15 years for employment in non-hazardous work
- 3) 18 years for full employment

The production of cocoa is labour intensive and the main sources of labour for the farming activities are caretakers/ sharecroppers, hired labour, and family labour. Adult workers are mostly migrants 59.7% (MMYE, 2008) from outside the cocoa regions in which they work, and have been attracted into the communities in search of employment on the cocoa farms, either on their own or with their families.

In order to increase family income, parents engage their children on the farm. The children spend on the average 4 to 8 hours each time they go to the farm (the time includes walking to and from the farm). The peak labour demand periods for the children are the harvesting period of August to December. In terms of occupational health hazards, children have been found be engaged in following hazardous activities: carrying load, using cutlass/machete, fetching water for spraying pesticide and applying fertilizer. Children's involvement in cocoa cultivation is at the expense of their school attendance and studies.

The case of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector is more of a socio-cultural phenomenon. Babies, for example, are carried to the farms at their mothers' backs, and school going children accompany their parents to the cocoa farms during weekends and holidays. However, some studies (Casely-Hayford 2004; Odonkor 2007; MMYE 2007, 2008) indicate that there was continual use of children in activities that may be considered as hazardous (e.g. chemical spraying of cocoa, carrying of heavy loads, usage of machete etc.), and those that border on worst forms of child labour (WFCL).

From a Cocoa Labour Survey commissioned by the Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment (MMYE) in 2008, one other dimension of child labour identified was the involvement of minors in apprenticeship. About 73 percent of children in apprenticeship were in the age group 5-12 years. This is in contravention of the Children's Act 560 (1998) of Ghana which puts the minimum age at which a child may commence an apprenticeship at age 15- i.e. after completion of basic education. This notwithstanding, there are not many opportunities for basic school leavers who wish to acquire vocational skills to do

so. While the existing vocational training centres are ill-equipped, the poor peasant farmers are unable to bear the additional cost necessary for effective training of their wards. Basic school leavers who are unable to afford the cost of vocational training resort to labour in the cocoa sector.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector and its consequences have become a focus for attention in the international arena in recent years. Research has indicated that there was continual use of children in some activities in the cocoa production process that may be considered as child labour. These activities include chemical spraying of cocoa trees without wearing protective clothing, carrying of heavy loads on their heads, and usage of machete (MMYE 2007, 2008). Undoubtedly, children's involvement in these activities makes them very vulnerable to all kinds of hazards including injuries to their physical bodies. Children's involvement in cocoa cultivation is usually at the expense of their education. Further, their active involvement in these activities adversely affects their school enrolment, participation and completion rates. Although Ghana's Constitution (Children's Act 1998, Act 560) frowns on child labour, the practice is still being carried in both rural and urban areas of the country. Another dimension of the child labour issue in recent years is the incessant threat from the consumers of cocoa products in some developed countries including Denmark to boycott the products of companies that purchase cocoa beans from Ghana, if child labour persists in the country's cocoa sector. Considering the pivotal role of the cocoa subsector in the sustenance of Ghana's economy, any negative action by the consumers of cocoa products could adversely affect the economy of the country.

The Ghana Child Labour Survey (GCLS) conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2003) shows that about 2.47 million children aged 5-7 years (that is, about 39 percent of the estimated 6.36 million children in this age group) were engaged in economic activities. GSS (2003) does not provide any estimates for the number of children in the cocoa sub-sector. It however, indicates that an estimated 1,128,072 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. Among others, poverty and poor quality basic education have been identified as the main underlying causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector (Casely-Hayford 2004, ILO 2007, Odonkor 2007). The Asunafo South District is one of the cocoa producing districts which have been targeted by NPECLC and NGOs for various interventions to curb the rate of child labour. The effectiveness of policy measures in eliminating child labour has become necessary to verify, and this is the focus of this study.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to;

1. Ascertain the level of awareness of cocoa farmers in Asunafo South District of the child labour concept and its effects.
2. Identify the factors that promote the use of children's labour on cocoa farms in the Asunafo South District;
3. Explore the policy measures for the elimination of child labour and their effectiveness.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. To what extent are the cocoa farmers in the Asunafo South District aware of the child labour concept and its effects?
2. What are the factors that promote child labour on cocoa farms in the Asunafo South District?
3. What are the policy measures for addressing the underlying causes of child labour?
4. How effective are these policy measures in addressing child labour.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

1. The findings will provide vital information for the National Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) and Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW) to update their strategies, in the fight against child labour;
2. The study will add to the knowledge base of all stakeholders in fighting cocoa child labour by highlighting the contextual issues that promote children involvement in cocoa production;
3. Further, it will highlight possible policy directions that could be pursued to eliminate child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector.

1.6 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This work is divided into five chapters. Chapter one which is the introduction deals with the background information to the study, followed by the problem statement, then the objectives of the study, relevance of the study and organisation of the study. Chapter two contains the review of related literature in

the area of the subject matter. Chapter three provides a detailed description of the methodology used in conducting the study. It consists of the method of data collection, the research instrument/data collection tools and sampling frame. Chapter four comprises data analyses and interpretation of results. Chapter five comprises summary of the study, findings, conclusion and recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature review explores the legal regime for child protection in Ghana, government actions in combating child labour, possible role of poverty and access to quality education in determining the household decisions concerning the use of children's time. Further, the available policy options for fighting child labour have been delved into. The chapter ends with detailed review of some social protection policies that are being implemented in Ghana to reduce poverty and by extension to reduce child labour.

2.1 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR CHILD PROTECTION IN GHANA

A number of laws and policy measures have been put in place in Ghana with the aim of realising the constitutional provisions and moral obligations for the protection of children from abuse and exploitation. These include the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560), the Human Trafficking Act, 2005 (Act 694), the Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (732), The Criminal Code, 1960 (Act 29) and the Criminal Code (Amendment) Act, 1998 (Act 554) and other national legal instruments which address various forms of child labour. One of the purposes of these laws is to ensure that every boy and girl has access to education and health, the opportunity for self-development and the ability to compete effectively in the labour market. Furthermore, these policy instruments are to ensure that all Ghanaian children have opportunity and ability to contribute to the prosperity of their households, communities and the nation as a whole (MESW, 2009).

2.2 Government's Actions in Fighting Child Labour

The government of Ghana has initiated several remediation activities to eliminate child labour in Ghana. Key amongst these 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 Worst Forms of Child Labour in Ghana (2009-2015)*. The NPECLC and the NPA give a framework and direction to the development and implementation of interventions by all partners towards the elimination the worst forms of child labour including those in the cocoa sector. The overall goal of the national programmes is to eliminate worst forms of child labour in all sectors by 2015, with the NPECLC focusing mainly on the cocoa sector. Among the strategic objectives of the NPECLC and the NPA are: the full implementation of the *Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE)* policy with priority attention given to deprived communities; enhancement of the knowledge base about WFCL and mobilize society to respect and protect the rights of children; and strengthening the legal framework for dealing with WFCL. In pursuance of these objectives, a quarterly national partners' forum on child labour and District Child Protection Committees (DCPCs) as well as Community Child Protection Committees (CCPCs) have been instituted.

2.3 CATEGORIES OF CHILD LABOURERS

Casely-Hayford (2004) identifies five major typologies of children who can be described as being involved in child labour practices as listed below;

Children in school and engaged in cocoa farming during their off-school hours some of who are performing hazardous activities on the farm but are not removed from school;

1. Children who are in school but occasionally taken out in order to performing activities on the cocoa farms particularly during peak seasons such as the harvest time;
2. Children who have dropped out of school before the end of completing basic education due to lack of economic support by parents, death in family etc., and are involved full time in cocoa farming with their families and sometime hire their labour out;
3. Children who have never attended school and are engaged in cocoa farming;
4. Children, particularly from Northern Ghana, who are engaged in cocoa farming by relation and/or then given out to an extended family member, friend or cocoa farmer for farming purposes.

2.4.0 UNDERLYING CAUSES OF CHILD LABOUR IN COCOA GROWING COMMUNITIES

Various factors have been identified by different researchers as the causes of child labour especially in the cocoa supply chain. The top most factors include high level of poverty among the farmers and poor quality of education in the rural areas. Other underlying causes of child labour as outlined in a child labour study conducted by GSS (2003) are: 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. In this study, emphasis will be placed on the role poverty and poor quality basic education in the child labour debate.

2.4.1 Poverty and Child Labour

Poverty has been identified as one of the main underlying cause of child labour (Ghana Child Labour Study 2003, Casely-Hayford 2004). The parents' inability to engage the services of casual labourers such as "by-day" boys who work on the farms makes them to fall on their children as the alternative and cheaper source of farm labour. However, these studies have indicated clearly that there were other contributing factors to child labour since evidence exists that it was not all children from poor families were engaged in child labour. Also, it must be noted that income poverty forms only a part of the relationship between poverty and child labour. Poverty in terms of access to basic goods and services is equally important. For example, households who have access to social amenities such as potable water, electricity and roads are much better off economically than households who live in areas that lack such services. Furthermore, deprived areas have higher levels of poverty because they lack reliable markets for their products, transport, financial and other services that enhance productivity. Such deprivations may aggravate their level of poverty and thereby leading to risky behaviour by parents and children from poor households, such as engaging in child labour to support the family (MESW, 2009).

Furthermore, ILO (2007) is of the view that relatively high cost of adult labour (which is becoming increasingly scarce because of the migration of adolescents and young men to the urban centres) and poverty are the main factors necessitating the increased use of child labour on cocoa farms in Ghana. Focus

groups discussions organised as part of the ILO study also brought to the fore some other causes which include; the loss of a parent or both parents, inability of parents to pay children's school fees due to low income as a result of old age, and parents' weakness and inability to work. Also, about a quarter of the focus groups indicated that some of the children work because they are directly or indirectly forced to do so. Other reasons given included lack of parental care, dislike for school, and lack of choice (for those children trafficked from the northern part of the country to cocoa growing areas).

In Ghana, socio-cultural factors such as ignorance and misconceptions, inadequacies of the education system, and institutional weaknesses in the application of child labour laws are also important causes. Nevertheless, the poor are more vulnerable to the kind of exploitation that is found in child labour, in part because poor households often rely heavily on the income earned by their children to sustain the family. Hence poverty is often the principal cause.

However, in a position paper submitted to the European parliament, the campaign '*Stop Child Labour - School is the best place to work*' (2005) thinks otherwise. It believes that child labour is far more a cause than an effect of poverty; in other words: ending child labour does not depend on ending poverty first. On the contrary, to fight poverty, one needs to address child labour. It argues that while poverty can complicate the situation of a family wanting to put their children into school, research shows that poor children are able to go to full-time schools if education is free, of sufficient quality and a social norm is built that children should not work but be in school. From these analyses, it is clear that poverty is not the only cause of child labour. However, poverty interacts with and reinforces other factors.

2.4.2 Quality of Education and Child Labour

Poor outcomes/results from the education system have been identified as a major push factor that promotes child labour in Ghana's cocoa-growing communities.

Poor quality basic education in the rural areas has made schooling unattractive for some of the cocoa farmers.

"Everyone in the community sees the poor quality of education...Teachers are not willing to live in our community and we are always short of teachers in the schools; this makes educational quality a big question for us (a rural cocoa farmer cited in Casely-Hayford, 2004, p.42)."

Admittedly, parents did not want to waste their children's time in schools where there are no teachers or where teachers do not attend school regularly; where there are no teaching and learning materials and where the infrastructure is poor.

Some parents also argued that they cannot risk keeping their children in poor quality schools only to end up, *"illiterate and ignorant, and without farming skills, or any other skill that can build their future"* (Casely-Hayford, 2004, p.9).

Similarly, in a study commissioned by the International Cocoa Initiative, Odonkor (2007) states succinctly that poor educational quality in rural areas is one of the biggest deterrents to children being enrolled in school. It identifies three different types of costs termed 'direct cost,' the actual recurrent costs to parents such as uniforms and stationery) 'opportunity cost,' (children becoming 'misfits' by not learning any other livelihood but not acquiring a proper education either) and 'damage risk' (children being exploited and abused by teachers). Pearce (2009) and ILO and UCW(2010) confirm the afore-mentioned challenges facing the education sector in many developing countries, and state succinctly that conditions in some of the schools are unimpressive—inadequately trained teachers, insufficient teaching aids and learning materials, and even the use of school children by some teachers as labour on their farm. Odonkor (2007),

therefore, thinks that in the light of these realities, rural parents must be seen as dissatisfied clients of the education system rather than as illiterates ignorant of the value of education.

From the foregoing studies and analyses, it is clear that the issue of quality in education is a crucial part of the child labour debate. Therefore, in analysing the child labour problem, conscious effort must be made to see beyond the simplistic picture of poverty, ignorance and parental irresponsibility, to analyses of the underlying dynamics of cause and effect of this phenomenon. The assessments and survival choices made by the parents of these children must be recognised, because for them education is ultimately an area of strategic choice driven by the search for quality learning outcomes. However, the painful truth is that “given the quality of education available in many cocoa communities today, farming is a better livelihood option than schooling” (Odonkor 2007) p.17.

However, Brown et al (2001) are of the view that “even if poor school quality lowers the value of formal education, there is an abundance of empirical evidence across Latin America, Africa and Asia that the returns on education is still quite high and more than offsets the foregone income of children in school” p.23. Similarly, Lyon and Rosati (2006) think that though the importance of improving school quality is theoretically well established, more work is needed in this area, before a substantive claim can be made about the use of policies aiming to improve school quality as an instrument to combat child labour.

2.5 POLICY MEASURES FOR FIGHTING CHILD LABOUR

From the analyses so far, it is obvious that child labour is a complex phenomenon that cuts across policy boundaries-education, health, labour markets etc. Therefore, achieving continued progress against it requires a policy response that is cross-sectoral and sustainable in nature. Such policy responses must aim at addressing the underlying factors that push children enter to work prematurely. Further, policy responses must target three (3) broad groups of children: (1) children at risk of involvement in child labour; (2) children already harmed by exposure to child labour; and (3) children in the worst forms of child labour requiring immediate, direct action (Lyon and Rosati, 2006). Similarly, ILO and UCW (2010) posit that to achieve optimal results, policies that seek to fight child labour should begin with an adequate legal framework clearly defining child labour, its principles, objectives and priorities for national action against it. It also points to four policy “pillars” of particular importance as part of a comprehensive response – **education, social protection, strategic communication and advocacy and labour markets.**” In addition to these, access to basic services and social infrastructure has also been advocated by

some studies (MMYE, 2008 and Casely-Hayford, 2004) as feasible policy measures. The relevance and efficacy of some of these policy pillars are explored in this study.

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2.5.1 EDUCATION

Improving access to quality education has been identified by ILO and UCW (2010) and other researchers (Casely-Hayford 2004, Lyon and Rosati 2006, Odonkor 2007, 2008) as one of the most effective means of preventing children from entering child labour. It is therefore vital that governments of countries with high incidence of child labour focus more on investing considerable resources in making basic education more accessible and of good quality. This linkage is well-captured in Ghana's National Plan of Action (NPA) for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour:

“Access to quality basic education is the right response to child labour. Its fundamental importance to the process of national development is reflected in Article 25 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana which upholds Free, Compulsory and Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) as a basic constitutional right.”(MESW, 2009)

2.5.1 Policy options for improving access to basic education:

2.5.1.1 Abolition of school fees: Direct monetary costs have been an important barrier to school access for children from low income families and communities. Abolition of school fees is, therefore, critical in promoting and ensuring children's right to education. Many studies have been conducted on the effects of

School Fees Abolition Initiatives (SFAI) on education outcomes. Countries that have taken the bold step to eliminate school fees and other indirect education costs saw a surge in total enrolment in the year following the abolition. Examples of these include Malawi where abolition of fees in 1994 resulted in increased enrolment by approximately 51%. In 2001, Tanzania abolished fees, which resulted in a rapid increase in the net primary enrolment rate from 57% to 85% by 2002 (CDD, 2010; ILO and UCW, 2010). These studies also indicate that these fee-free policies have led to significant reduction in both school dropout and repetition rates. However, it is necessary that accompanying policy measures are put in place in these countries to ensure that fee abolition at the basic school level is sustainable over time. Further, the benefits of this policy should reach the most vulnerable groups and that it preserves and further improves education quality. Programs reducing the cost of schooling by providing supplies such as textbooks and uniforms can also have a significant impact on raising enrolment and reducing drop-out.

2.5.1.2 Reduction in the distance to schools: Public policy should seek to reduce the distance from the learners' home to the schools. The availability of a school within the village/community and school distance can be important factors in household decisions as to whether to send children to school (rather than to work). Long travel distances to school can deter parents from enrolling their children in school since this could translate into high transport costs and a significant time burden, thereby raising the direct cost of schooling. Families may also be reluctant to send their children, and especially their daughters, to schools that are far from home due to the perceived risks associated with this which include physical injuries and sexual abuse. There is evidence that better

school access can reduce child labour in Ghana (Vuri 2008 cited in ILO and UCW 2010, p.83). However, ILO and UCW (2010) caution that better school access does not always translate into reduced levels of child labour. It cited some studies carried out in Tanzania, Morocco and Cambodia where the increased attendance resulting from improved access come from “inactive” children (i.e., those neither in school nor in employment) more than from children who were already labourers.

2.5.1.3 Alternative education opportunities: Promoting alternative education models that allow for flexibility in school hours have been identified as an effective measure of reducing child labour. This flexibility in school hours is usually associated with the various models of alternative education. Alternative education models such as Complementary Basic Education (CBE) or Transitional Education (TE) refer to non-formal education initiatives for children, designed specifically for those who have missed the chance for formal education or whose schooling has not been regular or sustained. Under such programmes, children who are illiterate or of a standard far behind their peers, are given specially designed courses to enable them catch up. A distinction is sometimes made between ‘transitional’ and ‘complementary’ education although the terms tend to be used fairly interchangeably. Transitional education aims to prepare such children within a year or less, to be slotted into more age-appropriate grades in formal school or to equip them with functional literacy for vocational or skills training. ‘Complementary’ education, however, can serve as a long-term alternative to formal school. In view of this innovation, ILO and UCW (2010) urge governments to implement policy measures that offer second chance learning opportunities for younger children whose education has been

compromised by child labour. In countries like Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia, Mali and Burkina-Faso, there are complementary education programmes that run as parallel alternatives to the formal education system. ILO's proposal is supported by Odonkor (2008) who believes that alternative forms of education, especially the Complementary Basic Education (CBE) offer a "bridge" back into the formal school system, and are particularly relevant for a country like Ghana, which has a large number of out-of-school children living in hard-to-reach areas. The campaign *'Stop Child Labour - School is the best place to work* (2004), however, admonishes that policy makers should not to over-rely on these complementary models. It contends that providing basic literacy and numeric skills through non-formal education does not guarantee that children will be permanently withdrawn from work. It is; therefore, vital that such children are mainstreamed into formal education systems.

In Ghana, School for Life (SfL)-a Ghanaian NGO established in 1994 and IBIS (a Danish NGO) have provided opportunity for several out-of-school children between ages 8-12 years to get an education through its Complementary Education Programme (CEP), which provides a 9-month functional literacy in local languages (Odonkor 2007,2008). Ghana's Ministry of Education (MOE) appears to have embraced this new approach. This is demonstrated by drafting a Complementary Basic Education Policy. Also, in the 2011 Preliminary Education Sector Performance Report, the MOE has indicated its intention to adopt alternative approaches in solving the problem of out-of-school children:

"Alternative approaches may be required to include this hard to reach group, including scaling up Complementary Basic Education as a public-private partnership under GES" MOE (2011) p.8.

It is obvious that these models have the potential of providing a second chance to children whose education has been hampered by their involvement in child labour to re-join the formal school system. However, in a policy paper, the campaign *'Stop Child Labour - School is the best place to work* (2004) contends that the idea that working children cannot attend formal full-time education because of poverty, but are better off with part-time education alongside their work is not in the best interest of such children since it robs millions of children of their right to education. The ability of children to attend school on a regular basis is clearly a better option because it reduces their chances of involvement in child labour.

2.5.2 Policy options for improving the quality of basic education

Many definitions of quality in education exist, affirming the complexity and multifaceted nature of the concept. However, UNICEF (2000) postulates that the key ingredients of quality education are:

- Healthy, well-nourished learners who are ready to participate and learn, and are supported in learning by their families and communities;
- Environments that are healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities;
- Content that is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition, HIV/AIDS prevention and peace;

- Processes through which trained teachers use child-centred teaching approaches in well-managed classrooms and schools and skilful assessment to facilitate learning and reduce disparities;
- Outcomes that encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes, and are linked to national goals for education and positive participation in society.

In this vein, ILO (2007) and ILO and UCW (2010) recommend, among others, the need for targeted investment in the training of teachers, curriculum reforms and the provision of teaching aids and learning materials to make schools attractive and worthwhile in the eyes of parents and children. For families to have confidence and motivation to invest in their children's education, the returns on schooling must make it worthwhile and attractive for them to do so. Access to schooling matters but in many countries it is only a part of the answer. Greater access needs to be complemented by policies to raise quality. The relevance of school quality to child labour is theoretically clear. Parents and guardians allocate children's time across different activities depending, among other things, on the expected benefits of such activities. Better quality education affects the expected benefits of education, in turn influencing household decisions concerning time allocated to children's education vis-à-vis child labour on the farm or other economic ventures. All in all, measures to improve upon the quality of basic school education, and make it more accessible range from school-building to the reduction of direct and indirect costs, enhanced teacher training and curriculum reform. Involving parents more directly in the management of the school has also proven to be a cost-effective way of improving the quality of education especially in rural communities.

Having identified the importance of quality of education, the government through the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Ghana has recently initiated some policies to enhance it. These policy interventions include ensuring the availability of teachers in classrooms through a new teacher development policy and the institutionalization of continuous professional development for teachers. These are to be achieved through expansion a distance learning programme christened the Untrained Teachers' Diploma in Basic Education (UTDBE), and institutionalization of an In Service Education and Training (INSET) programme to enhance the capacity of basic school teachers to improve teaching and learning outcomes. In addition, the MOE plans to provide incentives for teachers working in deprived areas, and also put in measures to support the involvement of communities and parents in the management of schools (NDPC, 2010).

“The provision of quality and relevant education will improve the attractiveness of schooling as a means to a better life and help to increase access and participation in education.” (NDPC, 2010) p.95

It must, however, be noted that the expected cost and the sources or modalities for financing these initiatives have not been clearly spelt out in the policy document. Currently, thirty percent (30%) of the Government of Ghana budget is spent on education (MOESS, 2008), and the education sector's share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased from 5% (1999) to 5.7% (in 2006) and currently stands at about 6 % (Casely-Hayford , 2011).

2.5.2 SOCIAL PROTECTION

Social protection policies are 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 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 force behind every good strategy that seeks to effectively combat child labour.

Three different categories of social protection schemes that are especially relevant for child labour can be identified: i) unconditional transfers, ii) conditional transfers and iii) public works programmes (Lyon and Rosati 2006, ILO and UCW (2010). 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 prove as a cost efficient way 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 instruments 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. 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: chronic poverty, vulnerability to economic shocks, and difficulties of access to education. It puts more emphasis on prevention than on cure.

All studies on child labour determinants indicate that household income does matter. Cash transfer programmes are effective policy measures used in many countries to improve the income levels of poor people. Results of impact evaluations of these programmes in developing countries indicate reduced poverty and increased school attainment levels. For instance, in South Africa, child labour is said to have declined and school attendance increased substantially when households began receiving a large anticipated cash transfer (Edmonds 2006 cited in ILO and UCW 2010).

2.5.2.1 Unconditional transfers refer to the provision of assistance in the form of cash and other instruments to the poor or to those who, in the absence of the transfer, face a significant risk of falling deeper into poverty. The main objective of cash transfers is to increase the incomes of poor and vulnerable households. Examples of such schemes include needs-based social assistance, social pensions or family allowance programmes.

2.5.2.2 Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes provide households with an income transfer that is conditional on certain behaviours (such as enrolling children in school and maintaining adequate attendance levels, getting prenatal and postnatal health care treatments, and encouraging young children to undergo growth monitoring, immunization, and periodic check-ups). CCTs offer a means of both alleviating current income poverty and of addressing the under-investment in children's human capital that can underlie poverty. Also, CCT programmes aim to alleviate current income poverty (through cash benefits) as well as reduce the likelihood or extent of future poverty (through behavioural conditions related to the human capital development of children). CCT programmes reduce the prevalence and amount of children's work through two

main channels. First, given the requirement of school enrolment and regular attendance, children have less time available for participation in work activities. Conditions may also increase parents' awareness of the importance of schooling and thereby decrease child work. Secondly, households that receive the transfer are less likely to be dependent on the income of their children, and therefore may reduce child work (World Bank 2009 cited in ILO and UCW 2010).

ILO and UCW (2010) however, caution that due to the multiplicity of both the categories/forms and determinants of child labour, there is no single recipe for implementing social protection programmes to address child labour. Furthermore, not all forms of child labour can be addressed effectively in the context of programmes such as CCT alone. For example, cash transfers are likely to be least effective against some of the worst forms of child labour such as forced labour, commercial sexual exploitation and armed conflict.

2.5.3 STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION AND ADVOCACY

The MMYE (2008) shows that to some extent, children's involvement in hazardous activities on cocoa farms stems from ignorance on the part of some parents. The study therefore recommends a comprehensive sensitization of cocoa communities on occupational safety and health as well as on national laws against the use of children. If households are not fully aware of the benefits of schooling (or of the costs of child labour), or if prevailing socio-cultural norms discourage schooling, they are also less likely to choose the classroom over the workplace for their children. It however cautions that in dealing with culturally rooted issues like child labour, engagement of the communities, social marketing

strategies, mass media (radio and television) and advocacy approaches should be used on a sustained basis to ensure effective results. This proposed strategy is supported by ILO and UCW (2010) which believe that a range of strategic communication and advocacy efforts must be pursued in order to build a broad-based consensus for effective policy change towards the elimination of child labour and changing the attitudes of households towards child labour. This study also states that the strategic communication efforts must aimed at providing households with better information concerning the costs of child labour and the benefits of schooling. Similarly, Lyon and Rosati (2006) recommend that as a communication priority, information on national child labour legislation, should be presented in terms that are understandable to the populations and communities concerned.

2.5.4 IMPROVING ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Policies that support improvements in the provision of social infrastructure such as portable water, and clinics have also been advocated as a major solution to child labour (Casely-Hayford 2004, MMYE 2008, Rosati and Lyon 2006). Improved and easy access to these basic services would reduce the time spent by children and their families in accessing them and, consequently, affect household decisions concerning how children's time is allocated between school and work. A lack of access to water networks, for example, can raise the value of children's time in non-schooling activities. This is because in several homes in developing countries, it is children who are responsible for water collection. In addition to its health and other social benefits, improved access to basic services will help in

getting children, and particularly girls, into school and out of work. MMYE (2008) therefore recommends urgent improvement in the provision of social infrastructure such as potable water, schools and clinics in order to serve the needs of cluster cocoa communities. The rationale behind this recommendation is to reduce the burden of children having to walk long distances to schools and clinic

2.6 SOCIAL PROTECTION POLICIES IN GHANA

Social protection has been prominent in Ghana's poverty reduction strategy papers (GPRS I and II), and a draft National Social Protection Strategy was completed in April 2007, and has since been formally adopted. In addition to these initiatives, several policies have been formulated and legislations passed to confront challenges children face in Ghana – the under-five child health policy, early childhood development policy, the Children's Act, the Domestic Violence and Human Trafficking Acts and their corresponding national action plans, national action plan on child labour. Other social protection initiatives include 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. Some of these policies are discussed below:

2.6.1 Education Capitation Grant: This was introduced in 2005 and expanded nationwide to all public basic schools in 2006, in order to improve 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. At the outset of the Capitation Grant (CG) policy, every public kindergarten, primary school and

junior secondary school received a grant of GH¢3.00 per pupil per year. The quantum of financial resources to schools is dependent on the school population. The amount was to be spent on sports, cultural activities and on other expenses like the minor repairs, teaching and learning materials, in-service training for teachers and so on. These amounts were chosen based on an analysis of the average fees charged at basic level nationally. Schools were therefore not permitted to charge any fees to parents. However, reports from the Ministry of Education indicate the actual unit cost for a child in a public primary school per year was GH¢64.43 (approximately \$58.007) (MOE, 2006 cited in CDD, 2010). Currently the capitation grant per child in Ghana is on average GH¢4.50 per enrolled child having been increased by 50 per cent from the GH¢3.00 in the 2009 school year. However, the CG per primary school child is still insignificant as compared to the actual per unit cost of primary education per child. Consequently, various stakeholders in the education sector have made suggestions for the increment of the grant to between GH¢5.00 and GH¢10.00 (GNECC, 2006 cited in CDD, 2010). Although the total capitation policy has resulted in significant increases in net enrolment rates (NER) in public primary schools from 59 % (2005) to 78% (2008), it has done little to improve the quality of education, which is also critical in the fight against child labour. MOE (2011) reports that the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) for primary schools has increased to 96.4 after a period of stagnation at 94.9. MOE, however, indicates that there has been a slowdown in enrolment growth observed at all levels of basic education and the MOE thinks that this trend reflects the significant challenge the education sector faces in trying to expand access to the remaining out of school children.

2.6.2 Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP): This programme was initiated in March 2008 to provide cash transfers to extremely vulnerable households, including those with orphans and vulnerable children (OVC). As of May 2009, LEAP was benefiting about 26,200 households in 74 districts (out of 170 districts nationally). The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) in the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW), which manages the programme, aims to reach 165,000 households within five years. The programme employs complex targeting methods, involving the selection of deprived districts and then a mix of community-based selection and proxy means testing. At present, the programme focuses on caregivers of OVC, impoverished elderly and persons with severe disabilities. The transfer ranges from GHS 8 (US\$ 6.90) per month for one dependent up to a maximum of GHS 15 (US\$ 12.90) for four dependents. The programme is also meant to be time-bound in the sense that beneficiaries are expected to ‘graduate’ from the programme within three years, although the criteria and procedures have not yet been worked out. The transfers for OVC are supposed to be conditional, whereas those to the elderly and disabled are unconditional. Officially, the transfers for OVC require the enrolment and retention of school-age children in school, birth registration, attendance at post-natal clinics, full vaccination of children up to the age of five, no trafficking of children and no involvement in the ‘worst forms of child labour’(ODI and UNICEF 2009). LEAP has integrated child labour concerns from the outset and is expected to be eventually extended nationwide.

2.6.3 Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP)-The GSFP began in late 2005 with 10 pilot schools, drawn from each region of the country with the aim

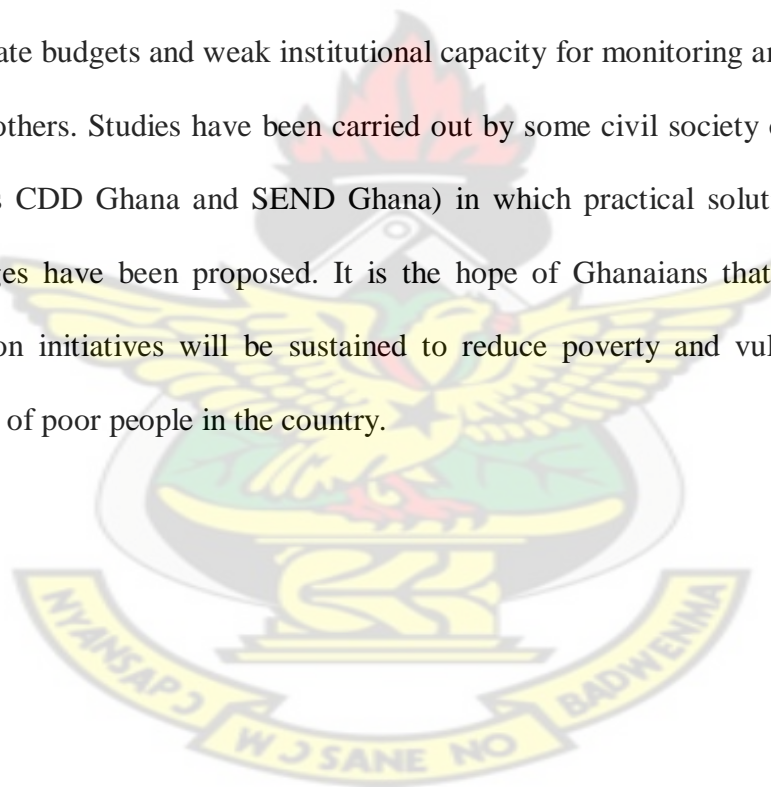
of increasing school enrolment and retention by providing children with a daily meal at school. By August 2006, it had been expanded to 200 schools covering 69,000 pupils in 138 districts. As at March 2007, 975 schools had been reached by the programme, benefiting 408,989 pupils daily. Thus, by the end of the first quarter of 2007, the GSFP had already surpassed the 2007 year-end target of 889 schools and 320,000 children set in the Programme Document. As at October 2009, the total number of kindergarten and primary school pupils being fed daily was 656,624. This represents about 22% of all kindergarten and primary school pupils in the country (GSFP, 2010).

2.6.4 National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS). The NHIS was established in 2003 to provide equitable health insurance for all Ghanaian residents. 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. 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).

2.6.5 Challenges facing these social protection initiatives

Though these initiatives haven't been applauded locally and internationally, their implementation has been plagued with bottlenecks such as overlapping mandates and weak coordination among sectors, weak enforcement of legal provisions, inadequate budgets and weak institutional capacity for monitoring and evaluation among others. Studies have been carried out by some civil society organisations (such as CDD Ghana and SEND Ghana) in which practical solutions to these challenges have been proposed. It is the hope of Ghanaians that these social protection initiatives will be sustained to reduce poverty and vulnerability of millions of poor people in the country.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section explains the sampling methods and tools used to generate information for this report. It further describes the approach adopted to enhance data quality.

3.1 Study area

Asunafo South District is one of the newly created districts in the Brong Ahafo Region. It was carved out of the old Asunafo District in August 2004, with Kukuom as its capital. The district is located at the southern part of Brong Ahafo Region. It shares common boundaries with Asunafo North District to the North, Juabeso District to the South-West, Sefwi Wiawso District to the South-East, and Atwima Mponua District to the East. The total land area of the District is 3737km² (Asunafo South District Medium-Term Development Plan, 2006).

The estimated district population for the year 2006 was 86,632. The males form about 50.2 per cent of the entire estimated district population. This is in line with the region's figures but deviates from the national figures where the females constitute about 50.5 per cent of the national population. The higher population of males in the district could be attributed to the high influx of migrants, notably men from Northern Ghana to engage in cocoa farming in the region.

The district lies within the semi-deciduous forest belt of Ghana. The forest contains large species of trees which are highly valuable for the timber industry.

Agriculture is the dominant sector and backbone of the district's economy. Farming is the main economic activity for the majority of the people. Over 60 per cent of the working populations are engaged in various forms of agricultural activity, especially cocoa farming which is usually intercropped with food crops such as cassava, plantain and cocoyam. Although the Asunafo South District has one of the largest fertile agricultural lands in the region, access to land has been hampered by the excessive cultivation of cocoa, which has made available land for the cultivation of other food crops very limited (Asunafo South District Medium-Term Development Plan, 2006).

3.2 Study design

The study was a diagnostic one which sought, among other things, to ascertain cocoa farmers' perception of the child labour concept and its effects. Data were collected in selected cocoa growing communities and hamlets in Asunafo South District. While all cocoa growing communities in the District were potential candidates for the study, primary data were collected in only 6 rural communities and 5 hamlets. These communities were purposively selected to ensure that they have a fair representation of the two major settlement patterns- small communities comprising about 100 households and small hamlets consisting of about 1-10 households. Further, this selection criterion also sought to ensure a fair representation of both the indigenes and migrants.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure:

The units of analysis and respondents were cocoa farmers, and were stratified by a minimum age of 30 years. This was to enhance the probability of collecting data on farmers who had children of school going age in their households. In all,

60 cocoa farmers comprising indigenes and settlers/migrants were interviewed. Owing to the need to collect data on respondents who were 30 years or above, coupled with the dispersed nature of the houses, all respondents were purposively selected for the interview. The researcher did not interview any child because the focus of the study was on the parents, who are the primary decision-makers as far as the use of children's time and labour is concerned. Also, previous studies (MMYE 2007, 2008; Odonkor 2007,2008) had captured vividly children's perspectives on the child labour discourse. The total numbers of respondents for each community/hamlet were as follows: 6 small communities -Asibrem (6), Noberkaw (6), Sienna (11), Dodowa (9), Nyamebekyere (10) and Yaw Mano (6). That of the 5 hamlets were; Gyatokrom (1), Dedekrom (3), Nkaakrom (3) and Nyame Nnae (4).

3.4 Data Collection Techniques & Tools:

Data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Qualitative and quantitative primary data were collected using observation, interview and self-administered questionnaires in 6 small communities and 5 hamlets. These tools were used to identify and collect data on cocoa farmers' perspectives on the use of children's labour on cocoa farms. Each questionnaire had 38 items/questions. With the support of two field assistants the questionnaire was pre-tested at Amankwakrom community, after which some of the questions were altered. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were conducted to collect relevant information to enable the researcher to locate the various cocoa farmers, both indigenes and settlers. Specifically, key state actors such as District

Education Office (DEO) officials and the District Social Welfare (DSW) Officer, who is in-charge of the NPECLC's activities in the district, were interviewed.

3.5 Methods of Data Processing and Data Analysis

Data collected were cleaned, edited and coded. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programme was used to analyse the coded data. The SPSS was used to generate frequency tables, bar graphs and pie charts for the analyses.

3.6 Ethical Consideration

Informed consent was obtained from all the respondents including the District Social Welfare Officer, DEO and the cocoa farmers. Anonymity and confidentiality of respondents' was assured, and their names were not asked during data collection.

3.7 Limitations of the study

The study was conducted in only one out of over 60 cocoa growing districts in Ghana. Further, primary data was collected in only 6 communities and 5 hamlets. The study would have yielded better results if the study area had been extended to cover more communities and respondents. However, these limitations did not significantly affect the outcome of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the analyses of the data collected are presented. It comprises analyses of both quantitative and qualitative data from the four communities in the study area.

4.1.0 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSES OF THE PRELIMINARY DATA

4.1.1. Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Table 4.1: Sex Distribution of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Male	41	68.3	68.3	68.3
Female	19	31.7	31.7	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

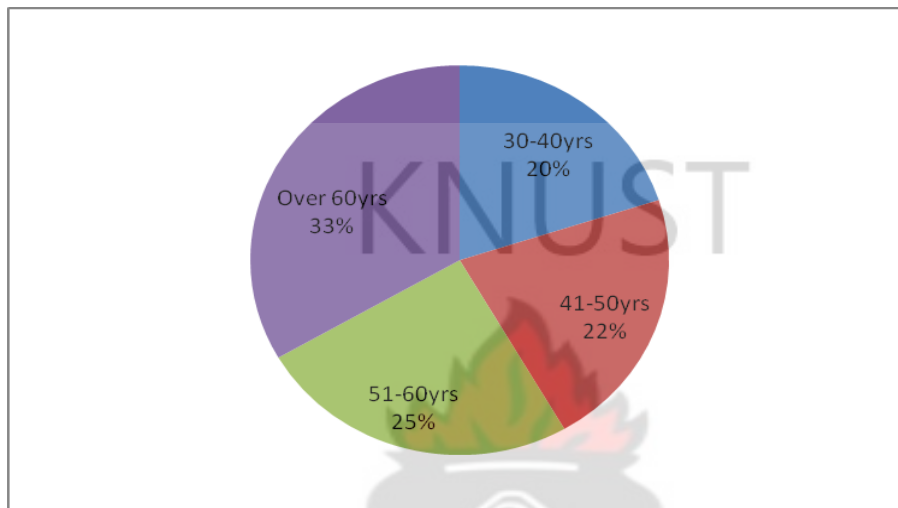
Source: Field Survey, 2011

On average, there is a clear dominance of male producers (68.3%), as against female producers (31.7%). This finding is in tune with other studies that extolled the prominent role women play in the agricultural sector in developing countries. Women have been and are still the most important actors in the food chain in these countries. They play a lead role in post-harvest activities such as shelling of grains, storage, processing and marketing. Data from Ghana's Ministry of Food and Agriculture (MOFA) suggests that women constitute more than 30 per cent of cocoa farmers and 70 per cent of food crop growers in Ghana (MOFA 2004 cited in Duncan, 2004, p.2).

A recurrent feature in all descriptions of the post-economic reform situation in rural Ghana is the movement of young people out of the cocoa growing areas,

resulting in an increase in the average age, and a general decrease in the education level of the farmers. Figure 4.2 illustrates some characteristics of the current profile of cocoa-farmers.

Figure 4.2: Age Distribution of Respondents



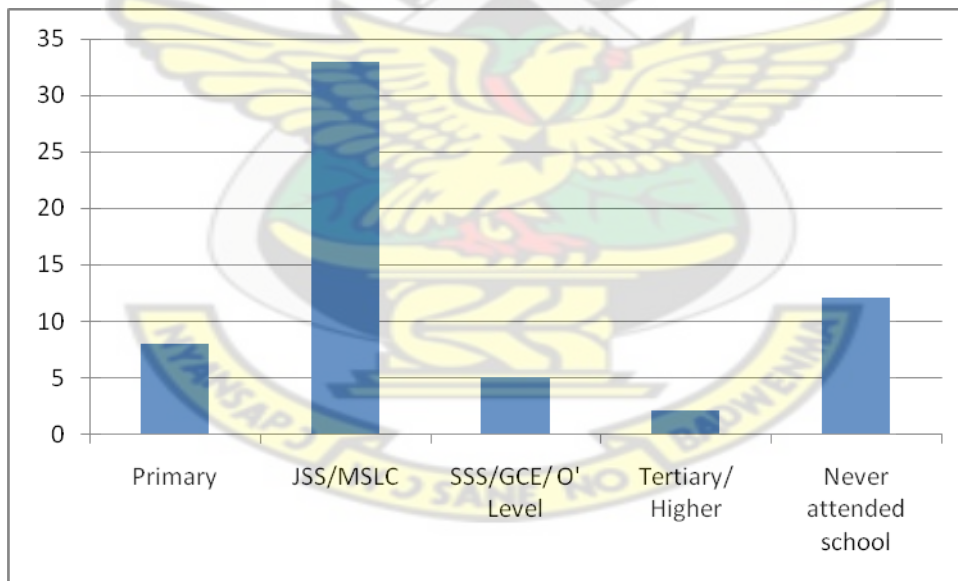
Source: Field Survey, 2011

Majority (58.3%) of the respondents were over 50 years old. This revelation together with their low level of education (only 11.6 % completed senior high school or higher) is indicative of the continuous societal perception of farming as an occupation reserved for the illiterate. This perception has resulted in reluctance of young people to take up cocoa farming as a life-long occupation, and hence living this invaluable enterprise for the aged. Considering the pivotal role cocoa revenue plays in the economy of Ghana, this trend needs urgent reversal if the country is to maintain her status as the net supplier of the premium quality cocoa beans to the world market. The revenue from cocoa sales can increase through two channels: (i) an increase in the selling price of cocoa (induced by national or international policy interventions affecting the sector), (ii) an increase in the amount of cocoa produced, which farmers can generate – in

the short term – by varying the intensity of cultivation on existing cocoa farms, or – in the longer term – by clearing new land for the cultivation of cocoa trees (Vigneri, 2008).

When the researcher sought to find out some of the major constraints facing cocoa farmers, the respondents mentioned increasing cost of farm labour, poor access to agro-chemicals due to corrupt practices of public officials and increasing scarcity of land coupled with difficulty in land acquisition as a major disincentive to those who have a burning desire to engage in cocoa farming. It is envisaged that some of these issues would be addressed through the on-going land reforms –the Land Administration Project, so as to make land acquisition easier than it has been.

Figure 4.3: Educational background of respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2011

One other observation, in addition to the above, is the large population of migrants working on cocoa farms in the study area. In all 62 per cent of the respondents said they migrated from other parts of the country to engage in cocoa farming in the Asunafo South district. This suggests that cocoa production

remains a major source of livelihood and income and continues to attract farmers from all parts of the country to the Asunafo South District. Among other things, this high ethnic mix has the tendency to promote social cohesion and foster national unity as various ethnic groups work together. However, the high migrant population could result in more children being at risk of becoming child labourers, especially where their parents or guardians relocate to hamlets/farms that are very far from school communities. More research is needed in this area to ascertain whether there is a link between migration of cocoa farmers and the degree of child labour.

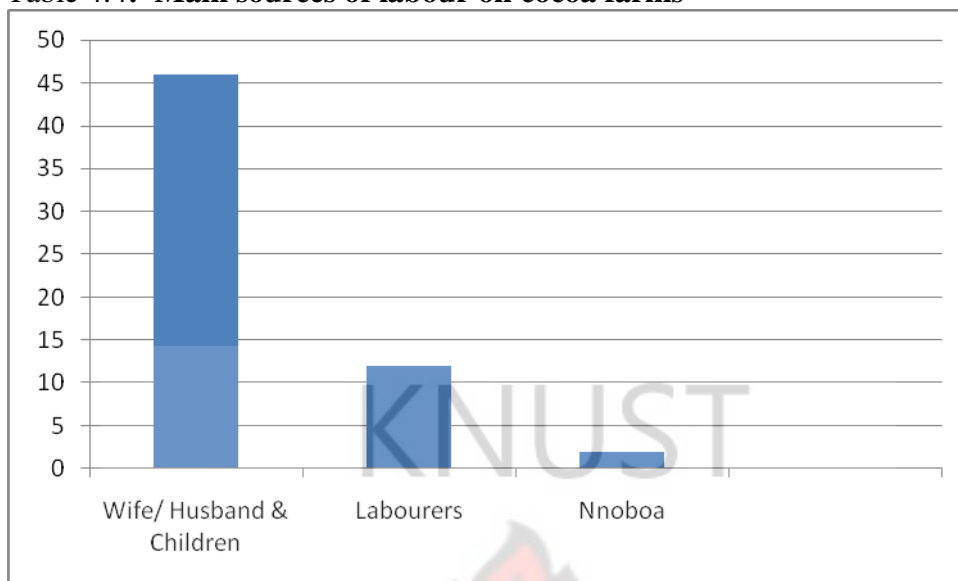
4.2.0 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSES OF THE MAIN DATA

“Some children complete school without any knowledge and skill in farming. They end up as armed robbers. That’s why my children have to learn farming as well.”- A cocoa farmer in Dodowa community

4.2.1. Sources of labour for cocoa farming

4.2.1.0 Spouse and children: Family members, especially spouses and children, represent the most important source of labour in cocoa farming. In this study, 76.7 per cent of the respondents said they depended on their family labour (spouses and children) for carrying most of the activities on their cocoa farms.

Table 4:4: Main sources of labour on cocoa farms



Source: Field Survey, 2011

Some studies (Cocoa Labour Surveys 2006, 2008 and Vigneri, 2008) contend that there is a gender difference in the assignment of tasks: male labour is required for clearing and tree felling. Female labour is used for less physically demanding tasks such as weeding and harvesting; while children labour is used for equally less demanding tasks. However, evidence from this study suggests that the use of children labour in the Asunafo South district cuts across all categories of activities albeit at a minimal degree.

Age-appropriate work standards in Ghana have been determined by the Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560). The Children's Act, 1998 (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). Contrary to these

provisions of the law, the results of this study indicate that some respondents used their children for activities that have been proscribed by the law, as captured in the Figure 4:6 below.

Table 4:6: Main activities that children carry out on respondents' cocoa farms

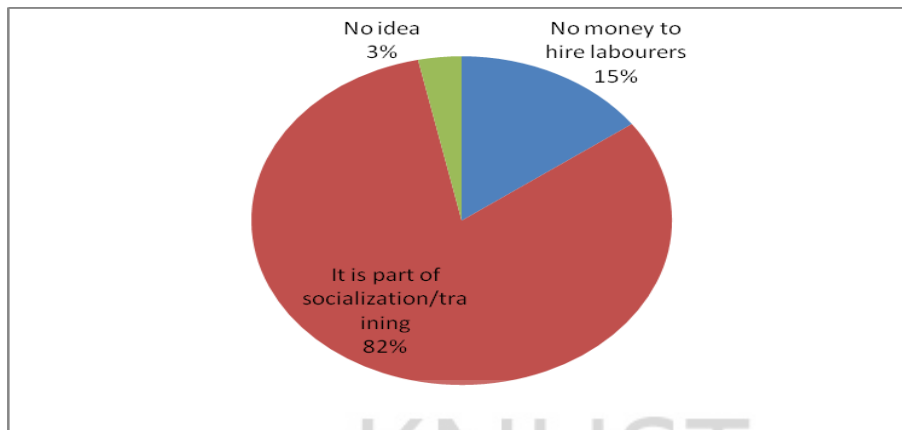
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Weeding	17	28.3	28.3	28.3
Carrying of pods	26	43.3	43.3	71.7
Plucking of pods	8	13.3	13.3	85.0
Planting of seedlings	7	11.7	11.7	96.7
Other activities	2	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	60	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey, 2011

Over 43 per cent of the respondents said their children helped them in carrying cocoa pods; while 28.3 per cent said their wards supported them to weed under the cocoa trees. The rest of the respondents also indicated that their children were engage in plucking of pods and planting of seedlings and related activities. The *Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector in Ghana* which was developed by the Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment (MMYE) in 2008 classifies weeding, and plucking of cocoa pods with the cutlass and the harvesting hook respectively as hazardous activities. However, majority (81.7%) of the respondents in this study thought otherwise. They contend that it was part of the socialisation process to introduce the children to these activities early in life so as to forestall their joblessness in future, since the present economy does not guarantee them white colour jobs after completion of school.

The figure below shows the responses when the respondents in this study were asked why they used their children's labour on their cocoa farms.

Figure 4:7: **Why children work on cocoa farms**



Source: Field Survey, 2011

In an earlier study (Hinson-Ekong 2006 cited in MMYE 2008), it was observed that children in rural farming settings mature faster than their city counterparts, and this is attributed to early socialization into family economic activities and responsibility. In the light of this reality, MMYE (2008) suggests that “light work for children in cocoa communities should be fixed at 12 years to begin with, as children as early 9-10 have been observed to do light work. Moreover a child who starts school at 6 years will complete primary school by the end of 11 years. Fixing the minimum age for light work at 12 years is also in keeping with ILO 138 recommendation for developing countries” (p.42)

The Children’s Act also permits employment into non-hazardous work from age 15. However, it should be noted that children working in a hazardous sector does not necessarily imply that they are engaged in hazardous activities, which form part of core work. There are supportive roles such as running errands, which are non-hazardous activities, even though the sector is generally considered hazardous. MMYE (2008) therefore thinks that caution is required in the interpretation of child labour and WFCL on the basis of current work by sector. The age for engaging in economic activities suggests that cocoa-growing

communities may not be aware of the age restriction provision in the Children's Act. In this study, only 48 per cent of the respondents indicated that a child is a person who is below the age of 18 years. There is therefore the need for intensive sensitization.

4.2.1.1 Other sources of labour

The use of labourers popularly called 'By-day' was recorded as the second most important source of labour on the cocoa farms in the study area. Labour is usually contracted for specific tasks such as weeding and preparing new farms. Twenty (20) per cent of the respondents said they engaged the services of labourers to carry out the activities listed above. However, the increasing cost of the 'by-day' workers was a major concern expressed by the respondents. They stated that on the average each 'by-day' worker charges GHC7.00 in addition to meals that the farmer will provide for them. This was relatively very costly to the respondents, 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 commitments such as payment of children's school fees, housekeeping money and so on. The use of family labour is therefore the most convenient and cost effective source of labour for these farmers. This revelation is in tune with ILO (2010)'s assertion that there was increasing evidence that the vulnerability of household to risks is an important determinant of child labour.

Annual labour is relatively cheaper to maintain a farm, as payment can be deferred until harvest. Yet, the farmers may have been reluctant to enter into such contracts due to the uncertainties that surround their future financial

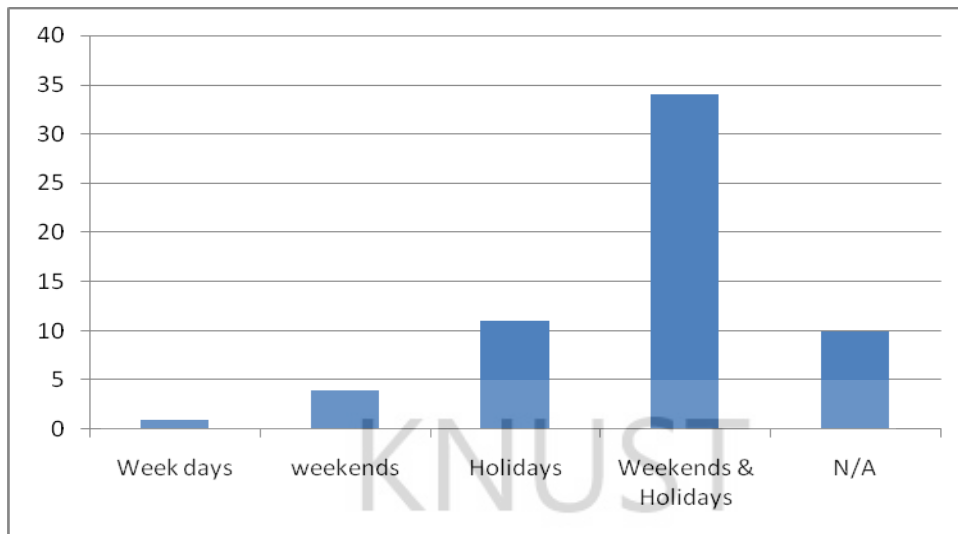
situations due to fluctuations in outputs. They therefore usually resorted to the daily wage (by-day) contracts. This situation calls for tailor-made financial management training for the farmers so that the incomes they derive from the sale of cocoa beans during the harvesting season are not all spent within a short time. They should be educated on how they could invest some of their resources in interest yielding securities or venture into other alternative livelihood ventures.

The study identified Nnoboa as the lesser used source of labour by the respondents. Only 3.3 % of the respondents said they depended on it to carry out activities on their cocoa farms. The Nnoboa system entails a communal support whereby farmers form small groups and support one another in turns on their farms. The only cost involve in this is that host farmers prepare meals for the group when it is their turn. Over the years, this system has proved to be very cost effective and also promotes companionship among Ghanaian farmers.

4.2.2. Awareness and knowledge base on child labour and its effects.

Majority of parents (81.7%) interviewed in the sampled cocoa communities said that they engaged the services of their wards in the cocoa production activities mainly during the weekends and holidays (regardless of age groups), and those whose children were made go to farm during school holidays were 1.7 per cent as shown in the bar chart below.

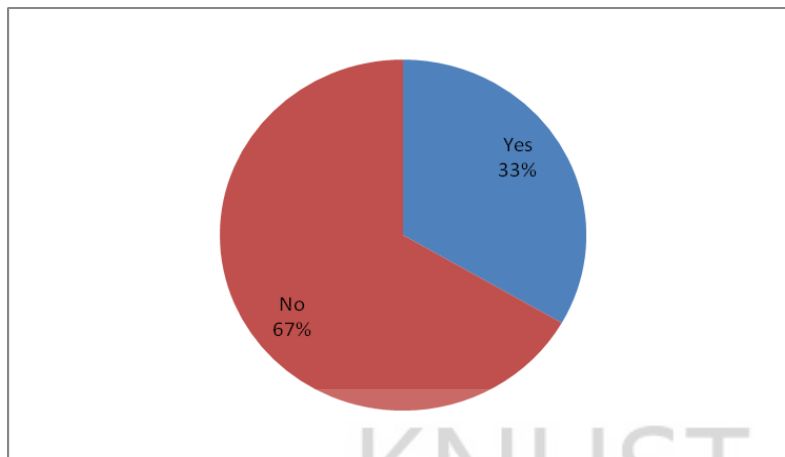
Figure 4.8: **Periods when children help on the cocoa farm**



Source: Field Survey, 2011

Since its inception, the main rationale behind the fight against child labour has been its possible adverse effect on the health and education on children. Various studies (MMYE 2007, 2008) all measured the level of the cocoa farmers' awareness of the likely effects of children's participation in hazardous activities. The answers provided by the respondents serve as good resource for policymakers and development practitioners to measure the effectiveness or otherwise of the education/sensitisation programmes that have been implemented overtime as well as the existing knowledge gap. In this study, only 33 per cent of the respondents said children's involvement in activities such as weeding and plucking of cocoa could have negative effects on them.

Figure 4.9: Perspectives on adverse effects of child labour



Source: Field Survey, 2011

However, not all of these (33%) respondents were able to give specific examples of these negative effects. 96.7 per cent of them mentioned that it could have adverse effects on the children's health and education; and hence the need to avoid children's involvement in these activities.

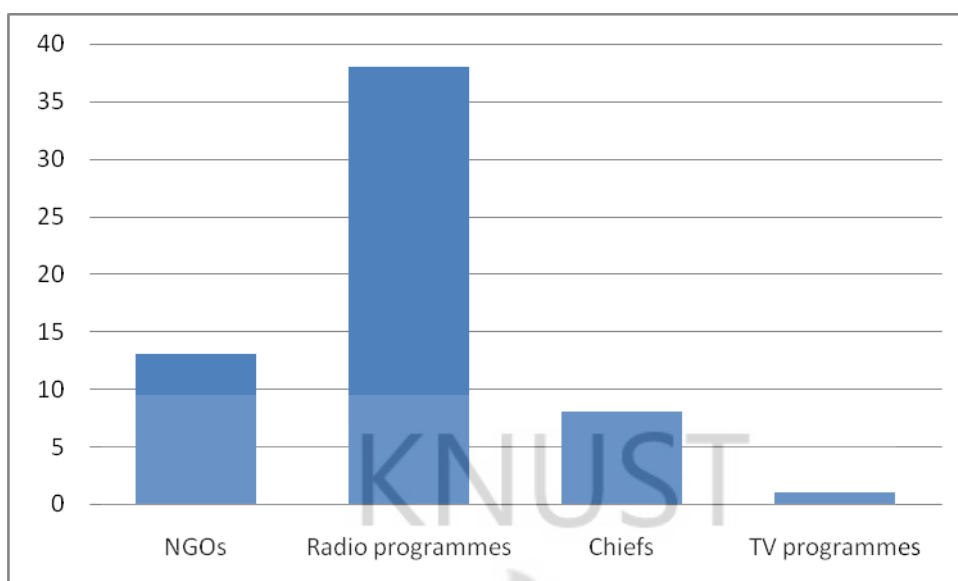
4.2.3 Sources of information and education on child labour

Since the launch of the National Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) by the then Ministry of Manpower Youth and Employment (MMYE) in 2006, various tools and techniques have been employed by the various government agencies such as Ghana COCOBOD and District Assemblies (DA) as well as Non-Governmental Agencies (NGOs) to educate cocoa farmers on the concept of child labour, its related legislations and adverse effects. These tools include community sensitization meetings, radio discussions, farmers' rallies, and peer education through children's clubs in cocoa-growing communities.

In this study, 78.3 percent of the respondents said they had been educated on

effects of children involvement in hazardous activities. Further, radio programmes emerged as the topmost source of information as 63.3 per cent of the respondents said they got the lesson/information on child labour in the cocoa sector from this source. This was followed by NGO workers (21.7%) and chiefs (13.3%). Television emerged as the lesser source of information for the farmers. Only 1.7 of the respondents said that they got some information from TV. This result offers a good lesson for the designers of future child labour programmes in this district. Radio is a very popular medium in the study area (Asunafo South District). It is very common to see cocoa farmers listening to radio programmes on mini-radio sets while on the way to their farms, and sometimes even while working on the farm. It is therefore, important that both state and non-state actors recognize radio as an essential tool for accelerating socio-economic development, especially in developing countries. However, it is equally important that information that disseminated through this medium is well-thought through or edited in order to forestall its possible adverse consequences. Further, owing to their settlement patterns, only a few cocoa farmers had access to electricity and hence TV was not a popular source of information in most of the communities where the data for this study were collected. Figure 4.10 below depicts the respondents sources information on child labour.

Figure 4.10: Sources of information on child labour



Source: Field Survey, 2011

4.2.4 Knowledge of activities that are proscribed by law for children

Ghana has a solid legal regime that is expected to protect children from all forms of abuse and ensure that children’s rights are well-fulfilled. In addition to these laws, NPECLC has formulated the Hazardous Activity Framework (HAF) for the cocoa sector, which provides a comprehensive list of permissible and non-permissible activities for children. When the respondents were asked if they were aware that they were laws in Ghana that prohibited child labour, 73.3 per cent of them responded in affirmative while 26.7 responded in negative. The 73.3 per cent that said they were aware tried explaining the message that the laws sought to convey on child labour. Their responses are captured in the Figure 4.11 below;

Table 4.11: Understanding of what the laws permit and prohibit

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Valid	No idea	29	48.3	48.3	48.3
	Avoid work which is beyond child ability	20	33.3	33.3	81.7
	Children can undertake household chores	11	18.4	18.4	100.0
	Total	60	100.0	100.0	

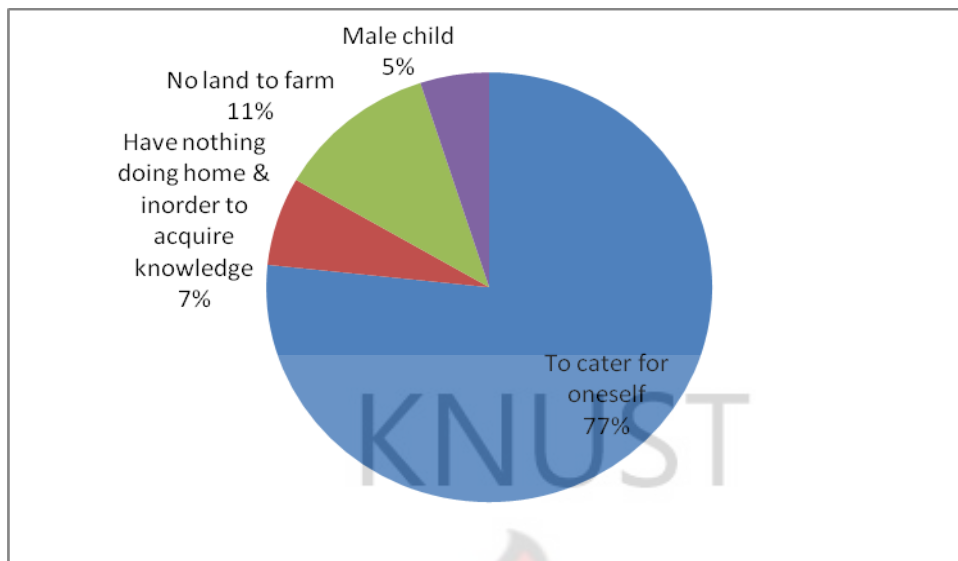
Source: Field Survey, 2011

4.2.5 Perspectives on Schooling and quality of education

“As you are here, I can give birth to you. But because you are educated, I have respect for you and allowed you to interview me.” – A cocoa farmer in Asibrem community

Several studies (Casely-Hayford 2004, Odonkor 2007, Pearce 2009, ILO and UCW 2010) have identified poor results from the education system as one of the major underlying factors that promote child labour in cocoa-growing communities. This happens when the products of the educational system are perceived by the farmers as lacking the requisite knowledge, skills and competences expected of them. Further, farmers see their children’s education as a strategic investment and choice which is expected to yield desirable dividend in the future. The expected dividend include job acquisition after graduation to enable them cater for their parents in their old age; ability to read and write, knowledge to make informed choices and ability contribute to solving emerging societal problems, etc. In this study, the reasons given by the respondents for sending their children to school are shown in the Figure 4.12 below.

Figure 4:12: **Reasons for sending children to school**



Source: Field Survey, 2011

Majority (77%) of the respondents said the main reason why they had invested resources in their children's education was for them to be able cater for themselves and their parents in the future. This suggests that for these cocoa farmers, investment in children's education would become worthless, if the school system fails to produce empowered children who are capable of making informed choices, and are able to secure jobs after completion. Further, the results indicate that 5 per cent of the respondents said they had sent their children to school because they were males. This suggests that the female and male children of the respondents did not have equal chance of enrolling, participation and completing basic school. Further studies are needed to ascertain the extent to which this thinking is widespread among cocoa farmers and the reasoning behind it.

"The way my living condition is now, I don't like it. I don't want my children to suffer like me. That is why I want all of them to attend school and get better jobs like Cocoa Purchasing Clerks."-**A cocoa farmer in Dodowa community**

Further, the respondents were asked whether they thought that the education

being acquired by their children was of good quality. In all, 65 per cent of them answered in negative, 15 per cent answered in the affirmative while 20 per cent said they could not tell. Generally, their answers were based on the following attributes of the pupils and teachers that they said they had observed. These include:-ability to read and write, availability and punctuality of teachers, and ability to solve basic problems.

4.2.6 Distance to Schools

Proximity of children's home to the school is an important factor in fighting all forms of child labour. Children who live in communities that do not have a school within are usually at risk of becoming child labourers, as the immediate alternative to schooling is for them to accompany their parents to the farm. Majority (56.7%) of respondents indicated that the distance from their homes to the nearest school was less than a kilometer, while 23.3 per cent said that their distance was 1-2km. Only 1.7 per cent of the respondents lived about 5km away from a school. From these figures, it is obvious that distance to school was not a major underlying causal factor behind the prevalence of child labour in the Asunafo South District. Rather, there were other issues such as the degree of quality teaching and learning processes in public schools as well as supervision by the District Education Office (DEO). This is evident in the emerging practice by which some parents remove their wards from public basic schools and enroll then into private schools, in spite of the fact that the financial cost of keeping children in private schools is relatively higher. In Sienna community, a few of the respondent indicated that they had enrolled their wards in a private school at Noberkaw community, which is 5km away. Though the cost involve in this was

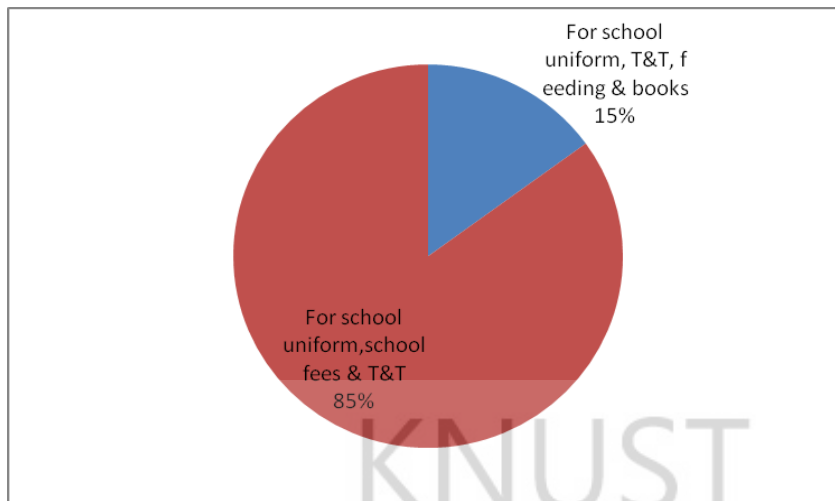
quite high, the respondents believed that their wards were receiving better quality education as compared with their counterparts in the public schools in the Sienna community. This implies that reducing the distance to school alone is not sufficient to attract more children to public schools. Rather, continuous efforts to improve learning outcomes in public basic schools should occupy a pride of place in all public policies that aim at reducing child labour.

4.2.7 The Cost of Education

“In spite of the teachers’ poor performance, they still demand a lot of things from our children. Today bring money, tomorrow bring firewood.” – A cocoa farmer in Sienna community

Since 1995, the successive governments have initiated various policies to make basic education in Ghana fee-free. However, evidence from this study indicates that parents still spend substantial sums of money on other school related cost such as school uniforms, feeding, books and transportation as shown in the Figure 4.13 below. It also shows that more and more parents (85%) are still saddled with the payment of some illegal fees in addition to other costs listed above.

Figure 4.13: School-related costs incurred by respondents



Source: Field Survey, 2011

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana guarantees the right to free and compulsory basic education for all its citizens. In 1995, the Government of Ghana (re-) launched the policy of free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) with the support of the World Bank through the Primary School Development Project (PSDP). As a cost-sharing scheme, the fCUBE was designed to cover non-tuition fees. Parents were expected to bear limited educational expenses. More importantly, no child was to be turned away from school for non-payment of fees. However, communities and Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) were still allowed to levy some fees for minor school projects, and illegal fees were still in place. But the initiative did not work well as expected. A persistent 40% of children between 6 and 11 years of age in Ghana remained out of school as of 2003 (UNICEF, 2007 cited in CDD, 2010). In addressing the challenges to universal basic education, the Government of Ghana rolled out two pilot primary education improvement policy initiatives - the Capitation Grant (CG) scheme and the School Feeding Program (SFP) in the 2004/05 academic year. These initiatives aimed at helping poor parents meet the cost of primary education and improve the nutrition of children, especially poor children.

4.2.8 Relevance of an alternative education programme in the District

Alternative education models have been identified as an effective measure of reducing child labour due to the flexibility in their school hours. These models are designed specifically for those who have missed the chance for formal education or whose schooling has not been regular or sustained. Although various models of alternative education are gaining popularity in Northern Ghana, results from this study indicate otherwise. Majority (56.7%) of the respondents said that alternative education models were not appropriate for their children since it could bring about divided attention among children. This assertion is in line with those who believe that the ability of children to attend school on a regular basis is a better option because it reduces their chances of involvement in child labour.

4.2.9 Government and NGOs' social interventions in the district.

An interview with the District Social Welfare Officer indicates that the National Programme had supported the district assembly (DA) with some funds and equipment such as a desktop computer and motorbike. Owing to this support, the DA has been able to set up a District Child Protection Committee (DCPC) and had organized series of child labour sensitization meetings in 10 communities in the district. The social welfare officer also mentioned the following as the social protection policy initiatives that existed in the district; National Health Insurance (NHIS), capitation grant for public schools, free school uniforms, free exercise books and school feeding programme. He, however, said that the LEAP social grants had not yet been extended to the district.

Furthermore, the interview of the DSW officer brought forward the following as the challenges facing him in his efforts to facilitate the elimination of child labour in the district: political interference, frequent changing of District Chief Executives (DCEs); lack of financial support from the assembly to augment the support from NPECLC; and irregular DCPC meetings due to apathy of the members. He, however, thinks that with the few activities that had been carried out by the DA coupled with the immense contribution of NGOs, the level of awareness of child labour and its effects among cocoa farmers in the district had increased considerably. Specifically, the DSW officer indicated that Ibis (a Danish NGO) and SODIA (a local NGO) had worked in 25 communities in the district from 2007 to 2010. The focus of their interventions had been on improving the quality of education through teacher training, school governance, community sensitization on child labour and provision of reading materials to basic schools in deprived communities. In all, over 10,000 basic school children benefited directly from the interventions of Ibis in the Asunafo South District.

All in all, these social interventions from both the state and non-state actors have contributed immensely to raising awareness on adverse effects of child labour in the district. However, the total elimination of child labour in the cocoa sector is still remote. More effort is needed in addressing the underlying factors that promote the use of children's labour, some of which have been identified in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary of Findings

The level of awareness of the child labour concept among the cocoa farmers in the Asunafo South District was appreciably high. In all, 78.3 percent of the respondents said they had been educated on effects of child labour. Radio stood out as the highest source of information and education. Majority (81.7%) of the cocoa farmers interviewed said they engaged the services of their wards in the cocoa production activities mainly during the weekends and holidays. Their reason for this was that taking of children out of the classroom to farm during school hours would have adverse effects on their health and education and hence the need to avoid it. However, their knowledge base of the possible health effects of child labour was quite low. Only a few (33%) of the respondents said children's involvement in activities such as weeding and plucking of cocoa could have negative effects on them.

Factors that promoted the use of children's labour on cocoa farms in the district were varied. Firstly, due to high cost of hired labour, majority (76.7%) per cent of the respondents said they depended heavily on their family labour (spouses and children) for carrying most of the activities on their cocoa farms. Secondly, long distance to school was a factor. The dispersed nature of some the houses/hamlets (e.g. Dedekrom and Nyame Nnae) did not allow for easy establishment of formal schools close to some of the inhabitants. There exist hundreds of hamlets that have been built in the midst of the various cocoa farms with an average distance of 3km to the nearest school. This made it difficult and risky for

young children to commute to school especially during the rainy season when the streams overflow their banks. Thirdly, ignorance of the dictates of the law was a factor. A large proportion of the cocoa farmers interviewed were ignorant of the specific permissible and non-permissible activities regarding child labour and children's involvement in cocoa production as recorded in the HAF. Although 73.3 per cent of the respondents said they were aware that there were laws that protect children in Ghana, 48.3 per cent of them said they had no idea of the exact activities that have been proscribed by law. Finally, the perceived decreasing quality of education is a factor. This is evident in the practice by which dissatisfied parents remove their children from the public schools to private schools. e.g. In Sienna community, where some parents had enrolled their wards in a private school at Noberkaw community, which is 5km away. This implies that reduction in the distances between children's homes and their schools alone is not sufficient for attracting and retaining more children in the public schools.

From the various literatures reviewed coupled with observations from the communities, the following policy options have come up strongly as solutions that have the potential of addressing the underlying causes of child labour, especially in the cocoa sector. These include;

- 1) **Education:** Improving access to quality basic education by; the abolition of school fees; reduction in distance to schools; provision of alternative education opportunities; and targeted investment in the training of teachers, curriculum reforms and the provision of teaching aids and learning materials.

- 2) **Social Protection:** Schemes that are especially relevant for child labour include: i) unconditional transfers, ii) conditional transfers and iii) public works programmes. Such policies do not reduce only child labour, but aim at addressing household vulnerability in general.
- 3) **Improved and easy access to these basic services:** Access to services such as potable water, schools and clinics would reduce the time spent by children and their families in accessing them and, consequently, affect household decisions concerning how children's time is allocated between school and work.

5.2. Conclusion

There are good prospects for eliminating child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector in the Asunafo South District. This is evident in the heightened awareness of the ills of child labour by majority of cocoa farmers interviewed, and also, the high premium they placed on their children's education. However, a few challenges abound, which must be tackled by the mandated state institutions and civil society. These include; the continuous decline in the quality of teaching and learning in basic schools in the district; increasing cost of hired farm labour; inadequacy of farmers' understanding and appreciation of child labour related practices prohibited by the laws.

5.3. Recommendations


- 1) NPECLC, District Assembly, and NGOs working on eliminating child labour in the Asunafo South District should intensify their sensitization efforts by using participatory tools and techniques to facilitate community level meetings in discussing the Hazardous Activity Framework (HAF) and the relevant provisions of the Children's Act (Act 560). Furthermore, the change agents should use PLA/PRA tools to stimulate discussions that will lead to reflection and action among the cocoa farmers so as translate the high awareness into behaviour change.
- 2) The District Child Protection Committee (DCPC) should be revitalized and supported by the DA to undertake periodic visits to the cocoa growing communities to assess the extent of prevalence child labour in the district and take the appropriate remedial actions.
- 3) In order to avoid duplication of efforts, the capacity of School Management Committees (SMCs) should be built on child labour concept to enable them play the role of Community Child Protection Committees (CCPC). Their role should include community sensitization, identification and documentation of child abuse cases and the referral of such cases to the DCPC.
- 4) Messages delivered at community sensitization should be reinforced with well-thought through radio programmes devoid of partisan politics. Radio has proved to be an effective tool for information dissemination and social mobilization in the district.

- 5) The District Education Office (DEO) and the DA should pay special attention to improving the quality of basic education in the district by investing in regular In-service Training (INSET) for basic school teachers and providing them with basic teaching aids. e.g. flash cards, crayons, etc. This should be complemented with effective supervision of schools by the DEO.
- 6) The MESW should endeavour to extend the LEAP Programme to the district so as reduce level of vulnerability of the poor households (especially the children) to child labour practices



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¹ Contact details for this paper: India Committee of the Netherlands; e-mail: kinderarbeid@indianet.nl. Participating organisations in the Campaign ‘Stop Child Labour – School is the best place to work’ include Concern (Ireland), Deutsche Welthungerhilfe (Germany) and Hivos (The Netherlands). See on the Campaign *Child labour, basic education and international donor policies: A challenge to conventional wisdom* (2004), *Basic Education, Child Labour and the European Union* (2004) and *Report of the International Conference “Out of Work and Into School – Children’s Right to Education as a Non-negotiable”*, 2-5 November 2004, Hyderabad, India.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COCOA FARMERS

DATE.....

QUESTIONNAIRE #.....

COMMUNITY NAME

Dear Respondent,
I am Prosper Nyavor, a student of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST). I am conducting a study on the topic **“The challenges and prospects of eliminating child labour in Ghana’s cocoa sector in the Asunafo South District”** in partial fulfillment of the award of the Commonwealth Executive Master’s Degree in Public Administration. I would be grateful if you could participate in the study by providing me with the requisite information to complete this questionnaire. Please be assured that all information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and be used purely for academic purposes. Your participation is purely voluntary. So if you feel at any time and for any reason that you do not want to continue answering the questions, you are free to stop. Thank you.

SECTION A

1. Sex 1.) Male [] 2) Female []
2. How old are you?
1) 30-40yrs [] 2) 41-50yrs [] 3) 51-60yrs [] 4) over 60 yrs. []
3. Ethnicity 1) Ewe [] 2) Akan [] 3) Other (specify).....
4. What is your marital status? 1) Single [] 2) Married [] 3) Divorced [] 4)Widow []
5. What is your highest educational level? 1) Primary [] 2) JSS/MSLC [] 3) SSS [] 4) Higher [] 5) Never attended school []

SECTION B

6. Are you a native of this district? 1) Yes [] 2) No []
7. If No, where did you migrate from to this district?
.....
8. How long have you lived in this community?
1) 1-5yrs [] 2) 5-10yrs [] 3) 10-15yrs [] 4) over 15 yrs. []
9. How long have you been cultivating cocoa?
1) 1-5yrs [] 2) 5-10yrs [] 3) 10-15yrs [] 4) over 15 yrs. []
10. What is the main source of labour for the work on your cocoa farm?

1) Wife & children [] 2) Labourers [] 3) Nnoboia [] 4)

Other(specify).....

11. Do you have children i.e. below 18 years? 1) Yes [] 2) No []

12. If Yes, how many are they?

1) One child [] 2) Two children [] 3) Three children [] 4) Four and above []

13. How many of them are attending school?

1) One child [] 2) Two children [] 3) Three children [] 4) Four and above []

14. Why do you send your children to school?

.....
.....
.....

15. How many of them (below 18) are NOT attending school?

1) One child [] 2) Two children [] 3) Three children [] 4) Four and above []

16. Why are they NOT attending school?

.....
.....
.....

17. Do you have a school in this community? 1) Yes [] 2) No []

18. If No, how far is the nearest school from your community?

1) Less than 1km [] 2) 1-2km [] 3) 3-4km [] 4) 5km and above []

19. Do you think that the education being acquired by your children is of good quality?

1) Yes [] 2) No []

20. If Yes/No, why?

.....
.....

21. Do you pay school fees for your children? 1) Yes [] 2) No []

22. If Yes, how much?

23. Do you incur any other school-related cost on your children?

24. If Yes,

explain.....

-
25. When do your children help you on the cocoa farm?
 1) Week days [] 2) weekends [] 3) holidays [] 4) All the time []
26. What is the main work that your children do on your cocoa farm?
27. 1) Weeding [] 2) carrying of pods [] 3) plucking of pods [] 4) Other (specify).....
28. Why do your children to have to carry out these activities?
 1) No money to hire labourers [] 2) It is part of socialization/training []
 3) Other (specify) []
29. Do you think that these activities can have any negative effect on the children?
 1) Yes [] 2) No []
30. If Yes, give examples of this negative effects

31. Have you ever been educated on effects of child labour? 1) Yes [] 2) No []
32. If Yes, who educated you and what did you learn

33. Do you know that there are laws in Ghana that prescribe the kind of work that children can engage in? 1) Yes [] 2) No []
34. If Yes, what do the laws say.....

35. Do you know any child who is above school going age/8yrs in this community but has never attended school?
 1) Yes [] 2) No []
36. What do you think can be done to enable such children to be educated?

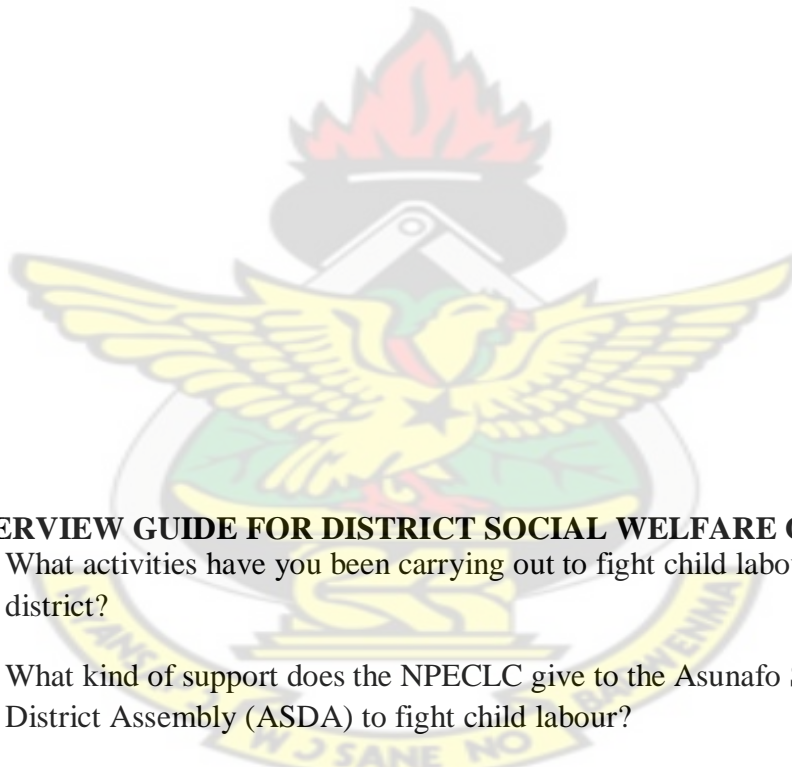
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37. Do you think an alternative/complementary education programme will be relevant to your community? 1) Yes [] 2) No []

38. If Yes/No why?

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INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DISTRICT SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICER

1. What activities have you been carrying out to fight child labour in your district?
2. What kind of support does the NPECLC give to the Asunafo South District Assembly (ASDA) to fight child labour?
3. How communities have you been working in?
4. What changes are you beginning to see in the communities as a result of your work?
5. What challenges have you encountered in your efforts to fight child labour in the communities?
6. Do you have a District Child Protection Committee (DCPC) in this district? What has been their role in the fight against child labour in the district?

7. How many Community Child Protection Committees (CCPCs) have you established, and what is your assessment of their work so far?
8. 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.
9. What social protection initiatives are being implemented in your district?

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