SECTION 1: STUDY BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

There have been concerns raised recently by some individuals and groups following negative media reports about the possible use of child labour in cocoa production, particularly in the West African sub-region. Senator Tom Harkin and Representative Elliot Engel both of the United States Legislature were among those who raised these concerns, and further threatened to bring up legislation for the boycott of cocoa from countries found to be indulging in Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) and Forced Adult Labour (FAL). These concerns prompted a series of discussions between representatives of the cocoa industry and a number of trade union, consumer and non-governmental organizations on the incidence and nature of WFCL and FAL, culminating in the elaboration of a strategy to deal with the problem. This strategy was codified in the "Harkin-Engel Protocol", an agreement to eliminate the worst forms of child labour (as described in ILO Convention No.182) from the cocoa and chocolate sector, signed by representatives of the major stakeholders in September 2001.

This Protocol involved companies from the United States, Canada, Europe and the United Kingdom taking responsibility for addressing the worst forms of child labour and forced adult labour in the supply chain of the cocoa industry. A critical part of this agreement was the commitment to design and implement "standards of public certification" in the cocoa sector of Ghana. The protocol also requires that governments of cocoa producing countries establish monitoring systems and also issue certificates or reports, which describes the current state of child labour and forced labour in the cocoa sub-sector and efforts being made to improve upon the situation, where necessary. The present study is part of the certification process.

A significant step towards addressing child labour in the cocoa sector and certification of cocoa growing within Ghana was taken in February 2006 when the Ministry of Manpower, Youth & Employment (MMYE) produced the National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL) in Cocoa (NPECLC) in collaboration with Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD), Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MOFEP), International Cocoa Industry, and other partners. It is noted that within this broad programme, one of the strategic elements calls for the "enhancement of the knowledge base on child labour in the cocoa sub-sector". During the consultative review of the program it was agreed that efforts to survey practices within the cocoa sector in order to achieve certification would occur as part of this particular strategic programme element. And to achieve the above goal, the Representatives of Cocoa Industry have been working in Ghana with the Ministry of Manpower, Youth & Employment, the Ghana Cocoa Board, the Statistical Service, the University of Ghana, as well as with other experts to work through the process of developing a good sampling procedure that meets the requirements of a credible certification system.

As a first step a demographic analysis of the Ghana Cocoa Sector has been done by a research group from the University of Ghana[1] and presented to stakeholders. This has informed the sampling requirements, methodology, size and procedure adopted by stakeholders for this study in a consultative meeting held in Accra, Ghana, on 2nd and 3rd August, 2006. In particular, the report discussed the major characteristics of the seven cocoa growing regions in Ghana, highlighting the similarities and differences of the various cocoa regions which make it possible to sample within groups of cocoa regions instead of separate sampling of each region.

A study conducted in four West African countries (Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria) by International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA)[2] in 2002 estimated that there were about 284,000 child labourers working in hazardous conditions on cocoa farms, of which 200,000 of the number were based in Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria. Also, a study conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS)[3] in 2001 estimated that out of the estimated 6,361,111 children in Ghana, some 1,273,294 or 20 percent of them were engaged in various forms of child labour, including 242,074 or 3.8 percent that were engaged in activities classified as hazardous work, such as head porterage, child domestic work, commercial or ritual servitude, small scale mining and quarrying, fishing, commercial agriculture, and commercial sex. It is imperative therefore that the recent concerns raised about child labour in cocoa production in Ghana be carefully investigated. While the overall plan of the certification process is to fully survey the entire cocoa sector, this study (i.e. plan for 2006) was to initiate the effort and gain understanding on the logistic challenges and resources required as the effort is scaled up; as well as provide empirical evidence needed for the certification process.

1.2. What is Child Labour?

The definition of ***Child Labour*** is derived from the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, ILO Convention 138, and 182, and the Ghana Children's Act 1998 (Act 560). It is all work that is harmful and hazardous to a child's health, safety and development; taking into account the age of the child, the conditions under which the work takes place, and the time at which the work is done (MMYE, 2003). According to the ILO[4], child labour refers to work that (i) is mentally, physically, socially and morally dangerous and harmful to children; and (ii) interferes with their schooling by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school, by obliging them to leave school prematurely, or by requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work. The worst forms of child labour (WFCL) is defined (by ILO Convention 182) to include all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery (the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, forced or compulsory labour including

[1] Asenso-Okyere, K., S. Asuming-Brempong and D. B. Sarpong (2006). *Demographic Profile of Cocoa-Growing Districts in Ghana*. Department of Agricultural Economics and Agribusiness, University of Ghana, Legon.
[2] International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA). 2002. Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector of West Africa. IITA, Ibadan, Nigeria.
[3] Ghana Statistical Service (GSS). 2003. *Ghana Child Labour Survey*. GSS. Accra. Ghana.
[4] International Labour Organization (ILO) (2002). Eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour: A Practical Guide to ILO Convention No. 182. Handbook for Parliamentarians No. 3, 2002. ILO, Geneva.

recruitment for use in armed conflict); the use or offering of a child for prostitution and/or pornography, illicit activities including the production and trafficking of drugs; as well as work which when performed is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of the child (as determined by national authorities).

The ILO further elaborates and clarifies that child labour is **not** the participation of a child in work that does not affect his/her health and personal development, or interferes with his/her schooling. Such work "includes activities such as helping their parents care for the home and the family, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays". It includes also work that "contributes to children's development and to the welfare of their families; provides them with skills, attitudes and experience, and helps to prepare them to be useful and productive members of society during their adult life" (ILO, 2002). Clearly, a good appreciation of the concept of what child labour is and is not is key to understanding the type of work children can do that contributes positively to both their own development and the wellbeing of society.

1.2.1. Issues of child labour in the world economic systems

The extent of the child labour issue can be linked up with the type of economic system prevailing in a particular country. The phenomenon is prominent in developing countries where over 60 percent of the people are in the informal economy, characterized by issues like small family businesses, capital scarcity, subsistence farming, and primitive technology which result in low levels of productivity and low income. These limit the ability to save and thus create a vicious cycle of poverty. This kind of economic system is closely tied-up with the cultural heritage of the people, making it different from the standards which emerge among developed countries in Europe and North America.

Within the past decade however, the issue of child labour has become a growing concern both within countries and at various international fora. Organizations like the International Labour Organization (ILO), US Department of Labour (USDOL), World Cocoa Foundation (WCF), International Cocoa Initiative (ICI), and European Cocoa Association (ECA), among others, are also supporting cocoa growing countries to formulate and implement programmes to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in the cocoa sub-sector.

The International legal framework backing the elimination of the worst forms of child labour include the following:

1. The United Nations convention on the rights of the child (1989) requires state parties to take legislative, administrative, social and educative measures to ensure the implementation and in particular, provide the following:
    - A minimum age for admission to work
    - Appropriate employment, and
    - Appropriate penalties or sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of its provisions, taking into account the relevant provisions of other international institutions.

Box 1. BASIC CONCEPTS IN CHILD LABOUR WORK

Child Labour refers to work that:

- is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; and
- interferes with their schooling (i) by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; (ii) by obliging them to leave school prematurely; or (iii) by requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

The **Worst Forms of Child Labour (WFCL)** is defined as:

- all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, as well as forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- the use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties; and
- work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children, such harmful work to be determined by national authorities.

Two types of WFCL may be identified: (a) ***unconditional worst forms*** – these are often illegal and also unacceptable for adults; and include all those activities whose status as worst forms cannot be altered no matter what is done to improve conditions of work (e.g. commercial sexual exploitation of children); and (b) ***hazardous work*** – include those forms that need to be determined on a national level by the competent authority after consultations with organizations of employers and workers; and some of the activities can be improved by changing the circumstances. It is recommended that any definition of hazardous work should include (i) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse; (ii) work underground, underwater, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces; (iii) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools or carrying heavy loads; (iv) exposure to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels or vibrations damaging to health; and (v) work for long hours, night work, and unreasonable confinement to the premises of the employer.

Convention No. 182 which forms the basis of this definition applies to all boys and girls below 18 years.

Based on the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), the ILO defines **Forced Labour (or Forced Adult Labour, FAL)** as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily" (Art. 2(1)). The two key elements are ***menace of penalty*** (the means of keeping someone in forced labour) and ***lack of consent*** to work (not done voluntarily) (i.e. the route into forced labour). The activities under forced labour are varied, including (i) physical or sexual violence, (ii) restriction of movement of the worker, (iii) debt bondage or bonded labour (occurs when a person becomes a security against a debt or loan), (iv) withholding wages or refusing to pay the worker at all, (v) retention of passports and identity documents, and (iv) threat of denunciation to the authorities (as in the case of irregular migrant workers).

Debt Bondage is defined (based on the UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Practices similar to Slavery (1956) as "the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value for those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (Art. 1a). In this case the individual becomes a security against a debt or loan, works partly or exclusively to pay off the debt which has been incurred, and in most cases the debt perpetuates or persists for a long time.

Ref: Int. Labour Org. (2002), Int. Labour Org (2004), Int. Labour Org. (2005).

2. ILO Convention 182
   All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage, compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; and
3. ILO Convention 138[5] concerning the minimum age for admission to employment.

1.2.2. Child labour and child work

The specific articles of the convention that address the issue of child labour directly include Articles 27, 28 and 32 which state in part as follows: "States Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development ……. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity. …… State Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development." The International Labour Organization (ILO) has elaborated on these provisions and derived a definition for ***Child Labour*** as noted above.

Based on ILO Convention No. 182 and the Children's Act 560 (1998), as well as the work of the Ghana Statistical Service's (GSS) work on Ghana Child Labour Survey (March 2003), it is noted that in its extreme forms child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of "work" can be called "child labour" depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. In effect, whereas all activities in which the child might be involved (including those activities useful for the child's total development such as normal household chores) may be classified as ***child work***, not all forms of child work fall into the category classified as ***child labour***.

The ILO[6] observes that whereas child labour, in particular the worst forms of child labour, is generally condemned by society, some types of work that children are involved in are not so clear cut. "In many cases, however, the line between "acceptable" and "unacceptable" work for children is difficult to draw. This occurs quite frequently, especially in rural agricultural situations, as certain kinds of work actually form part of socio-cultural traditions". " ….. the underlying concept seems to be that all family members are economic providers and that work prepares children for assuming adult roles. In situations where the family acts as an economic unit, the work of children is

[5] http://ilolex.ilo.ch:1567/scripts/ratifce.pl
[6] ILO (2004). Child Labour: A Text Book for University Students. International Labour Office, Geneva.

widely accepted and may even be essential, particularly work by older children. But parents also justify child work, saying that it contributes to children's responsibility, autonomy and strength to support difficulties and sacrifices ….. "

1.2.3. Child labour in Ghana

About thirty–one percent (31%) of Ghana's population of 20.3 million is made up children aged 5-17 years. The Ghana Child Labour Survey (GCLS) shows that 2.47 million children aged 5–7 years (that is, about 39 percent of the estimated 6.36 million children in the age group) were engaged in economic activities. Half of rural children and one-fifth of urban children were economically active. Eighty-eight percent of the working children were unpaid family workers and apprentices, while 5.9 percent were self employed. As many as 1.59 million children were working while attending school. Nearly 20 percent of children (about 1.27million) were engaged in activities classified as child labour. The phenomenon is prevalent in all regions of the country (GSS, 2003; MMYE, 2006).

There is also a broad consensus that some Worst Forms of Child Labour are prevalent. These include *kayaye* (head porters), child domestic labour, the *Trokosi* system (ritual servitude), commercial sexual exploitation of children, quarrying and *galamsey* (small scale mining), fishing and cash-crop agriculture. Significant numbers of child labourers are also found in transportation, "chop bars" (traditional restaurants) and, especially, petty trading, with street children becoming an increasingly visible phenomenon. (MMYE, 2006)

1.2.4. The socio-cultural context of child work and child labour in Ghana

The socio-cultural milieu within which *child work* or *child labour* is examined is important to help the correct interpretation of the various activities of the child that are categorized, and the circumstances of the child involved in such activities. In the case of Ghana, a key area of interest in looking at the circumstances of the child is the influence of the extended family system. It is very normal for a child not to live with the parents but with the aunts or uncles, or even grand-pa or grand-ma. In some cases, parents living in the same town or village with some relatives may choose to send the child to live with the relative instead. And in most communities, the upbringing of the child is not just the responsibility of the parents but the entire community. Thus, except in the case of hazardous work or the unconditional worst forms of child labour, the activities children are involved in such as house chores and light work on the farm are considered normal and indeed healthy to the proper upbringing of the child. Traditionally, working on family farms and with family enterprises is seen as part of the process by which children are trained towards adulthood.

1.2.5. Child labour in cocoa production

The issue of child labour is an age-long global problem. Its main causes can be assigned to poverty and socio-cultural practices in some countries. **C**hild labour was being considered in general terms, till recent publications and discussions in the western media that thousands of children were being forced to work on cocoa farms in West Africa. This concern has led to threats by consumers of chocolate products in America and Europe to boycott chocolate products if the practice is not stopped. There have been consistent efforts to find interventions to combat and eliminate the use of worst forms of child labour and forced adult labour in cocoa farming since 2001.

In addition, a few studies have been conducted on the problem of child labour in the cocoa sub-sector. The 2003 GCLS does not provide detailed information allowing for an estimation of the number of children in the cocoa sub-sector. The survey, however, indicates that an estimated 1,128,072 children are engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing. These represent 57 percent of the working children. The report also states that 88 percent of the total working children were unpaid family workers and apprentices.

Due to its predominantly peasant nature, with much of the production taking place in an environment of subsistence agriculture, cocoa production in Ghana tends to be labour intensive. The main sources of labour for cocoa farming activities are caretakers or sharecroppers, hired labour, and family labour. Children's involvement in the production of cocoa is an age-old tradition which, besides the immediate labour value, constitutes a traditional way of imparting cocoa farming skills to them and equipping them to take over from ageing parents and relatives.

There is no agreement yet among the stakeholders as to what constitutes hazardous work in the cocoa sector. With support from ILO/IPEC's West Africa Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Programme (WACAP) to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child Labour, the Ghana Health Service has conducted a study into occupational safety and health in the cocoa sub-sector, and identified specific hazards for discussion among stakeholders. There is a lack of empirical information about the prevalence of the unconditional WFCL, such as trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour, in the cocoa sub-sector.

1.2.6. Various efforts at addressing the child labour problems

Many issues are implicated in the problem of worst forms of child labour which makes the problem very complex. Key among these issues are illiteracy, ignorance, poverty, broken homes, death of parents, high fertility rates, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, unpleasant cultural practices and gender inequalities. Sustainable efforts to address worst forms of child labour must also address these issues. There have been efforts by government and its development partners since the 1990s to address the issue of child labour starting with Street Children's programmes. These efforts have been accelerated since 2000 to include all worst forms of child labour and child trafficking.

In Ghana today, there are policies, legislation, programmes and activities in place which directly or indirectly address the issue of child labour. Specifically, Ghana's Constitution (1992) contains several clauses on child care and protection; the Children's Act (Act 560, 1998) is a comprehensive law that ensures children's rights and protection. The Human Trafficking Act (Act 694) was passed in 2005, while the Domestic Violence Law has been passed by Parliament in 2007 and will soon become law. The Whistle Blower's Bill which mandates citizens to report crime of any kind has also been introduced. Government Policies that directly impact on WFCL include the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS 2) which prioritizes child labour as an issue for elimination, the Sector-Wide Education Policy to ensure Education for all by 2015, and the Capitation Grant (2005) which makes education free at Primary and Junior Secondary School levels.

Government also has put in place a broad institutional framework for addressing issues of child labour such as creating a Child Labour Unit in 2000, the establishment of a Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs in 2001, Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit (DOVVSU) of the Ghana Police (2000), Social Services Sub-Committee of Parliament, Child Panels in the District Assemblies and Child Labour Monitoring Systems in some districts. Government programmes that indirectly address child labour include the Youth Employment Programme established in 2002 which provides unemployed youths with skills for employability. In its efforts to increase accessibility to primary schools and Junior Secondary Schools, the government has, since 2002 embarked on increasing school infrastructure in rural areas. This, together with the Capitation Grant, has greatly improved school enrolment in poor rural communities. Also significant for increasing school enrolment and attendance, and reducing school drop-outs, is the introduction of a two-year pre-school programme starting at age four as an integral part of the basic education system, and the planned expansion of the school feeding programmes. The development of school infrastructure, provision of school text books, curriculum reforms and teacher training programmes will all contribute to the improvement of the quality of basic education in public schools. The National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) has also enhanced the patronage of the health facilities in communities which have access to them. However, there is the need to provide more health facilities in cocoa growing communities due to their remoteness from the cities.

In 2000, Ghana ratified ILO Convention 182 on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour and signed a Memorandum of Understanding with ILO to put in place policies, programmes and projects to eliminate worst forms of child labour and child trafficking in Ghana. This resulted in the several programmes, projects and activities by a large number of partners. The work has been sustained to date, continues to grow and now includes the following:

1. The Ghana Country Programme supported by ILO/IPEC started off projects for the elimination process. It built a large partnership among government ministries, departments and agencies, employers' organizations, trades unions, NGOs and donor organizations that have continued to work together and expand with time. The Country Programme also created a forum for sensitization and awareness creation on the issue, capacity building, withdrawal and establishment of a Tracking Database for children withdrawn from work, and projects to withdraw children from ritual servitude (*Trokosi*), porters (*Kayayee*) and children in sex

tourism, as well as inclusion of child labour in existing curricula for sensitizing school children as a means of cutting down drop-out rates. This programme was supported by ILO/IPEC and US Department of Labour (USDOL). The programme withdrew and enrolled in school 2200 children caught up in child labour or at risk of entering child labour.

2. In 2002, the government launched a programme to eliminate child trafficking in Ghana and set up a Task Force to work on this. Through this programme, awareness on child trafficking has been intensified. There has been a training of security officers including police, immigration and customs officers at border posts towards the identification, interception of child traffickers and rescue of child victims for support. The Capacity Building Project which started in 2003 was able to withdraw a further 2000 children and enrol them in school.
3. The West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Programme (WACAP) which was specifically designed to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in selected cocoa and rice growing communities was carried out with support by ILO/IPEC and USDOL.
4. The Time-Bound Programme for eliminating worst forms of child labour from other sectors including agriculture is also currently being implemented, with support from ILO/IPEC and the USDOL. Almost all the projects linked with ILO/IPEC support to Ghana received funding from USDOL.
5. The National Programme for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector from 2006-2011 has been formulated and is currently being implemented, with the World Cocoa Foundation being a main supporting partner.

In the cocoa sector, there has been increased intervention since 2003 when the problem became known. Direct involvement of Government started with a Stakeholder Consultative Meeting organized by COCOBOD in collaboration with the International Cocoa Initiative in 2004 where several decisions were taken to ensure elimination of WFCL in the sector. Since then, the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment has mainstreamed the cocoa sector into the work of the National Steering Committee and has been coordinating activities in the sector. Work in the cocoa sector started with the West African Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project (WACAP). Through this project, 1,200 children were withdrawn in over 52 cocoa communities and 9 rice communities; the children were enrolled in school, child labour committees were established in several communities and awareness on child labour in the cocoa sector was created. The Sustainable Tree Crop Project was also established in 2003 to organize farmer field schools with the aim of helping farmers to improve cocoa farming practices that will reduce disease and increase yield. The WACAP project also established a child labour monitoring system for the cocoa sector.

The studies so far conducted into child labour include the following:

- Ghana Child Labour Survey (GSS), 2003
- Occupational Safety and Health Study (Ministry of Health), 2004
- Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector by Ghana Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU, 2006)
- Rapid Assessment of Child Labour in the cocoa sector by African Centre for Human Development (2004)

- Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector by Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs sponsored by UNICEF (2006)
- Child Labour in the cocoa sector by Institute of Renewable Natural Resources, KNUST, supported by IITA.

Since the signing of the Harkin-Engel Protocol, other partners have come to support Ghana's efforts at eliminating WFCL and forced labour in the cocoa sector. These include the World Cocoa Foundation (WCF) and the International Cocoa Initiative. They have both signed Memoranda of Agreement with the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment. Through such collaboration, the WCF is helping with data collection for certification, of which this report is a significant part.

Through funding and support from the International Cocoa Initiative, a community-based dialogue and sensitization programme was started in 2004. This was done with local implementing partners in three districts (two in Western Region and one in Ashanti Region) and a total of 24 communities. The programme took place from November 2004 to December 2006. Participatory Development Associates (PDA) as the local coordinating agency (LCA) helped to design, inform, coordinate, and monitor the implementation by three district-level NGOs (implementing partners) of the pilot processes with communities. The three implementing partners are Hope for Humanity in New Edubiase, Community Development Consult (CODESULT) in Asankrangwa, and Support for Community Mobilization Project/Programme (SCMPP) in Daboase. PDA implemented directly actions in six communities in Asankrangwa. Rescue Foundation provided training and technical backstopping to PDA and the implementing partners on worst forms of child labour and its related concepts.

The approach adopted by ICI/PDA and the implementing partners was community-driven and child-centred. The project sought to work with the entire community in each of the 24 communities in the three districts. The two key stages of the process, namely the dialogue and sensitization on child labour and related concepts and the formulation and validation of the community action plans were done as community wide activities. In this regard, the project could be said to have reached the following numbers of people in the communities in the districts:

  - New Edubiase District – 7,221
  - Daboase District – 2,873
  - Asankrangwa District – 7,427
    Making a total of **17,521**

- Three separate leadership training exercises for 572 community leaders (435 men & 137 women) were completed
- All the 24 pilot communities developed Community Action Plans (CAPs) and have mobilized resources to improve education infrastructure and community development in general and to address issues in education, adverse labour practices, especially hazardous labour.

Based on the success of the pilot, ICI/PDA strategy and programme plan for 2006-2009 is to scale up the programme of direct facilitation in communities to at least 500 communities. If the same results can be achieved on that scale, one can conclude it is possible to extend it nation-wide.

ICI has also been collaborating with COCOBOD and Future Resource Development to train COCOBOD field staff and staff of Licensed Buying Companies (LBCs). Through this collaboration 204 district officers and regional officers have been trained in both knowledge and skills to carry out sensitization and awareness in cocoa communities through farmer rallies. Through this effort 8,800 farmers and children have been reached with messages on WFCL.

From 2007, ICI is supporting the training of media personnel in Radio and FM Stations and television stations in the five major cocoa producing regions. The purpose is to get awareness on radio and television intensified in the cocoa communities. ICI is also supporting Rescue Foundation for the identification, rescue and victim support to child victims of trafficking who may be found in the cocoa sector.

In 2006, the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment developed a plan of action for the elimination of WFCL, in collaboration and with support from national stakeholders and ILO/IPEC. A National Programme Coordinator and Communication Officer were employed. This programme is being supported by DANIDA, Ghana COCOBOD, ICI, UNICEF and WCF. The programme has so far instituted sensitization programs in the six districts where the pilot survey on cocoa labour practices were conducted. Lists of hazardous and light activities were also deduced from community gatherings as part of the sensitization. A communication policy for the program has been drafted and plans have been made to implement the policy. Follow-up visits have been paid to a few communities where seemingly distressed child labour cases had previously been identified. A partners' forum has also been instituted to involve NGOs and district assembly sub-committees to enhance work towards eliminating worst forms of child labour in cocoa (and also in other sectors), increase impact and avoid duplication of work and to reduce the burden of work on each organization.

1.3 The Study in Context

The Republic of Ghana, which became independent from Britain in 1957, covers an area of 238,540 square km. The country has four agro-ecological zones that guide the development of agriculture in the country. These are: savannah zone (Sudan savannah and Guinea savannah in the northern part of the country), transitional zone (forest-savannah transition), forest zone (semi-deciduous forest and rain forest) and coastal savannah zone. Out of the 2.7 million households that were engaged in staple and cash crops production in 1999, about 590,000 of them were cocoa farmers. Almost 90 percent of the cocoa farmers were located in the forest zone.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Ghanaian economy and will remain the principal sector for the development and growth of the economy for some time to come. It accounts for, on the average, about 40 percent of GDP and generates 55 percent of foreign exchange earnings. It employs about 51 percent of the labour force and is the major source of income and employment for about 70 percent of the rural work force. In 2004, the agricultural sector contributed 40.4 percent to GDP at constant 1993 prices, and $1.4 billion to total foreign exchange earnings. Arguably, the biggest activity in Ghanaian

agriculture is cocoa production, which contributed over $1 billion to total foreign exchange earnings in 2004, and about 72 percent of agricultural foreign exchange earnings.

Ghana's economy suffered severe decline during the decade preceding the mid-1980s due to both internal and external factors, as poor economic management coupled with the oil price shocks of the 1970s negatively impacted the economy. Per capita income declined by 30 percent between 1970 and 1983, inflation peaked at 120 percent in 1983, and Ghana's major export, cocoa, declined to less than a third of its 1965 level. The decline in the economic aggregates meant erosion in the living standards of the population and a subsequent increase in poverty. The International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank sponsored Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and related Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of 1983 to 1992 somewhat halted and reversed the negative drift of the economy. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at an average rate of 5 percent per annum between 1987 and 1992, which implied growth in per capita income and improvement in Ghanaian standard of living; as well as a 5.5 percent reduction in aggregate poverty.

However, the strong showing of Ghana's economy during the 1980s could not be sustained after 1992 as per capita GDP growth rate fell to 3 percent, and large government deficits precipitated steep rises in inflation. Growth in the agricultural sector has lagged behind the general economic growth at an average of less than 2 percent (also less than population growth rate of 2.8 percent), implying possible increases in national food deficits and food insecurity. Since the year 2000, cocoa production has recovered significantly, peaking at over 736,000 mt during the 2003/2004 period. In 2004, growth in the cocoa sub-sector was estimated at 29.9 percent, and this fell to 13.2 percent in 2005.

Cocoa cultivation in Ghana has gone through a chequered history that dates back to the early 19th century during the era of the Dutch missionaries. History indicates that large scale cocoa cultivation was started by the Spanish in the 16th century in Central America. It spread to the British, French and Dutch West Indies (Jamaica, Martinique and Surinam) in the 17th century and to Brazil in the 18th century. From Brazil, cocoa was taken to Sao-Tome and Fernando Po (now part of Equatorial Guinea) in 1840, and from there to other parts of West Africa, notably the then Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria and the Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire).

The records indicate that Dutch missionaries first planted cocoa in the coastal areas of Ghana as early as 1815, whilst in 1857, Basel missionaries also planted cocoa at Aburi. However, these farms could not form a basis for the growth of the cocoa industry in the country until Tetteh Quarshie, a native of Osu in Accra, who had travelled to Fernando Po and worked there as a blacksmith, returned with Amelonado cocoa pods in 1879. He established a farm at Akwapim Mampong from where enthusiastic farmers bought pods to plant, which resulted in the spread of cocoa cultivation to other parts of the Eastern Region. Tetteh Quarshie thus became a prominent cocoa farmer with his farm serving as a source of supply of cocoa planting materials until his death in 1892.

In order to supplement the pods being supplied from Tetteh Quarshie's farm, Sir William Branford Griffith, the then Governor of the Gold Coast, also arranged for cocoa pods to

be brought in from Sao Tome in 1886. Seedlings, which were raised at the Aburi Botanical Gardens from these pods, were distributed to farmers. In 1945, the Amazonian types of cocoa were brought in from Trinidad to improve the seed pods distribution and yield levels in the country. This provided an additional genetic material for breeding programmes, which was initiated and carried out by the then West African Research Institute (WACRI), now the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG). A cross was later made between Amelonado and the Amazonian materials to give the early-bearing, high-yielding hybrid type of cocoa, which has been the main planting material for cocoa farmers since its development in 1964.

It is generally accepted that the commercial growing of cocoa in Ghana began after the introduction of the beans into the country by Tetteh Quarshie in 1879. In the words of A.W. Knapp (1920), "the seriousness with which the people of the Gold Coast took to cocoa farming was said to be phenomenal as it is alleged to have shattered the stereotype image of the "indolent" native, and showed the world that the "natives" were capable of building a strong economy by their own initiative and industry". The Eastern Region remained as the centre of production until the early 1940's, although cultivation later spread to the Ashanti, Volta, Central, Brong Ahafo and Western Regions as well.

1.4. Study Objectives

The primary objective of this study was to provide empirical evidence about labour use and labour practices in Ghana's cocoa sector as a basis for establishing a certification system for the sector. This initial survey has been used as a pilot, which shall be expanded or scaled up in phases to cover the entire sector. More specifically, the objectives of the study include:

(a) To identify sources, types and periods of labour needs in cocoa production in Ghana;
(b) To document incidence or otherwise of the unconditional worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in Ghana's cocoa sector; and
(c) To document incidence or otherwise of forced adult labour (FAL) in Ghana's cocoa sector.

1.5. Organization of the report

The report has been organized into six sections. Section one is the background to the study, and provides an introduction and overview, as well as the study objectives and limitations of the study. Section two discusses trends in the cocoa industry both at the world stage and in Ghana. Labour use in cocoa production and child labour are also discussed in this section. Section three presents the methodology of the study, including the conceptual framework, sampling procedure, and data and sources of data for the study. Section four is socio-economic conditions of cocoa farmers and communities. Section five is the data analysis and discussions of the results on the types of labour use in cocoa. Section six presents the involvement of children in Ghana's cocoa production. Section seven is the health and safety issues among children in cocoa production.

Sections eight and nine are the summary of findings and conclusions and policy recommendations, respectively.

1.6. Limitations of the study

The study has two key limitations. First, since the survey was conducted in six out of sixty-seven cocoa districts in Ghana, one ought to exercise some caution when generalizing the results of the study for the entire country. Secondly, the time frame given for the study was rather short, and that presented challenges to the research team at various stages of the work. Nevertheless, much effort has been expended on both the data collection and the subsequent analysis and discussion, and a lot of caution exercised at every stage of the process to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the results obtained.

We wish to emphasize, however, that this is a pilot study. The purpose of the study was to test the survey instruments (e.g. questionnaires) and the logistics of carrying out a survey in the cocoa sector. The results are important but apply mainly to the districts that were involved in the pilot survey. Key things learnt will serve to engage other stakeholders in this activity and guide remediation work. In order to refine this effort and scale up the survey to cover a greater proportion of the cocoa sector the results will be used to adjust the questionnaires to make them more effective and to plan the larger survey in a manner that will make the results applicable across a greater region.

SECTION 2: TRENDS IN THE COCOA SECTOR

2.1 World Cocoa Industry

The world cocoa industry has been increasing significantly from the twentieth century till date. Changes have taken place in the geographical location of production, processing and consumption, in marketing systems and policies affecting the cocoa sector. Cocoa's importance in the agricultural sectors of a number of producer countries is very high (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Cameroon, Grenada and the Dominican Republic). In others, including some newly industrialized countries in Latin America and South East Asia (Brazil, Ecuador, Colombia, Malaysia, and Indonesia), cocoa is of regional importance, providing a major source of employment in agriculture in certain areas. There are 40 to 50 million people who depend on cocoa for their livelihood.

The origin of the cacao tree dates back to 400 BC in the foothills of the Andes in the Amazon and Orinoco basins of South America, where the Mayans referred to it as "cacao" meaning "God Food". The name "Theobroma cacao" or "food of the gods" was given by Swedish natural scientist Carl von Linné. The Spanish started large-scale cultivation of cocoa tree in the 16th century in Central America, with further spread to British, French, and Dutch West Indies (Jamaica, Martinique and Surinam) in the 17th century and Brazil in the 18th century. São Tome and Fernando Po (now as Bioko and part of Equatorial Guinea) recorded cocoa tree growth in 1840; and from there to other parts of West Africa, notably the Gold Coast (Ghana), Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire. The three varieties of theobroma cacao are Forastero (95% of world cocoa production), Criollo (highest quality but tough to produce (Venezuela is the major producer), and Trinitario (a mix between Criollo and Forastero) (from Wikipedia Free Encyclopaedia).

Global cocoa production is highly concentrated and very limited to the geographical zone of approximately 10 degrees to the north and south of the Equator. Countries in West Africa, Asia and Oceania and the Americas are the producers of world cocoa. Africa's share in global production of cocoa is about 69 percent, and most of it from West Africa produced by Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana. Ghana was the world's leading producer of cocoa from 1930 to 1978, contributing about 40 percent of world production. Cote d'Ivoire is currently the highest producer of cocoa bean. These two countries are the world's leading cocoa bean producers with shares averaging 38.9 percent and 19.3 percent, respectively. Indonesia is the highest non African cocoa producer country with 12.8 percent of world total production. Although Brazil also produces large volumes of cocoa, it consumes most of it and exports little.

2.1.1. World cocoa production and consumption trends

From the annual production of less than 125,000 mt in the twentieth century, annual global output rose to reach a high record of 3.5 million mt in 2003/2004 cocoa production year, representing an annual average growth rate of 3.5 percent (Table 2.1). But this growth in production was not evenly spread over the world. West Africa was expected to lead in world cocoa production in 2006 with an estimated increase of about 70 percent of

the supply, while Asia and the Americas were to produce 16 percent and 14 percent, respectively.

One of the major contributory factors for increase in production has been new plantings of higher yielding varieties leveraged by high prices. This has been the hallmark of Cote d'Ivoire's production which rose from under 230,000 tonnes in 1975/76 to 1.3 million tonnes in 1999/2000 and 1.331 million in 2004/2005. Ivorian farms have been free from pest and diseases and have higher yield (on per hectare basis). Ghana's production resuscitated from the 1984/85 crop year after serious decline starting from the 1975/76 cocoa production year. From a record high of 580,000 mt in 1964/65, production fell to 159,000 mt in 1982/83.

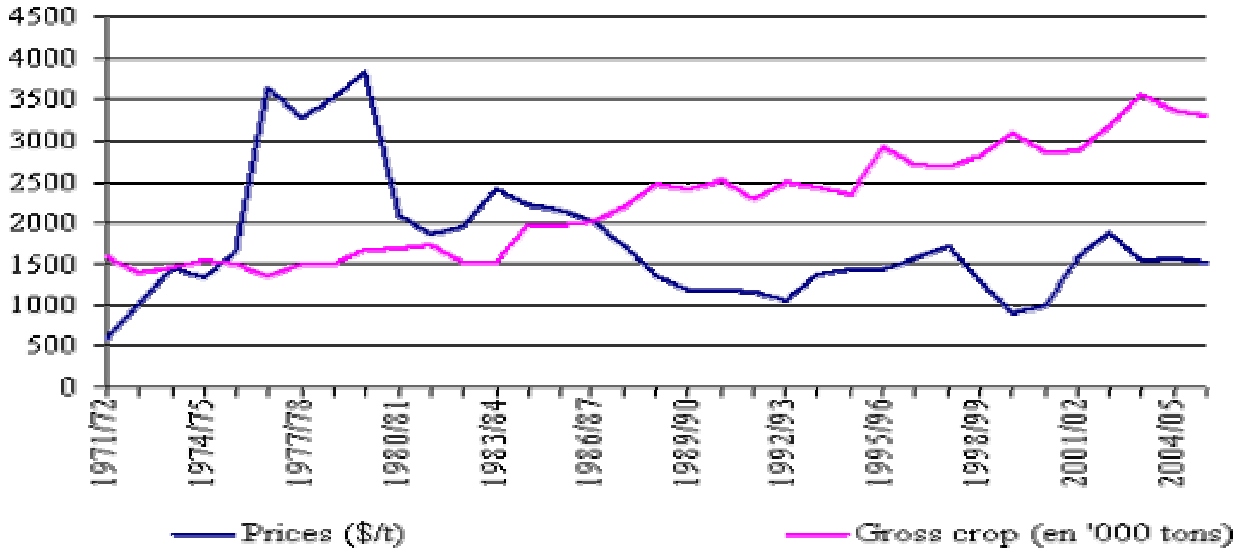
Table 2.1: World Cocoa Production Forecast ('000 mt)

COUNTRY	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06 (forecast)
WEST AFRICA				
Côte d'Ivoire	1,367	1,547	1,331	1,370
Ghana	498	605	560*	590*
Nigeria	178	175	190	185
Cameroon	152	160	178	170
Other Africa	39	44	45	46
Total Africa	2,234	2,531	2,304	2,361 (+2.5%)
ASIA/OCEANIA				
Indonesia	413	460	470	450
Malaysia	21	25	26	27
Other Asia	64	62	71	72
Total Asia	498	547	567	549 (-3.2%)
AMERICAS				
Brazil	163	163	171	160
Ecuador	87	119	110	115
Other America	172	170	162	172
Total Americas	422	452	443	447 (+0.9%)
WORLD				
TOTAL	3,154	3,530	3,314	3,357 (+1.3%)

Sources: LMC International, ICCO, Reuters, USDA (2005)
Note: * means the actual figures are much higher.

North America and Europe (Western Europe especially) consume nearly two thirds of all cocoa products, but demand in the emerging economies is growing. The global demand for cocoa has grown quickly and widely over the twentieth century in line with the direct increase in chocolate consumption, higher incomes, populations and falling real retail prices. Other significant variables which have influenced consumption include improved transportation methods, modern advertising techniques, and greater variety of chocolate products. Prospects for a wide market for cocoa products are high in Asia (China and India) than Africa due to the relatively smaller populations.

Fig. 2.1. World prices and production of cocoa from 1971/72 to 2005/06



Source: UNCTAD based on the data from International Cocoa Organization, quaterly bulletin of cocoa statistics

2.1.2. World cocoa market and cocoa substitutes

The world cocoa economy has prices at the heart of 'economic sustainability'. The price of cocoa on the international market has declined over the past two decades by more than half (Fig 2.1). The cocoa market is depicted by boom-bust cycle with periods of high prices followed by those of low prices; periods of deficits followed by over supply. The cause of long term decrease in cocoa price is the chronic imbalance between world supply and demand. The price in 2005 was about US$ 0.70 per Ib which was about a fifth or fourth of the 1980 price in real terms. Cocoa beans, cocoa butter and cocoa powder are traded on two world exchanges: London and New York. The London market is based on West African cocoa, and New York market on cocoa predominantly from South East Asia.

The cocoa market distinguishes between two broad categories of cocoa beans: "fine or flavour" cocoa beans form Criollo or Trinitario cocoa-tree varieties, and "bulk" or "ordinary" cocoa beans form Forastero trees. The market for fine or flavour cocoa is small, representing about 5 percent of global production; while the bulk cocoa accounts for over 95 percent of world production and dominates international trade and world markets. Changes in stock levels of both bulk and fine or flavour cocoa result from variations in cocoa supplies mainly through delay in planting and harvesting of commercially significant production, which is also susceptible to the vagaries of weather and the incidence of diseases and pests.

Cocoa dependent countries fear the development of cheaper artificial substitutes produced by biotechnology firms, which have the prospects of dampening their cocoa

exports. The European Union's directive accepting 5 percent content of other substitutes to replace cocoa butter in the production of confectionaries may increase or decrease demand for cocoa beans. Another mounting concern is biotechnology patent given to companies to produce genes of plants, modify them and use them to enhance the qualities of those crops. Such technology opposed the sustainable development of the cocoa economy as it has devastating effects on the farmers of countries in which such qualities are a very important feature giving them premium or a niche market.

In May 2000, the European Union accepted also a 5 percent content of other vegetable oil such as oil palm, illipe, sal, shea, kokum gurgi and mango kernel in chocolate products. In addition to this animal fat and other flour and granular starch may be added in accordance with the definition laid in the directive issued. Development of cocoa substitutes such as vegetable oils for cocoa butter in chocolates is likely to dampen the world market price of cocoa in the future due to the imbalance in the supply and demand. Thus, the use of cocoa substitutes "may have a negative effect on expansion of cocoa consumption and the development of a sustainable cocoa economy", a long-term decline in the consumption of cocoa, lower cocoa prices and reduced producer incomes. On the other hand, some consumers argue that cocoa substitutes actually contribute to cocoa consumption, particularly in warm countries or during the summer, when chocolate produced solely from cocoa butter risks melting. Thus, the benefits would be more than compensate for the reduction in demand caused by using less cocoa.

2.2. Ghana Cocoa Sector

2.2.1. Cocoa production trends

Though the first export of cocoa from the Gold Coast was said to have been made in 1885, the first documented shipment of two bags, which was sent to Hamburg, was in January 1893. Production grew rapidly to reach 20,000 mt by 1908. At a production level of 41,000 mt in 1911, Ghana was rated the world's leading producer. In the early 1920's, Ghana was contributing about 40 percent of the total global cocoa supply with production of 165,000 mt to 213,000 mt. The volume of exports grew rapidly to 218,000 mt in 1925, reaching a level of 311,000 mt in 1936 after which it dropped to between 200,000 mt and 300,000 mt in the 1940s due to severe drought and outbreak of diseases and pests.
Prominent among the diseases was the Cocoa Swollen Shoot Virus, which was discovered and found to be prevalent in the Eastern Region from where the bulk of the cocoa was being cultivated. Action was initiated through a series of reforms in a form of rehabilitation and replanting of farms, mass spraying against diseases and pests, and increase in the producer price to arrest the declining trend in production. However, due to difficulties encountered in re-planting the farms in the Eastern Region as a result of problems of environmental degradation, coupled with the loss of soil fertility, the centre of production shifted to the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions in the 1940s where fresh forest lands had been planted to cocoa. Due to the rapid expansion in cultivation and the measures instituted to revamp the farms, especially the mass spraying scheme against capsids, national production rose again between the 1960s and 1970s, reaching a record

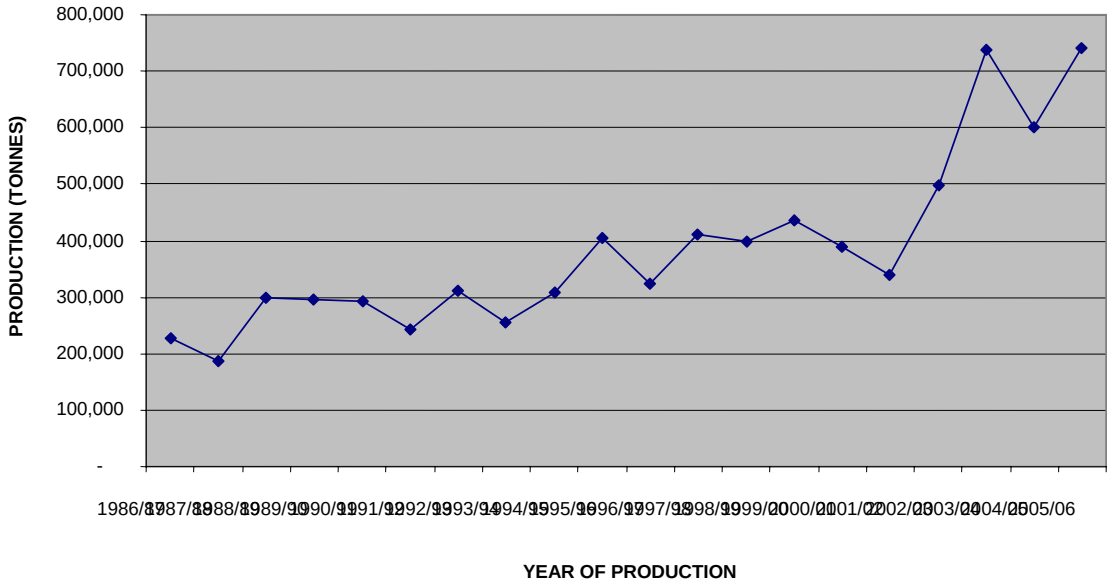
peak of 580,000 mt in the 1964/65 season, which gave Ghana a 33 percent share of global supply.

Cocoa production slumped back again in the 1970s and 1980s to the 1930s production levels of 200,000 tonnes per annum due to unattractive producer price and destruction of farms through bush fires. Thus production levels came as low as 159,000 tonnes during the 1982/83 production season (Curtis, 1987). Among the factors identified as being the causes of the decline in yield were the old age of farmers and the trees, illiteracy status of the farmers, which delayed the degree of technology adoption with regard to diseases and pests control. Other factors included inadequacy of good planting materials for rehabilitation, lack of credit facilities for farmers, and consistent absence of remunerative prices (Bronwyn, 1987).

La Anyane (1985) reported that the average age of the cocoa farming community was between 60 and 65 years, and this affected productivity as the ability to undertake cultural practices was hampered, especially when there were no farm hands. The Masdar Consultancy (1997) reported that the elderly farmers were less able to perform heavy tasks such as spraying and weeding, thus exposing the farms to diseases and pests attack. The unavailability of good planting materials in sufficient quantities at the time also made rehabilitation of the old farms impossible as the old planting materials were found to be susceptible to most pests and diseases. The unavailability of credit facilities to the cocoa farmer inhibited his ability to procure inputs and hire enough labour to maintain the farms, thus, leading to a continuous decline in productivity of the farms at the time. Finally, the absence of remunerative producer prices for cocoa caused a shift in the attention of most of the farmers from cocoa to other crops, which had better returns and so led to the neglect of most of the farms. These factors, among others, led to the declining production trends in cocoa output witnessed in the late 1960s to the middle 1980s.

Output again started picking up around the late 1980s after most of the problems had been addressed. A regular upward revision of the producer price attracted more of the youth into the cocoa sector, while provision of sufficient good planting materials and technology packages by the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana enhanced the rehabilitation of most of the farms. Output rose to 295,000 tonnes in 1985, which formed 12.3 percent of the world's total production. Ghana was ranked third largest producer at that time. The centre of production again shifted in the mid-1980's to the Western Region, where there had been intensive cultivation of forest lands by migrant farmers mainly from the Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions. The bulk of Ghana's cocoa is now produced in the Western Region, which commands about 55 percent of the national production. Production has generally been picking up gradually since 1988/89 when output stood at 300,047 mt.

FIG. 2.2. TRENDS IN COCOA PRODUCTION IN GHANA FOR THE PERIOD 1986/1987 TO 2005/2006



Source: Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD), Accra.

Beginning from the 1990/91 season, cocoa production went through swings of a good year followed by a bad year. From 293,400 mt in 1990/91, output fell to 242,800 mt in 1991/92 (10.7 percent of global production). Output again increased to 312,000 mt in 1992/93 and 403,900 mt in 1995/96, consisting 13.2 percent of global production (ICO, 1998/99; ISSER, 2001). Production, which was at 496,846 mt in 2002/03, has since been increasing and currently hovers around 700,000 mt (COCOBOD, 2007). It has been targeted to reach one million mt by the 2010/2011 cocoa season (see Fig. 2.2).

2.2.2. Internal marketing of cocoa

From the early beginning and until the late 1930s, local merchants were in charge of the cocoa trade in Ghana. Cadbury and Fry bought cocoa to feed their own factories abroad and being very particular about quality, paid premium price for good quality cocoa, while supporting expansion of cultivation from the Eastern Region to other parts of the country. This gave the company a greater share of the market. The other companies who bought and sold their cocoa to brokers later came together to form the Association of West African Merchants in order to break the virtual monopoly of Cadbury and Fry by stopping the payment of premium price. During the period, individual firms and companies carried out cocoa purchases from farmers on their own accounts. There were no fixed prices throughout the country in any particular season. The producer prices were, therefore, determined competitively by market forces, which made the marketing arrangement at the time, a free market situation.

In 1938, the cocoa farmers went on strike and refused to sell on the grounds of low price for the produce. This led to the setting up of the Nowell Commission of enquiry, which recommended to the government to assist the farmers by establishing a state sponsored cocoa buying organisation to oversee internal cocoa purchases. Consequently, the West African Produce Control Board (WAPCB) was set up in 1942 to purchase all cocoa under guaranteed prices in the West African Colonies, which included Ghana.

To maintain the benefits derived from the operations of WAPCB, the colonial government formed the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board (GCCMB) in 1947 as a permanent organisation to provide internal marketing services to cocoa farmers. After a series of amendments, which resulted in change of names, the board eventually became Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) in 1984. A Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC) was also formed by GCCMB in London to oversee the external transactions of cocoa. At its inception in 1947, GCCMB licensed 32 buying agencies who were involved in the internal marketing of cocoa only, with CMC undertaking the exports. CMC was responsible for advising the government on the prices to pay to the farmers annually, taking cognisance of the world price and local economic conditions.

The multiple buying system existed in Ghana until 1961, and was replaced with a mono-buying system with the Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council (GFCC) as the sole buying agent for CMB. However, after 5 years of operation of mono-buying system, the multiple buying was re-introduced in 1966, this time, without expatriate companies. Eleven wholly owned Ghanaian companies including the Produce Buying Company (PBC), a subsidiary of CMB, operated in the internal trade at the time. This system was again abolished in 1977 and the PBC was given monopsony over the internal marketing of cocoa in the country.

Due to the policy of trade liberalisation, the system changed again in 1993 and the multiple buying was re-introduced, with PBC operating as one of the 6 licensed buying companies engaged in internal marketing of cocoa. Currently, there are 19 active Licensed Buying Companies (LBCs) involved in the internal marketing of cocoa in Ghana, with PBC commanding the highest market share of about 33 percent. The buying companies purchase the dried cocoa beans at buying centres and the farm gate from the farmers at a guaranteed minimum price announced at the beginning of every season by the Government through COCOBOD.

Crop purchases are financed by COCOBOD from a syndicated loan sourced from off-shore and which is advanced to interested LBCs at the beginning of the season as seed fund. These loans are secured by the LBCs with guarantees from their bankers before advancement of the loan to them. Other LBCs, however, make their own private arrangements for funds such as borrowing from commercial banks to enable them pay farmers at the primary level for reimbursement by COCOBOD.

The quality of the cocoa purchased from the farmers at the farm gate is always assessed by the Quality Control Division of COCOBOD, which grades the beans and seals the bags before they are delivered by transporters to CMC at designated take-over centres at Kaase in Kumasi, Takoradi and Tema. After the take-over, management of the cocoa becomes the responsibility of CMC until it is shipped overseas.

2.2.3. External marketing of cocoa

External marketing of cocoa from Ghana is the preserve of Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC), a division of COCOBOD. All cocoa purchased by the LBCs in the internal marketing process are delivered to CMC, which initiates and makes the necessary arrangements with its external buyers. Individual expatriate mercantile firms that operated during the Gold Coast era exported the purchased produce on their own. These exporting firms tried to relate both the producer prices and the sale of the cocoa overseas to the prevailing world market price. The firms adopted a procedure where provisional forward sales contracts of the ensuing year's crop were made in the overseas market before cocoa was purchased internally to honour these contracts. Later, individual local farmers who showed resentment to low prices paid for their produce by the exporting firms formed Associations, which were incorporated for external marketing of cocoa. These Associations used an overseas selling agent to oversee their external trade activities. The attempts of the Associations to sell their produce overseas were, however, not successful due mainly to the extremely low world prices that prevailed during the period.

After the establishment of Cocoa Marketing Company (UK) Limited in 1947 as a subsidiary of CMB, the sale of the entire crop from Ghana became its sole responsibility. In 1961, however, the Government of Ghana transferred the operations of CMC (UK) Limited to Accra; the net result of which was the formation of the Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC) Limited (Ghana).

After a series of reforms, CMC was charged to concentrate its operations on the external sale of physical cocoa beans and products manufactured locally. The company used futures markets of London and New York as a guide in the determination of its sales prices since there was a close relationship between the price of physical cocoa traded in the origin markets and the price of terminal cocoa (cocoa futures) being traded in the terminal markets. Ghana's cocoa was normally regarded as being at a premium on the London terminal market due to its quality and so were sold at a price difference over and above the London terminal price. To enable CMC (Ghana) Ltd to effect sales of Ghana cocoa, the company adopted a selling procedure such that it was able to ship cocoa to buyers overseas at least three months after sale of the cocoa. Consequently, all sales were effected for shipment over three monthly periods starting from October/December through to July/September.

Currently, CMC uses two sales strategies, spot and forward sales, to effect external cocoa sales. In both cases, the main procedure is for CMC to invite bids from potential buyers. The bidding process takes the following into consideration:

- That terminal prices are openly quoted each day for each trading position;
- That the market accepted the principle that Ghana cocoa price is above the terminal price provided its quality met known standards;
- That premium on Ghana spot cocoa is quoted daily on the London cocoa market.

This procedure enables CMC to take advantage of competition in terms of highest bidding. CMC has also adopted Trading Desk style marketing whereby Marketing Officers sit around a common trading desk to ensure transparency and better price negotiations.

2.2.4. Cocoa policy interventions

Policies and interventions to boost cocoa production have always been in the areas of diseases and pests control, farm rehabilitation, producer price management, produce payment processes, soil fertility management, planting materials, and research and extension services. By 1930, after Ghana had been the leading producer of cocoa for about 20 years, cocoa production in the Eastern Region was plagued with pests and diseases, which caused production to fast decline. The situation called for policy interventions that could control the problems and arrest the declining production trends.

A strange disease, cocoa swollen shoot virus, which was detected and reported by a farmer, Opanin Sabeng, from Nankese in 1936, formed the basis for the first disease control policy in cocoa production. The disease was later learnt to have been there since 1920 and had even spread over the area. The Agricultural Adviser to the British Minister of State for the Colonies, Sir Frank Stockdale, who studied the problem, recommended in 1935, the setting up of a Research Station at Tafo. The station was mandated to investigate the disease and pest problems of cocoa in the country in order to recommend the best control measures so as to maintain production levels. Based on the recommendations of the Research Station, the policy of cutting out diseased cocoa trees was enacted. This policy intervention mandated the Agricultural Workers to cut out all affected trees since the causal agent was identified to be a virus.

Currently, the Cocoa Swollen Shoot Virus Disease Control Unit, a division of COCOBOD, has been entrusted with the mandate to cut out all identified diseased trees and their contacts after which treatment/ex-gratia grant is paid to the farmer. Hybrid seed planting materials are then supplied to the farmer for replanting of the treated area, which then paves the way for the payment of first and second replanting grants.

In recent years, the cocoa black pod disease has also come to add to the disease problems and poses a big threat to cocoa production in Ghana. The incidence was reported to be very high in the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions in the early 1980s. Crop losses were estimated to be between 50 percent and 100 percent. The Research Station at Tafo, now Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG), identified the causal agent to be Phytophthora megakarya and recommended the use of fungicides in spraying the cocoa farms as a means of control. Due to the intensity of the disease, a programme of mass spraying dubbed "*Ye Wafuo Yie*" (maintain your farm properly) was introduced by COCOBOD in 1986 to encourage the effective and efficient application of recommended farm practices alongside fungicidal spraying to achieve improved yields.

In order to sustain the interest of farmers and as a sequel to this initial programme, the "*si anonom kwan preko*" (prevent the incidence of black pod disease) was again put in place and made competitive in 1988. Disease and pest problems continue to plague the cocoa industry and to efficiently manage these problems, the Government through the Ghana Cocoa Board, has since the 2001/02 cocoa season, been organising a nation-wide cocoa diseases and pests control programme (mass spraying) free of charge for the farmers. This programme has had positive impact on national cocoa production, resulting in production in excess of 700,000 mt during the 2003/04 and 2005/06 cocoa seasons.

Control of capsids was also started in 1944 using 1 percent aqueous DDT suspension, which had been screened and recommended by the Research Station. A large scale capsid control programme (dubbed mass spraying) was organised in 1956, using Gammalin 20 (lindane) when the effects of capsid damage on the cocoa farms became very devastating. This programme resulted in high increases in cocoa yields and Ghana's peak production of 580,000 mt in 1964/65 was attributed largely to the 'saturation spraying' campaign in the early 1960's. The current policy intervention in a form of "mass spraying programme" is seen as a replication of the spraying policy of the 1960s.

Apart from swollen shoot and capsid control programmes, Government instituted other interventions in the form of bilateral aid projects aimed at sustaining cocoa production. These were dubbed "Cocoa Rehabilitation projects I, II and III". The first two projects, which covered the Suhum area in the Eastern Region (Suhum Cocoa Project) and parts of the Ashanti Region (Ashanti Cocoa Project), were carried out from 1970 to 1979. The main aim of the projects was to replant and rehabilitate all dead and abandoned cocoa farms in the two regions for the farmers, the cost of which were to be defrayed from proceeds from the farms when the farmers started harvesting. The areas that were rehabilitated under the projects are now the heaviest production centres in the regions, especially in the Eastern Region.

After a series of studies by the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana, it was realised that the low land productivity being experienced in the cocoa farms were as a result of soil mining from continuous harvesting of pods. To turn around the declining trends in land productivity, therefore, the fertiliser application programme, dubbed "Cocoa High-tech" was introduced in the 2002/03 crop year after a series of on farm trials. This programme encourages cocoa farmers to apply fertilisers to a minimum of two bags per acre of their cocoa farms for a start, to help improve the performance of the farm. The fertilisers under this programme were supplied on credit to the beneficiary cocoa farmers in the initial stages. Payments were to be made during the ensuing harvesting season by instalments. Unfortunately, this policy intervention though has enjoyed maximum participation from the farmers, is bedevilled with high indebtedness from the beneficiary farmers. The programme has now been repackaged and only farmers in a cooperative society or an association can benefit from the credit distribution after payment of an initial deposit.

Another key intervention is the supply of planting materials to cocoa farmers, which has gone through a series of developmental stages, dating back from the first introduction of cocoa beans into Ghana. The cocoa varieties supplied to farmers as planting materials started from the old type brought in by Tetteh Quarshie, which is Amelonado. This was supplemented with the Amazonian type of cocoa from Trinidad. Through scientific research, a new variety, hybrid, was developed from a cross between the Amelonado and Amazonian. Currently, the policy is to gradually phaseout all the old Amelonado and Amazon varieties and replace them with the high yielding and early bearing hybrid variety of cocoa. The hybrid has been found to be very prolific and to produce all year round if only favourable weather conditions are experienced. Thus, it has the potential to help increase national output.

The third phase of the cocoa rehabilitation project of 1988 to1996 addressed the issue of low producer price with a policy to increase it annually to 65 percent of the world market

price. For a start, the producer price was raised from ¢85,000 per mt to ¢150,000 in 1988, which had immediate impact on production. The policy was again reviewed in 1999, and the producer price was projected to be raised gradually to reach 70 percent of fob price by the 2004/05 cocoa season (Ghana Cocoa Sector Development Strategy, 1999). Currently, farmers are paid ¢9,150,000 per mt, which forms about 72 percent of fob after a review of the producer price based on the policy direction. The annual increases of the producer price have resulted in the retrieval and rehabilitation of abandoned farms, expansion of old farms, and the establishment of new ones. All these are contributory factors to the increasing trends of cocoa production witnessed in the country, especially in the past four years.

Payment for farmers' produce has since the establishment of the cocoa industry, been by cash at the farm gate. The need was, however, realised to encourage the cocoa farmers to cultivate the habit of savings as a means of proper financial management as well as have access to credit from the banks. There was also the need to discourage the Buying Agents from withdrawing huge sums of money from the banks for produce payment purposes. Consequently, the Akuafo Cheque payment system was introduced in 1986 for use in the payment of farmers' produce. By this process, all cocoa buying agents were to cover all cocoa purchases with cheques only, which were drawable at the nearest banks in the cocoa growing communities. Unfortunately, this policy could not stand the test of time and so collapsed some few years after its introduction due to a number of factors. The most important of these factors have been the unavailability of banks in most of the cocoa growing communities and the delay in paying the farmers when they present the cheques at the banks.

2.3. Labour requirement and sources in cocoa production in Ghana

Cocoa production, particularly under the smallholder system as occurs in Ghana, is highly labour intensive. It begins with land preparation for establishing the cocoa farm, involving tree felling, slashing of the vegetative cover, burning of the bush and clearing of the debris. Men largely undertake land preparation. Cocoa beans may be sowed directly or planted as seedlings, which may be purchased or nursed by the farmer. The young cocoa plants are interspersed with food crops to provide shade for the plants and food for the farmer during the formative years of the farm. Before the cocoa trees form a canopy, weeding is carried out about three times in a year. The farm is sprayed with insecticide about four times in a year to control capsids which can attack the cocoa trees. Harvesting of cocoa beans is carried out from time to time and the beans prepared for sale.

Farmers use a combination of family, hired and communal (*nnoboa*) labour in cocoa production. In general, the farmer's household is the main source of labour for the cocoa farm, contributing almost 60 percent of the total labour requirement. The children of the farm household provide about 14 percent of the labour on the farm (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Sources of Cocoa Farm Labour

Category	Percent Contribution
Farmer	30.0
Spouse(s)	15.2
Hired Labour	27.6
Communal Labour (Nnoboa)	6.5
Children	14.0
Others	6.7

Source: WACAP, Rapid Assessment of Child Labour in Selected Cocoa Growing Communities in Ghana, 2003.

All the cocoa production processes require the services of matured and adult labourers for their execution. Although the farm owners contribute their own labour, hired labourers are often used to provide some of these services. The hired labourers may either be caretakers, daily wage earners or contract workers. The labour requirements per hectare for the various processes are tabulated in Table 2.3.

The labour required for any particular activity by any farmer depends on some important factors. For instance, the land to be cleared for cocoa farm establishment may either be a virgin forest, which will be more involving and so demand more man-days compared to a secondary forest. Also, secondary forests may contain few or no big trees to be felled and in effect require even less man-days. Also, the number of labourers required to harvest, gather and heap as well as break pods from a hectare of cocoa farm is largely dependent on the performance of the farm. If yield is high, the labour requirement is correspondingly high, and vice-versa.

Table 2.3. Per Hectare Labour Requirements for Cocoa Production Activities

Activity	Man days per Hectare
Land clearing	20-25: Depends on the nature of bush.
Felling and chopping	15-20: Depends on the nature of trees felled.
Burning	3
Stumping and debris gathering	15-20: Depends on the state of cleared area.
Holing for suckers (10'× 10')	5
Planting of suckers (10'× 10')	10
Holing for seedlings (10'× 10')	5
Planting of seeds/seedlings (10'× 10')	10
Brushing	15-20
Capsid control	2 with 1 for water carrying.
Black pod control	5 with 2 for water carrying but depends on farm performance.
Pruning/sanitation	4
Mistletoe Control	4
Fertiliser application	4
Plucking of pods	5: But depends on the farm performance.
Gathering and heaping of pods	4: But depends on the farm performance.
Breaking of pods	6: But depends on the farm performance.
Carting of fermented beans	4: But depends on the farm performance.
Drying of beans	3: But depends on the farm performance.
Carting of dried beans	4: But depends on the farm performance.

Source: Research Department, COCOBOD, Accra.

SECTION 3: METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY

3.1. The Conceptual Framework

The study has been designed to provide empirical evidence that will form the basis of a certification system for Ghana's cocoa sector. The process has been organized in such a way that over a number of years (starting from 2006) the entire cocoa sub-sector could be surveyed to identify the occurrence or otherwise of WFCL and/or FAL so as to be able to recommend remedial as well as preventive measures for them. The survey shall proceed in phases, starting with a relatively small number of cocoa districts and then expanding gradually to cover the entire 67 cocoa districts in the country. This study therefore constitutes the first stage of the cocoa certification surveys, which shall be scaled up to cover more cocoa districts in subsequent years.

A quantitative (statistical) survey was designed to enable the estimation of the incidence of child labour in cocoa production in Ghana. This was done in a way to permit the assessment of the extent and nature of hazardous child labour, and forced adult labour (FAL), as well as indications of the prevalence of the unconditional WFCL, notably trafficking and exploitative practices, to the extent possible. Through key informants interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) issues raised by the statistical part of the survey were further investigated.

The data requirements for the above tasks were obtained from both primary and secondary sources. *The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS)* was tasked to develop the sample frame for the survey. This was to ensure that the approach adopted was consistent with national practice, and would also make interpretation and comparison with results from other studies (in the national context) easy. Descriptive statistics were used to explain the data collected, and data analysis was done using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 12.0.

3.2 Sampling Procedure

The sample frame for the survey followed a multi-stage sampling procedure. Four cocoa regions were selected based on purposive and stratified sampling design to reflect high, medium and low cocoa producing areas in Ghana. Subsequently, two districts per cocoa region were then randomly sampled, followed by a random selection of four communities per district. Finally, twenty-five households/farms per community were also randomly selected. The groups interviewed at the community level included producers (farmer owners or care-takers who operate the farms), adult 'external' workers, children belonging to the selected households and working on the cocoa farms, 'external' children (those from the community not tied to specific households but work on cocoa farms), and key/resource persons in the communities (chiefs, assemblymen, opinion leaders, teachers, etc).

3.2.1. Sample selection

As already indicated, the survey used a multi-stage farm household probability sample design in which specific major domains were distinguished for tabulation of important characteristics. For example, the 7 cocoa regions in Ghana (Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Volta, Western North and Western South) with each of their ecological designations were defined in terms of production levels as (a) high, (b) medium, and (c) low, and then four of them purposively selected. The major focus of the survey has been to provide estimates with acceptable precision for a variety of indicators on all aspects of child trafficking and child labour, forced adult labour and bonded labour, the engagement or recruitment of children into illegal activities, and any form of hazardous labour. The target population in this exercise was the farm household which is defined as the household operating a cocoa farm(s).

It is to be noted that in order to achieve the required precision, each sampling unit in the surveyed population should have a known non-zero probability of selection. Non-probability methods represent a false economy and although they may yield reasonable estimates, they cannot provide the confidence that is necessary in the event of unexpected findings. If this occurs, the use of non-probability methods may lead to controversy and ultimately to criticism of the survey design. Every effort was therefore made to make the selection of households as random as possible.

Achieving a representative sample for the survey was critical for the study, and therefore the first sampling stage used each of the seven regions as a cluster. An initial Demographic Analysis undertaken by a team from the University of Ghana found that Brong Ahafo and Ashanti regions have similar demographic characteristics and could be considered as homogeneous from which Ashanti Region was selected. Eastern Region and Central Region were also found to be similar enough and as such Eastern Region was selected. The Volta Region was found by the team to be a low priority area for the first stage of certification activities due mainly to the very insignificant levels of annual production.

Following the selection, the entire cocoa growing area in Ghana was stratified into four heterogeneous strata as follows:

Stratum 1	Western North
Stratum 2	Western South
Stratum 3	Ashanti
Stratum 4	Eastern

Cocoa growing districts defined by the Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) within each stratum formed the sampling frame of the Primary Sampling Units.

3.2.2. Sample size

In determining the sample size for a survey it is necessary to take into account both sampling error and non-sampling errors. Increasing the sample size has the desirable effect of decreasing the sampling errors. On the other hand, the non-sampling errors normally increase since it becomes more difficult to control the quality of the various

survey activities especially the field operation. It is important that in designing the survey the sample size be manageable operationally for all the survey activities. Following the above consideration it was decided to select a total sample of about 600 cocoa farm households nation wide from 6 cocoa districts which were selected from the 4 cocoa regions of interest (see Table 3.1).

In order to achieve acceptable precision, the distribution of the selected districts into each of the four regions of interest was based on proportionate allocation using the annual cocoa production levels for each region. This criterion was used with minor adjustments, based on the cocoa output of year 2004/2005 cocoa season. The adjustment was necessary to take into account the consideration that both Western North and Western South cocoa regions share similar characteristics, as well as the influence of Ashanti Region as the main centre which absorbs most of the northern immigrants including children who could fall pray to child trafficking.

Again, to ensure adequate number of complete interviews to permit analysis at the various domains of interest, the sample was designed to ensure that at least 100 cocoa farm households were selected from each cocoa district. The list of cocoa growing communities/societies from the Produce Buying Company and Kuapa Kooko within the selected districts formed the sampling frame of the primary sampling units in each district. This constituted more than 95 percent of cocoa growing communities within the selected districts. The remaining societies that sell their produce to the other smaller companies were not immediately available and could not be realized due to time constraints.

Table 3.1. Selection of Cocoa Producing Districts and the Number of Districts per Cocoa Region

Cocoa Region	Production (Mt)	Proportion	No. of Districts Allocated	Adjusted No. of Districts Allocated	No. of Households Sampled
ASHANTI	121,269	0.2	1	2	200
EASTERN	68,634	0.1	1	1	100
WESTERN NORTH	253,609	0.4	2	2	200
WESTERN SOUTH	166,040	0.3	2	1	100

Source: Computed from data from COCOBOD, Accra.
Note: Production figures were based on 2004/2005 cocoa season

The frame in each district was arranged in alphabetical order and four communities were sampled using the Systematic Sampling procedure with equal probability allocated to each unit within the frame. The use of probability proportional to the level of production, which would result in a more representative sample, was not possible due to lack of information on the levels of production of each community/society. This limitation, it is hoped, will be overcome in the next phase of the project.

3.2.3. Listing of households

Field listing exercise designed to capture all cocoa farm households (all households who operate cocoa farms and/or "farm care-taker" households) in the selected communities took place in all the 6 selected districts. In this household listing exercise all structures within the selected community were serially numbered in a "serpentine order" and all households within each structure was listed on a carefully designed format. The following information was gathered in the exercise:

(i) Name of head of household
(ii) Detailed description of location address of household
(iii) Number of children aged 5 – 17 years
(iv) Whether or not household operates cocoa farm(s)
(v) Households who are caretakers of a cocoa farm(s), and
(vi) The location of household's cocoa farm(s)

From this exercise the sampling frame for each district was formed, satisfying the following conditions:

(i) Household operates or is a caretaker of a cocoa farm,
(ii) At least a child aged between 5 and 17 years inclusive, lives in the household, and
(iii) The farm the household operates is within the land holdings of the community.

This list of households satisfying the above conditions formed the sampling frame of the secondary sampling unit. Again Systematic Sampling methodology was used to randomly select 25 cocoa farm households with the option of replacement, and one child from each. Additional 5 households were sampled for replacement.

3.2.4. Child selection procedure

Child selection was done for both ***Sampled Households Children*** (i.e. children from originally sampled households) and ***Other Household Children*** (children randomly selected from other households besides the households originally sampled). In a household where there was only one child that child was automatically selected. Where there were two or more children, they were all assessed and selection made based on whether the child (i) was a foster child, (ii) dropped out of school, (iii) did not attend school at all, or (iv) was the child of a caretaker. In the cases where there were more than one child and none of these applied, the median child was selected for interview.

The random selection of children from other households in the community (referred to as "other household children") became necessary when some of the children initially listed to be interviewed as part of the household listing were unavailable. Unfortunately too, the teams in the field doing the enumeration did not have much time to stay in the field waiting for them because several communities needed to be covered. New household listings were therefore developed in the field for cocoa farming households, and children selected from the new list to make up the required number of children per community as the case may be. We recognize the additional biases this approach could introduce, but argued that it was the best option since the alternative would have been not to interview any additional children. As a result, the *sampled household children* (those interviewed

from the initial sample of households) and the *other household children* are treated as sub-samples, and only aggregated when it helps to make specific arguments.

3.2.5. Adult worker selection

Adult workers were randomly selected from the community, including the households that have been selected to be interviewed. If an adult worker (other than a family member) belonged to the selected household that worker was interviewed. Otherwise, adult workers from the community were randomly selected and interviewed.

3.3. Study areas

As already indicated, six cocoa districts, two each from Western North and Ashanti regions and one each from Western South and Eastern Regions were randomly selected. Subsequently, four communities per district were also randomly selected, giving a total of twenty-four communities in which field data collection was conducted during the months of November and December 2006. The sampled districts and communities are summarized in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Sampled Cocoa Districts and Communities for Field Data Collection

Zone/ Group	Region	Districts	Communities
Zone 1/ Group 1	Ashanti	1. Asante Akim North (Konongo Cocoa District)	Krofa
			Pataban
			Bomireso
			Adumkrom
		2. Amansie East (Bekwai Cocoa district)	Sabe 1
			Mmodoam
			Fenaso
			Adiembra
Zone 2/ Group 2	Western North	1. Bia (Sefwi Kaase Cocoa District)	Tema
			Boseakrom
			Kaase
			Kasabi
		2. Bia (Debiso Cocoa District)	Akaatiso
			Kwamina/Kwamebikrom
			Doubleman
			Nyame Nnae
Zone 3/ Group 3	Western South	1. Wassa Amenfi West (Samreboi Cocoa District)	Nope/Seiyawkrom
			Mampong Shed
			Mumuni
			Ananekrom
	Eastern	2. Kwaebibirem (Kade Cocoa District)	Osenase
			Wenchi
			Apinaman
			Kade B.E

3.4. Sources of Data and Data Collection

3.4.1. Training

As part of the preparation towards data collection, the Research team prepared an Interviewer's Manual. This manual together with the pre-tested and revised questionnaires were used to train the enumerators for the fieldwork. Prior to this, and to give the entire Research Team (including enumerators) and members of a Technical Working Group (TWG) (formed by the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) and COCOBOD to oversee the study) more insight into child labour issues, a Consulting Agency with the relevant expertise was recruited to provide a three-day training for the group. It is noteworthy that the TWG was composed of several experts from various agencies (including international organizations) such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), UNICEF, Ghana Agricultural Workers Union (GAWU), Ghana Statistical Services (GSS), etc.

3.4.2. Data collection

Data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Different questionnaires were developed, pre-tested, reviewed and finalized for the data collection exercise, including:

1. Farmer/Caretaker Questionnaire;
2. Child Worker Questionnaire;
3. Adult Worker Questionnaire;
4. Community questionnaire / Focus Group Discussion Guide.

The team of researchers undertook initial reconnaissance/preparatory visits to the selected districts and communities before the take off of the field exercise. The sampled districts were grouped into three zones with nine enumerators; three enumerators for each zone. The enumerators were recruited from among Labour Statistical Experts, NGOs, District Statisticians, District Social Welfare Officers and Graduate/Research Assistants from the University of Ghana and trained for the field exercise. The enumerators aimed at administering twenty-five of each of the first two questionnaires (Farmer/Caretaker and Child Worker) and fifteen of the Adult worker questionnaire in each of the communities, even though these targets were sometimes not achieved because of absence of some of the listed household heads during the time of interview (see Table 3.3). The TWG put together a 4-member Monitoring Team, which visited the research team during the field work to ensure that data collection was carried out in an acceptable manner to produce credible results.

The team of researchers randomly selected (i.e. selection of participants such as farmers or children in the discussion groups was random) and conducted the focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant (mainly Assemblymen, chiefs, teachers, etc) interviews in twelve of the twenty-four sampled communities, two communities per district during the survey period. The FGDs were conducted for different categories of farmers in each community, which included male cocoa farmer groups, female cocoa farmer groups, child worker groups (grouped by age where different age groups were available), and adult worker groups. In addition, the team of researchers provided supervision for the interview process, and technical support for the enumerators during the field work as they worked together in the communities.

Secondary data sources included: (i) published and unpublished materials; (b) National and District level production statistics of Policy, Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation Department (PPMED) of MOFA; (iii) COCOBOD (national, regional and district offices); (iv) Licensing Buying Companies (LBCs) in the selected regions and districts; (v) Schools and Clinics/Hospitals in the selected districts/communities; (vi) District Assemblies; and (vii) NGOs and other relevant bodies, etc. Secondary data collection and analysis has been an on-going activity. Most of those at the community level were collected during the survey period.

Table 3.3. Name of Community and Type/Number of Questionnaires Administered

Name of Community	Type of Questionnaire			Total
	Farmer Owner/ Caretaker	Adult worker	Child	
Adiembra	25	15	25	65
Fenaso	25	15	27	67
Mmodoam	24	15	25	64
Sabe I	24	15	24	63
Adumkrom	24	15	25	64
Bomireso	24	15	24	63
Krofa	25	15	26	66
Pataban	25	15	25	65
Apinaman	25	14	23	62
Kade BD	24	16	25	65
Osenase	25	11	26	62
Wenchi	25	15	26	66
Ananekrom	25	15	24	64
Mampong shed	24	15	25	64
Mumuni	24	14	38	76
Nope/Seiyawkrom	22	15	26	63
Akaatiso	25	16	26	67
Doubleman	25	15	28	68
Kwamina/Kwamebikrom	25	15	25	65
Paninyena	25	15	28	68
Boseakrom	25	15	24	64
Kaase	25	14	25	64
Kasabi	25	15	15	55
Tema	25	15	25	64
Total	**590**	**355**	**610**	**1554**

Source: survey results

SECTION 4: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COCOA FARMERS AND COMMUNITIES

4.1. Highlights of focus group discussions (FGDs)

The Focus group discussions were held as part of the community consultation on labour issues in cocoa farm. The FGDs were held during the month of November 2006, and covered all four cocoa regions sampled, 6 cocoa districts and 12 communities (two each from a district). A total of 14 adult men focus groups made up of owner farmers and caretaker farmers, 10 women farmers focus groups, and 18 children focus group discussions were held during the period. Data was collected via on-site summary report which was written with a question-by-question format to capture what the group had to say regarding each topic, and this was reviewed by the facilitator and recorder after each session. The onsite report was then summarised into a compilation sheet organising the findings per topic for each focus group and separate for men, women, and children groups.

The 14 adult men focus groups consisted of 145 adult men made up of 120 owner farmers and 25 caretaker farmers. The average age of caretaker participants were 30 to 37 years and that of owner farmers ranged between 45 and 60 years. A few farmers were as young as 24 years, and as old as 80 years. The 10 adult women focus groups had a total of 99 participants. The average age ranges between 30 and 60 years, with outlier ages of 18 years and 80 years for the minimum and maximum ages, respectively. There were 175 children participants in the 18 children focus group discussions (9 in Western Region, 6 in Ashanti Region, and 3 in Eastern Region) that were conducted during the survey. Six of the focus groups were made up of children between the ages of 6 and 12 years, and the rest consisted of children whose ages ranged from 13 to 17 years. There were 3 school dropouts among the children focus group participants, all from the Ashanti Region.

The *educational deficit* (the difference in age of the child and the age for the class in which the child is) was computed for the children focus group participants. A higher value implies delay in education. From the study the highest average of 3.0 and above were recorded from the Western region. The overall educational deficit ranged between 1 and 8 years. Apart from 3 children who indicated they would want to take farming as a profession, all the other children will not take farming as a future carrier. They would rather be teachers, doctors, drivers, mechanics, nurses, traders, policemen, etc or travel outside the country. The major reason they gave was that farming is very difficult and the returns are poor. This finding is consistent with adult farmers' assertion that they would rather have their children pursue other profession rather farming. Education of their children was a major priority for all farmers in the discussion groups. This seems to suggest that cocoa farming is being perceived as a last resort when there is no other alternative.

Most of the farmers indicated that they had achieved between 25 to 75 percent of their aspirations in cocoa. Most individual farmers said they had achieved 25 percent of their aspiration targets so far, some indicated they had achieved 50 percent, and a few others indicated 75 percent. Among the women group two participants indicated they have

attained all their aspirations. Across the regions participants expressed the desire to expand or continue with cocoa farming. The reason being that the participants perceived cocoa as more profitable and have ready market as compared the other agricultural products they engage in. The main limitation to their desire is the lack of credit and farming inputs.

Children participation in cocoa farming was considered to be good training where children learn their parents' trade, but emphasized that if children should only be used on the farm at weekends and during holidays, and must not be overburdened.

On what help should be provided to the farmers, they stated various needs, of which the most common and pressing include the need for sufficient long term credit or loans to expand, regular and timely supply of chemicals (such as insecticides and fungicides), fertilizers and other farming implements. Other help they solicited for are scholarships for their children pursuing higher education, high yielding hybrid seedlings, and increase in cocoa prices. In terms of their communities, the farmers requested support for strong local association, housing schemes, good roads, electricity, and new technology in cocoa production. The women requested for special credit that will be women friendly.

The majority of children said they participate in the following activities on cocoa farms: weeding, gathering and heaping of pods, plucking, fetching water for spraying, carrying fermented cocoa beans dry beans, scooping of beans, breaking pods, and planting or sowing at stake. Women FGDs confirmed that they sometimes let children take care of toddlers while they worked on the farms. A majority of children also describe some farming activities as difficult, including gathering and heaping pods, weeding and plucking. Some children also enumerated the following health problems they encounter in the course of work on cocoa farms: cutlass injuries, tree stump injuries, slips and falls, fingernail pricks, thorn pricks, snake bites, leg/neck pains, small objects entering the eyes, skin rashes, and itchy backs.

4.2. Characteristics of cocoa farms

The analysis of the characteristics of cocoa farms has been based primarily on the focus group discussions (FGDs) and interviews with key informants. The average size of cocoa farms among adult male farmers ranges between 3.8 and 18.7 acres. The farm size range from as low as one acre at Kurofa (Ashanti region) to nearly 100 acres at Akaatiso in the Western Region. The average size among women farmers ranges from 2.8 to 22.5 acres. The smallest average is in Akim Wenchi in the Eastern Region and the highest in Tema, Western Region[7]. From this survey, the biggest sized individual cocoa farms are located in the Western Region.

In all FGDs among men and women across the three regions, farmers alluded to the fact that the yield on cocoa farms has been declining over the last 3 to 5 years. Several reasons were advanced for this development, which include poor soil fertility, ageing cocoa trees, disease (blackpod disease), inadequate pest and disease control (mass

[7] One woman had as much as one square mile of cocoa farm in Nope, Western Region.

spraying), and lack of fertilizer, high labour cost, and lack of credit. Across the regions, participants expressed the desire to expand or continue with cocoa farming. The reason being that the participants perceived cocoa as more profitable and has ready market as compared to the other agricultural products they engage in. The main limitation to their desire is the lack of credit and farming inputs.

In all the districts consulted, there were complaints on the mass spraying exercise, which included perception of bad quality pesticide (i.e. chemical did not have that strong and pungent insecticidal scent characteristic of the banned DDT), operational problems such as gangs not fulfilling their functions, inadequate spraying machines, chemicals arriving too late, and inadequate personnel to cover all farms. Some women farmers cited favouritism on the part of the gangs. Some participants in the Western region alleged that the pesticide 'cocostar' was responsible for hardening of the cocoa pods. They prefer another chemical, 'confidor'. Farmers suggested that they should be provided with pesticide to do their own spraying. They also raised the issue that mass spraying did not cover all the diseases of cocoa. For example, in some communities chemicals used for mass spraying did not touch the fungal diseases (i.e. black pod diseases and that fungicide is very expensive).

The farmers generally agreed that fertilizer is crucial to enhancing productivity and that without it, yield is rather low ("you don't get any thing"). The cost of land acquisition coupled with ageing cocoa farms has necessitated the use of fertilizer to boost production. However, farmers in most communities complain that fertilizers are expensive, and often it was not available. Farmers in the Western Region suggested that less than 1 percent of them receive fertilizer. Some farmers have stopped application of fertilizers because yield after application was disappointing (probably the correct amounts were not applied or application not done at the right time).

All participants asserted that cocoa farming is labour intensive. Labour seemed to be available in several communities but rather expensive, and majority of farmers indicated they cannot hire them. In a few communities some migrant workers were available for about 2.5 – 4 million Cedis per person per year (¢9,100 = US$1), but most communities indicated they did not have migrant workers. The desire to expand farm depends mainly on availability and affordability of land. In the Western region land was usually available but the lack of resources limit expansion. In the other regions, land was not easily available for rent or purchase, and the price was either too high or the contractual agreement was unfavourable e.g. *abunu*.

Farmers in all the regions cultivated other food crops such as cocoyam, maize, plantain; and other cash crops like citrus. These products are used for food and to supplement income from cocoa. Cocoa is harvested either annually or twice a year but some of these crops are available all year round. There is, however, no market for them while cocoa has ready market. Most of the farmers indicated that they had achieved between 25 – 75 percent of their aspirations in cocoa production, on average. Most individual farmers said they had achieved 25 percent of their aspiration targets so far, some 50 percent and a few others 75 percent. Among the women group two participants indicated they have attained all their aspirations.

4.3. Demographic characteristics of respondents

The discussions in the subsequent sections are based on the sample survey of the communities where structured questionnaires were used. Table 4.1 presents the age, gender and migration status of respondents. About 65 percent of respondents were between 18 and 50 years while about 30 percent were people between 51 and 70 years of age. Relatively, the elderly were not many and represented about 6 percent of the total number of respondents. This seems to suggest that the age of cocoa farmers may be shifting in recent years from one of older farmers to relatively younger ones, which augurs well for the future of cocoa in Ghana. The gender distribution depicts a typical farming community in southern Ghana where men dominate the headship of households.

The table also shows that most respondents are farm owners. These are made up of indigenous farm owners who constitute about 33 percent of the total number of respondents, and migrant farm owners who make up about 43 percent of the total number of respondents. Migrant caretaker farmers represent about 21 percent of respondents, while indigenous caretaker farmers make up 3 percent of the total number of farmers interviewed. This brings to fore the fact that mostly migrant farmers take up the job of "caretaker" because migrants usually face difficulties accessing and owning land. The table also shows that almost 85 percent of households interviewed were male-headed and 15 percent were female-headed. This is consistent with Ghana's demographic profile which shows that most household heads are males.

Table 4.1. Age, Gender, and Migration Status of Farmer Household Heads

	Frequency	%
1. Age Categories of Heads of Households (*n = 590*)		
18 – 35 years	141	23.9
36 – 50 year	240	40.7
51 – 70 years	175	29.7
> 70 years	34	5.8
2. Type of producer as head of household *(n=590)*		
Indigenous owner	192	32.5
Migrant owner	254	43.1
Migrant caretaker	125	21.2
Indigenous caretaker	19	3.2
3. Gender of head of household *(n=590)*		
Male	499	84.6
Female	91	15.4

Source: Survey results

Table 4.2 presents other demographic characteristics of farmer household heads. Christians dominated most of the communities visited, accounting for some 77 percent of the populations. Pentecostals made up the largest group followed by Protestants and then Catholics. Muslims constituted 11 percent of the total number of respondents while animist/traditionalists were just about 2 percent. About 10 percent of respondents were not affiliated to any religion. Results from the table also buttress the already known fact that the major occupation in rural communities in Ghana is farming. For example, 93

percent of the respondents indicated farming as their major occupation. Other occupations of respondents include artisanship, trading, working as farm hands, teaching, and others. Students made up 2 percent of all respondents.

More than half of respondents are educated up to the JSS/middle school level. Such people represent about 62 percent of the total number of respondents interviewed. Relatively fewer respondents have had secondary/technical school education, and they make up just about 9 percent of total respondents. Yet fewer respondents have had tertiary education or Koranic/Islamic education. However, about 28 percent of respondents are uneducated.

As depicted in table 4.2, most respondents (about 87 %) are married while about 2 percent have never married, with 6 percent being widowed. About 3 percent of respondents are divorced and about 2 percent are in loose unions. Majority of respondents, i.e. 66 percent, are Akans. Those of northern Ghana origin are about 16 percent, while primarily Ewes are about 13 percent. Other ethnic groups present in the communities studied include Ga-Adangbe and Nzema, and these form 5 percent of respondents.

Compared to the national estimates for rural populations in Ghana[8], these demographic characteristics of respondents as estimated from the sampled farming communities indicate that the responses are consistent with the national estimates for rural areas, and even sometimes better for these cocoa communities surveyed. For example, in terms of housing, whereas the national rural average indicated 55.3 percent of residents owned houses and 10.6 percent lived in rented premises, the survey results show that 80.6 percent of sampled farmers owned houses and only 4.4 percent of farmers in these communities lived in rented premises. Similarly, whereas in general 63.8 percent of residents in Ghana's rural areas used aluminium/alu-zinc as roofing material for their houses, the equivalent figure for the sampled communities was 72.2 percent.

[8] CWIQ II (2005).

Table 4.2. Other Demographic Characteristics of Farmer Household Heads

	Frequency	%
1. Religion of head of household *(n=590)*		
Muslim	67	11.4
Catholic	113	19.2
Protestant	137	23.2
Pentecostal	204	34.6
Animist/traditionalist	11	1.9
None	58	9.8
2. Major occupation of head of household *(n=590)*		
Schooling	11	1.9
Farming	550	93.2
Farm hand	1	0.2
Artisan	8	1.4
Housewife	1	0.2
Teaching	5	0.8
Trading	7	1.2
Civil Servant	5	0.8
None	2	0.3
3. Educational level of head of household *(n=590)*		
No school	165	28.0
Primary	103	17.5
JSS/Middle school	261	44.2
SSS/Tech/Sec/Training	52	8.8
Tertiary	2	0.3
Informal	1	0.2
Koranic/Islamic	6	1.0
4. Present marital status of head of household *(n=590)*		
Married	512	86.8
Loose Union	14	2.4
Divorced	18	3.1
Widow/Widower	37	6.3
Never married	9	1.5
5. Primary Language spoken by head of household *(n=590)*		
Ewe	75	12.7
Northerner	97	16.4
Akan	390	66.1
Ga-Adangbe	23	3.9
Nzema	2	0.3
Other	3	0.5

Source: Survey results

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4.4. Socio-economic and livelihood Conditions of the Cocoa Farming Communities

In table 4.3, the socio-economic characteristics of cocoa farming communities where the study was conducted are presented. Regarding the type of ownership of respondents' places of abode it is observed that about 81 percent of respondents own the houses they live in while a handful (about 4%) rent their places of abode. About 15 percent are accommodated freely (i.e. pay no rent) where they reside.

The type of material used for roofing a particular house could be an indicator of the level of well-being of that household. The more expensive the roofing material used, the more likely that such a household is better off than others who otherwise cannot afford such

expenditure. Most respondents, about 72 percent of households interviewed, have used aluminium/Aluzinc roofing sheets as roofing material. About 22 percent of households have used grass or straw or thatch as roofing material. Other households have used wood or planks, tiles or slates, or plastic material (fertilizer bags) as roofing materials for their houses. The roofing and house types suggest that poverty is not a major problem among these cocoa farming communities, even though their lifestyles do not indicate affluence either.

The table also shows the types of materials used for building the walls of households in the study area. Results reveal that 64 percent of households have used mud as the main material for building their walls. About 26 percent of households have used brick or sandcrete as the main building material for their walls. Yet a few others have used wood or galvanized iron or cement blocks for the walls of their houses. Most respondents have access to boreholes as the source of drinking water for most of the year. These represent almost 47 percent of respondents. Those who use the river or lake as drinking water for most of the year are about 24 percent, while those who use wells as sources of drinking water for most of the year are 20 percent. Others (8.8%) also use treated water (including tap water) as their main source of drinking water for most of the year. In addition, the table presents the responses collated concerning the main type of toilet/sanitation facilities available for the families of farmers interviewed. As is typical of rural dwellers in Ghana, about 78 percent of respondents indicated that they use pit latrines as their main toilet facility. About 9 percent use KVIP (Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit). A few respondents use water closet (WC) as the main toilet facility.

The evidence provided by the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the cocoa farmers and their communities indicate clearly that the cocoa farmers in Ghana are generally smallholders who operate family farms mainly, cultivating acreages that range from about three acres or less in the Eastern and Ashanti regions, to about mostly ten to twenty acres in the Western North and Western South regions. A few outliers may operate farms that are less than an acre, or up to about a hundred acres or more in a few cases. There are therefore no commercial cocoa plantations in Ghana.

Table 4.3. Socio-economic and Livelihood Conditions of the Cocoa Farming Communities

	Frequency	%
1. House ownership (*n = 586)***		
Own	472	80.6
Rent	26	4.4
Free accommodation	88	15.0
2. Main type of roofing material for house of respondent *(n=586)*		
Grass/Straw/thatch	127	21.7
Wood/planks	32	5.5
Aluminium /Aluzinc	423	72.2
Tiles/slates/concrete/cement	2	0.3
plastic (fertilizer bag)	2	0.3
3. Main type of wall material for house of respondent *(n=586)*		
Matting/wood/branches	51	8.7
Mud	377	64.3
Galvanized iron	4	0.7
Brick/sand Crete (blocks)	150	25.6
Cement blocks	4	0.7
4. Main source of drinking water for household *(n=586)*		
River, Lake	142	24.2
Well	117	20.0
Borehole	275	46.9
Tap water (treated Water)	52	8.8
5. Main type of toilet/sanitation for household*(n=586)*		
Bush	54	9.2
Pit	454	77.5
Pan latrine	9	1.5
KVIP (Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit)	54	9.2
WC	9	1.5
Other	6	1.1

Source: survey results
** Four respondents did not provide responses for these questions.

4.5. Labour Supply Situation in Cocoa Production

4.5.1. Labour contribution of household heads

Table 4.4 is a summary of the contribution of the heads of households to cocoa farm activities which include land clearing, felling and chopping, burning and stumping through to the carting of the fermented beans for drying, in all the cocoa districts under study. A look at the table indicates that the number of household heads who contributed to land preparation activities during last cocoa season (2005/2006) were less than those who did not contribute their labour. Only about 44.2 percent of heads of households contributed labour during land clearing and about 55.8 percent did not contribute their labour to land clearing. This trend is observed in other activities, including felling and chopping, burning, stumping, etc. The trend observed could be attributed to the notion

that household heads (farmers) usually hire labour to do most of the activities involved in land preparation.

Table 4.4. Head of Household's Labour Contribution to Various Cocoa Farm Activities for the Cocoa season July 2005 to June 2006

Cocoa Farm Activity	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Pre-planting						
Land Clearing	247	44.2	312	55.8	559	100.0
Felling and Chopping	199	35.63	360	64.4	559	100.0
Burning	226	40.4	333	59.6	559	100.0
Destumping	165	29.8	389	70.2	554	100.0
Pegs Cutting	46	8.3	505	91.7	551	100.0
Lining and Pegging	44	8.1	502	91.9	546	100.0
Planting						
Holing/Planting Of Suckers	219	39.5	335	60.5	554	100.0
Preparation of Seedlings	65	11.9	481	88.1	546	100.0
Carrying of Seedlings	63	11.5	484	88.5	547	100.0
Holing for Seedlings	63	11.5	484	88.5	547	100.0
Planting of Seedlings	77	14.1	470	85.9	547	100.0
Sowing at Stake	300	53.5	261	46.5	561	100.0
Farm maintenance						
Weeding (farm maintenance)	475	83.2	96	16.8	571	100.0
Spraying of Insecticide	284	48.9	297	51.1	581	100.0
Applying of Fertilizer	126	21.9	449	78.1	575	100.0
Applying Fungicide/Other Chemicals	230	39.6	351	60.4	581	100.0
Carrying Water for Spraying	305	52.8	273	47.2	578	100.0
Sanitation and Pruning	398	68.4	184	31.6	582	100.0
Mistletoe Control	356	61.3	225	38.7	583	100.0
Harvesting						
Plucking of Pods	453	78.1	127	21.9	581	100.0
Gathering and Heaping of Pods	415	71.3	167	28.7	582	100.0
Pod Breaking and Fermentation	460	79.2	121	20.8	581	100.0
Scooping of Cocoa Beans	401	69.4	177	30.6	578	100.0
Post-harvest						
Carting Of Fermented Beans	426	73.2	156	26.8	582	100.0

In terms of planting of seedlings, a glance at the table reveals that not many household heads physically take part in these activities except in the case of holing or planting of suckers (about 39.5%). Information from the focus group discussions indicate that even though most are generally involved in planting seedlings, in most cases farmers do not plant seedlings but sow at stake. It could also imply that most of the labour for these activities comes from hired labour, caretakers or other family members (farmer, spouse, children and nephews).

Similarly, farm activities such as carrying of seedlings, holing for seedlings, planting of seedlings and sowing at stake show that about 53.5 percent of household heads contributed labour to sowing at stake. The percentage contributions to the other activities range from 11 percent to about 14 percent.

Significant changes in the labour contribution of household heads were noted in some farming activities. Percentage ranges of between 22 percent to 83 percent of household heads contributed labour are observed for application of fertilizer, application of fungicides, spraying of insecticide, weeding, sanitation and pruning, plucking of pods, pod breaking and fermentation, etc. These activities are usually performed by owner farmers and hence the higher number of farmers/household heads contributing their labour.

4.5.2. Peak periods of labour needs in cocoa production

The peak period of demand for labour in the various cocoa activities in a cycle (2005/2006 cocoa production season) was solicited from the sampled farmers. Table 4.5 indicates the peak period(s) for some of the major cocoa activities in terms of proportion of farmers indicating that month as the one with the highest labour need. From Table 4.5, the peak labour demand for clearing of land, felling of trees and burning are in the months of January to March; and burning usually will occur in the month of March. Weeding to maintain the farm is required in the months of July and August. Other activities such as spraying insecticides are mostly done in the months of August and September. November is the peak month for pod plucking through to carting of dry beans to the centres for sale. In summary, it appears that the bulk of the cocoa activities on matured cocoa trees occur between the periods July to December in any typical cocoa year, in particular, farm maintenance, harvesting, and post-harvest activities. An observation made from Table 4.5 was that farmers do not apply fertilizers according to the recommended schedule of April and May but rather in July and August.

Table 4.5. Peak Periods of Labour Needs in Cocoa Production by Cocoa District

Cocoa Activity	COCOA DISTRICTS					
	Bekwai (Ash)	**Konongo (Ash)**	**Kade (ER)**	**Samreboi (WS)**	**Debiso (WN)**	**Kaase (WN)**
Pre-planting						
Land clearing	March	January	January	January	January	January
Felling trees	March	February	March	January	February	February
Burning	March	March	March	March	March	March
Farm maintenance						
Weeding(farm maintenance)	July	July	July	August	July	July
Spraying insecticide	September	August	August	August	August	August
Application of fertiliser	July	August	July	August	September	July
Application of fungi/other chemical	July	August	September	June	July	July
Water carrying for spraying	August	August	August	August	July	July
Sanitation/pruning	August	August	September	August	July	July
Mistletoe control	August	August	October	November	November	November
Harvesting						
Pod plucking	November	November	November	November	November	November
Pod gathering /heaping	November	November	November	November	November	November
Pod breaking/fermentation	November	November	November	November	November	November
Bean scooping	November	November	November	November	November	November
Post harvest						
Carting fermented bean	November	November	November	November	November	November
Drying beans	November	November	November	November	November	November
Carting dry beans for sale	November	November	November	November	November	November

Data Source: Survey Sample (these are the modal months of these activities)
Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

SECTION 5: TYPES OF ADULT WORKERS IN GHANA'S COCOA SECTOR

This section provides a discussion of the conditions of the adult worker in cocoa farming in Ghana. The age categories of farm workers, their migration status if migrants, where they live in the community and with whom, and the type of labour they provide are summarized in this section. In addition, the incidence or otherwise of forced adult labour and other abusive labour practices in the communities are investigated.

5.1. Socio-Economic Characteristics of Adult Cocoa Workers and Type of Contract

The age range of adult workers in the sampled communities was between 18 years and 70 years, but most of the workers (76.3%) belonged to the younger age grouping of 18 years to 35 years (Table 5.1). Indeed, 98.2 percent of the workers fell within the 18 years to 50 years range, indicating that most of the workers were relatively young, and consistent with the notion that cocoa farming is hard work and requires workers who are strong to be able to support it.

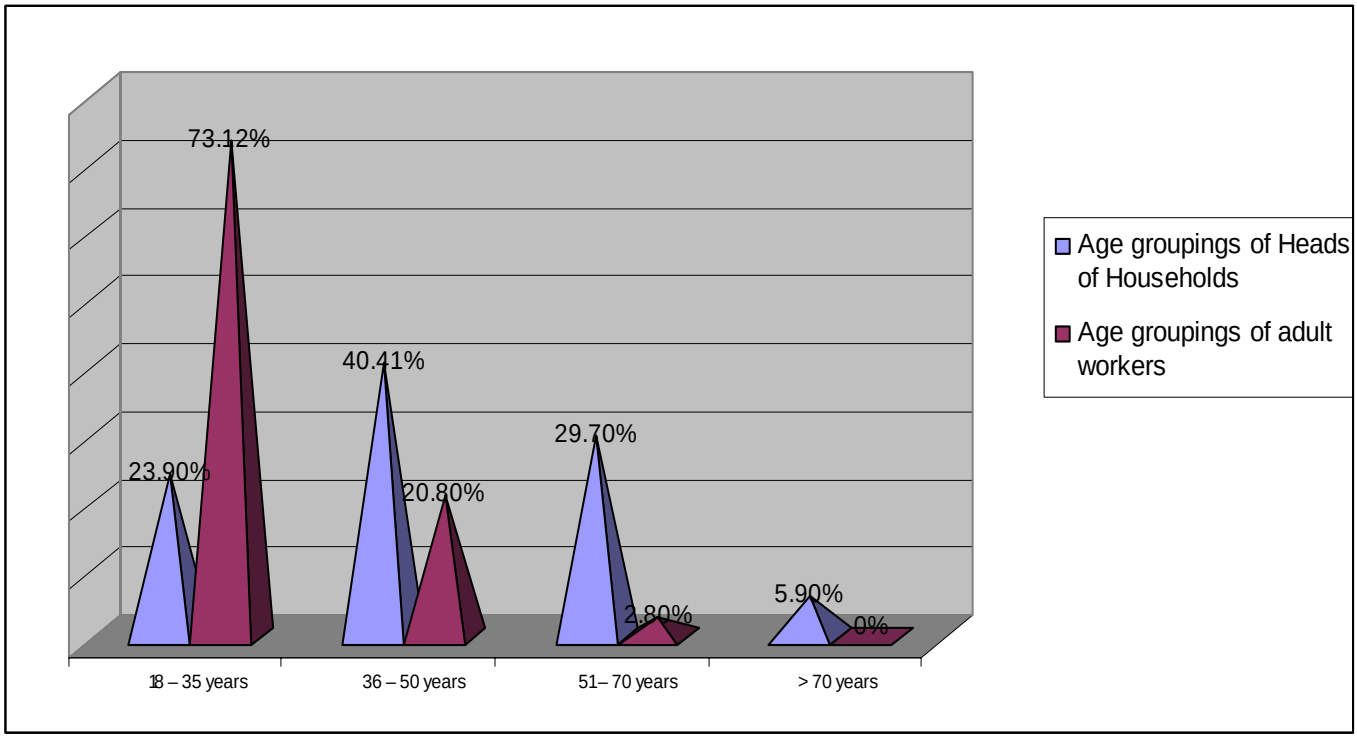
When the ages of the adult farm workers in cocoa production are compared with the ages of farmers or household heads from the sampled households (Fig. 5.1), it is observed that more adult farm workers fall within the 18 years to 35 years range (76.4%) compared to farmers or household heads (23.9%); but there are more farmers (40.4%) in the 36 to 50 year age bracket than adult farm workers (20.8%). Generally, the farmers seem to be more fairly distributed across the 18 years to 50 years age range compared to adult farm workers most of whom are in the lower age range.

Table 5.1. Ages of Adult Workers

Age groupings	Frequency	Percent
18 -35 years	271	76.4
36 – 50 years	74	20.8
51 – 70 years	10	2.8
> 70 years	0	0
Total	355	100.0

Source: Survey Data

Figure 5.1. Age groupings of heads of households and adult workers



Source: Survey Data

Table 5.2 summarizes the migrant status of the adult workers. In all, three hundred and fifty-five adult workers were interviewed. The table shows that 18 percent of the adult workers in cocoa are indigenes. The larger proportions of indigenes are found in the Bekwai (Ashanti), Konongo (Ashanti) and Kade (Eastern) cocoa districts. In the Western North and South cocoa districts of Debiso, Kaase and Samreboi, all the interviewed adult farmers are non-indigenes. The largest proportion of the adult workers (58%) is in-migrants from outside their region of current farm work and are mostly in the Western South cocoa districts. Adult workers who were born to migrant farmers in the communities constitute only 9 percent. In-migration from outside Ghana comprises 2.5 percent of the total.

Table 5.2. Migration Status of Adult Workers by location (Cocoa districts)

District		Migration Status					Total
		Indigene	In-migration from within this region	In- migration from outside this region	In-migration from outside Ghana	Parents migrated and I was born here	
Bekwai (Ash)	Count	23	17	11	0	9	60
	% within District	38.3%	28.3%	18.3%	.0%	15.0%	100.0%
Konongo (Ash)	Count	17	5	30	0	8	60
	% within District	28.3%	8.3%	50.0%	.0%	13.3%	100.0%
Kade (ER)	Count	25	17	8	1	5	56
	% within District	44.6%	30.4%	14.3%	1.8%	8.9%	100.0%
Samreboi (WS)	Count	0	1	52	4	2	59
	% within District	.0%	1.7%	88.1%	6.8%	3.4%	100.0%
Debiso (WN)	Count	0	1	55	1	4	61
	% within District	.0%	1.6%	90.2%	1.6%	6.6%	100.0%
Kaase (WN)	Count	0	2	50	3	4	59
	% within District	.0%	3.4%	84.7%	5.1%	6.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	65	43	206	9	32	355
	% within District	18.3%	12.1%	58.0%	2.5%	9.0%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.3 indicates where the adult farm worker lives in the communities by cocoa districts. From the table, 75 percent of the total adult farm workers live alone in the villages. Those who live with their families in the villages constitute 10 percent. Those who live on the farm alone and on the farm with their families are 10 percent and 4 percent, respectively. Combined, those adult farm workers who live on the farm, either alone or with their families comprise 14 percent of the total sampled workers. The proportion of adult farm workers living with their families and other adult workers in the village is only 0.3 percent of the total sample.

Table 5.3. Residence of Adult Worker in the community by location (Cocoa districts)

District		Location of Residence						Total
		In this village alone	In this village with family	On this farm alone	On this farm with family	In this village with the producer/farmer	In this village with family and other adult workers	
Bekwai (Ash)	Count	60	0	0	0	0	0	60
	% within District	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Konongo (Ash)	Count	51	2	5	1	1	0	60
	% within District	85.0%	3.3%	8.3%	1.7%	1.7%	.0%	100.0%
Kade (ER)	Count	54	2	0	0	0	0	56
	% within District	96.4%	3.6%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Samreboi (WS)	Count	21	14	19	4	0	1	59
	% within District	35.6%	23.7%	32.2%	6.8%	.0%	1.7%	100.0%
Debiso (WN)	Count	46	13	0	2	0	0	61
	% within District	75.4%	21.3%	.0%	3.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Kaase (WN)	Count	33	6	13	7	0	0	59
	% within District	55.9%	10.2%	22.0%	11.9%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	265	37	37	14	1	1	355
	% within District	74.6%	10.4%	10.4%	3.9%	.3%	.3%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Figure 5.2 and Tables 5.4 through to 5.7 indicate the type of farm worker in the cocoa communities. It is noteworthy that some of the adult workers take multiple worker status

within the communities. Some short-term and long-term adult workers are also engaged in by-day labour on other farms depending on their financial situations, among others. In Fig. 5.2 and Table 5.4, 59 percent of the workers classify themselves as engaged in by-day (offer services to work on a specific job for a period within the day for a days' wage) labour work. Here, they are not under anybody's control and they go to work anytime they wish, and decide when they are ready to offer their services for a generally agreed fee in the community.

In Table 5.5, the percentage of adult workers engaged in less than 6 months farm work contracts comprise about 12 percent. This contrasts with those adult workers who engage in short-term contracts of less than one (1) year but greater than 6 months (Table 5.6) of 5 percent and long-term (permanent) workers on the farm of 64 percent (Table 5.7).

Table 5.4 Type of Adult Worker in the Communities by location (Cocoa districts): By-day-labour

District			Are you a 'by day' worker?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	56	0	56
		% within District	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Kononго (Ash)	Count	55	3	58
		% within District	94.8%	5.2%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	42	14	56
		% within District	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	1	58	59
		% within District	1.7%	98.3%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	11	18	29
		% within District	37.9%	62.1%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	4	23	27
		% within District	14.8%	85.2%	100.0%
Total		**Count**	**169**	**116**	**285**
		% within District	**59.3%**	**40.7%**	**100.0%**

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Figure 5.2. Presence of "By Day" Workers in the Communities

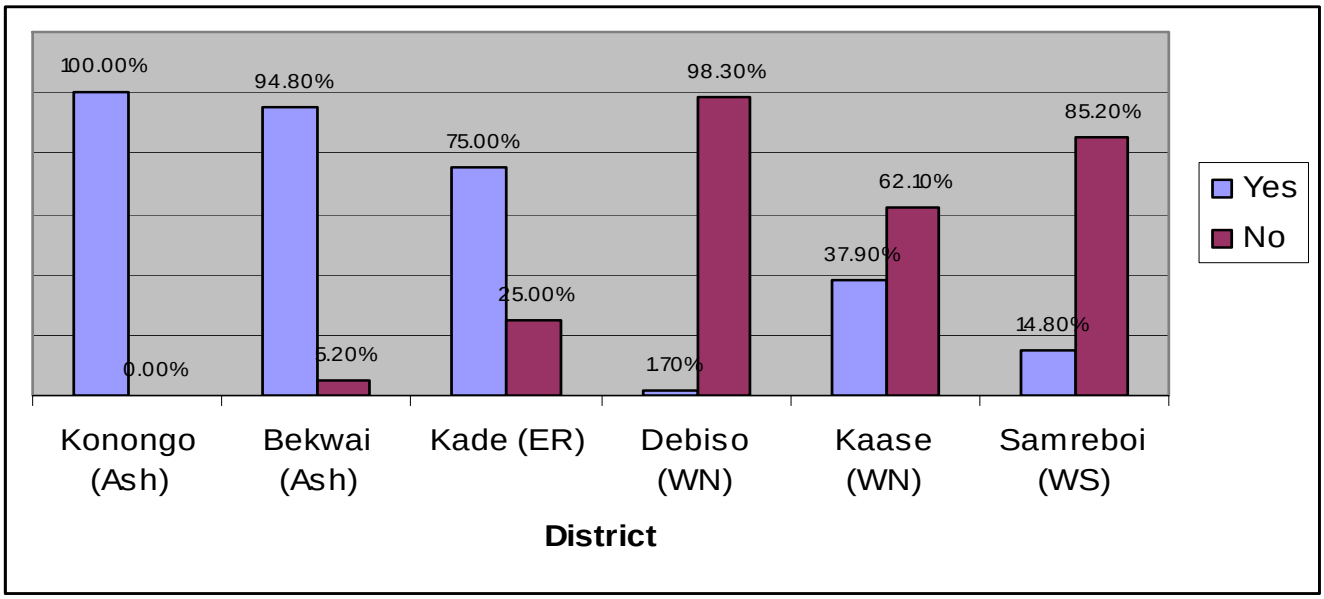


Table 5.5 Type of Adult Worker in the communities by location (Cocoa districts): Short-term contract (less than 6 months)

District			Do you work less than 6 months for a farm owner?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	17	33	50
		% within District	34.0%	66.0%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	15	40	55
		% within District	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	0	43	43
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	0	58	58
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	0	26	26
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	0	25	25
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	32	225	257
		% within District	12.5%	87.5%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.6. Type of Adult Worker in the communities by location (Cocoa districts): Short-term contract (6 to 11 months)

District			Do you work 6 to 11 months for a farm owner?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	0	47	47
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	3	52	55
		% within District	5.5%	94.5%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	2	41	43
		% within District	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	7	51	58
		% within District	12.1%	87.9%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	0	26	26
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	0	26	26
		% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	12	243	255
		% within District	4.7%	95.3%	100.0%

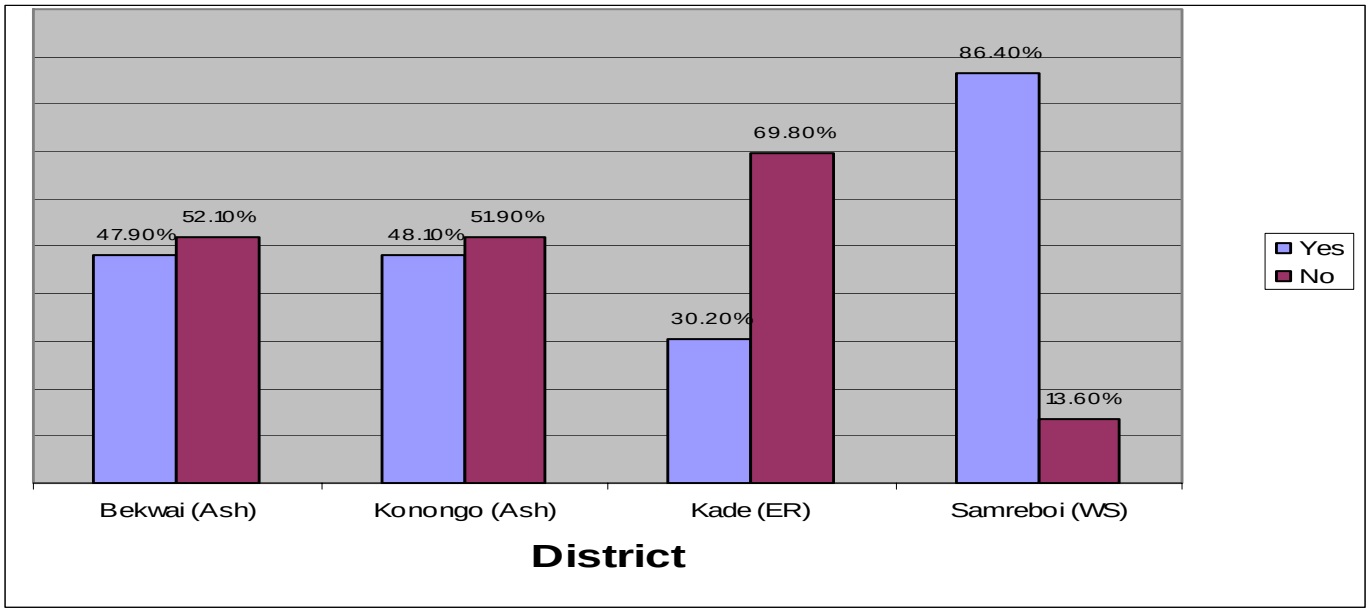
Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.7. Type of Adult Worker in the communities by location (Cocoa districts): Long-term contract (greater than 1 year)

District			Are you a permanent worker (one year +) for a farm owner?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	23	25	48
		% within District	47.9%	52.1%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	26	28	54
		% within District	48.1%	51.9%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	13	30	44
		% within District	30.2%	69.8%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	51	8	59
		% within District	86.4%	13.6%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	27	0	27
		% within District	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	24	2	26
		% within District	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	164	93	258
		% within District	63.8%	36.2%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Figure 5.3. Presence of Permanent Workers (working one year or more for a farmer) in the Communities



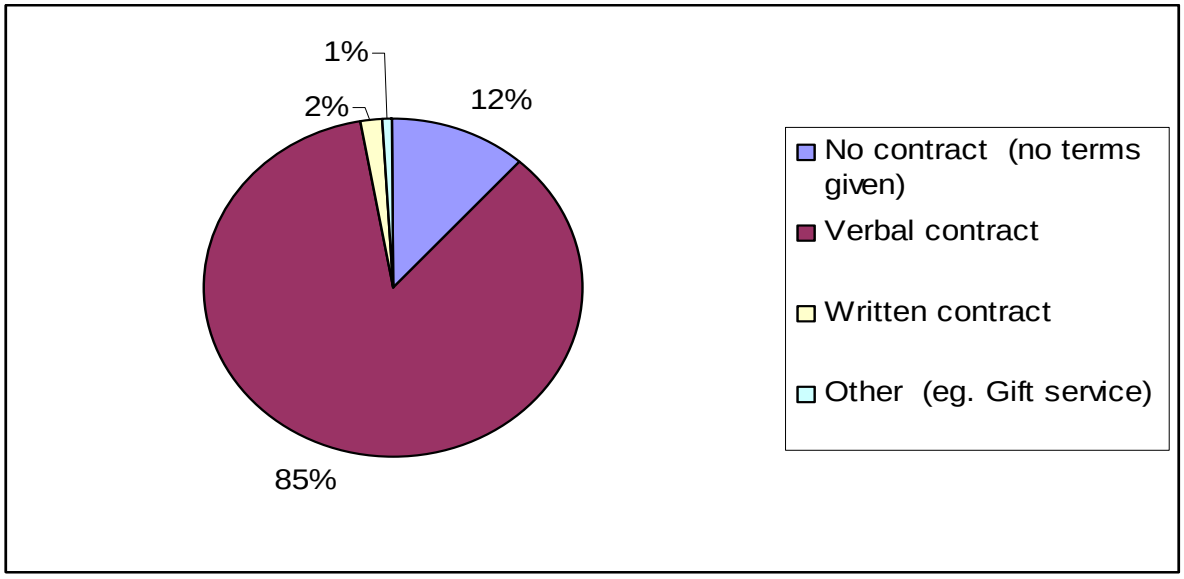
The types of farm agreement (contract) engaged by most adult farm workers and their farm owners (producers) are summarized in Fig. 4 and Table 5.8. The typical adult worker usually will enter into a verbal agreement (76% of respondents) with the producer on the services to be rendered on the farm and working conditions. Written contract constitutes only 2 percent in all the communities but mostly in the Western South cocoa districts.

Table 5.8. Type of Contract of Adult Worker in the Communities by location (Cocoa districts)

District			Type of contract received from employers for last main/minor crop cocoa season				Total
			No contract (no terms given)	Verbal contract	Written contract	Other (e.g. 'gift' service)	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	3	51	1	0	55
		% within District	5.5%	92.7%	1.8%	.0%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	4	53	0	2	59
		% within District	6.8%	89.8%	.0%	3.4%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	3	53	0	0	56
		% within District	5.4%	94.6%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	11	46	2	0	59
		% within District	18.6%	78.0%	3.4%	.0%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	9	49	2	0	60
		% within District	15.0%	81.7%	3.3%	.0%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	11	45	2	1	59
		% within District	18.6%	76.3%	3.4%	1.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	**41**	**297**	**7**	**3**	**348**
		% within District	11.8%	85.3%	2.0%	.9%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Fig. 5.4 Type of Major Contract Received from Employers for the last Cocoa Season



5.2 Incidence or otherwise of forced adult labour (FAL) in Ghana's cocoa sector

Forced Labour has in recent years gained international currency, even though many have not understood the concept fully and therefore use the term rather loosely. Based on the Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29), the ILO[9] has provided a general definition of forced labour as "all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and from which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily". Two basic elements are clear from the definition: (i) the work or service is exacted under the menace of a penalty, and (ii) it is not undertaken voluntarily. But forced labour is not a situation of poor wages, poor working conditions, or when a worker cannot leave a job because of absence of other employment alternatives.

In this sections, the incidence or otherwise of forced adult labour (FAL) among the adult workers sampled in the communities are presented. How and why the worker came to live in the community; whether the adult cocoa farm worker sampled is in debt and must work to redeem the debts; whether the adult worker is restricted in his/her movements, and whether the worker has suffered abusive labour practices in the hands of the producer, are discussed.

Table 5.9 summarizes, for the adult workers, whether they agreed to the decision to come to work on the farm or live in the community. Only 6 percent of the sampled workers indicated they did not agree to the decision to come to live on the farm/community. In Table 5.10, it is observed that out of 133 adult workers that responded only eight (6%) indicated that they were reluctant to either stay on the farms they work or in the communities where they live. A follow up on the reasons for those who were reluctant to relocate to another community are tabulated in Table 5.10. The responses indicate that

[9] International Labour Organization (ILO). 2005. A Global Alliance against Forced Labour. International Labour Conference, 93rd Session 2005. Report I (B). ILO Office, Geneva

these respondents were household members whose circumstances dictated their relocation. It does not therefore reflect a case of forced movement of the adult worker. In addition to the reasons given, it is observed that in a situation where the household head decides to move from one community to another, all members of his/her household are included in such a decision, and that could be the case of an adult worker living with relatives or even parents.

Table 5.9. Proportion of Adult Workers who agreed to locate to the communities by Cocoa district

District			If decision was NOT taken by yourself, did you agree to this decision?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	14	0	14
		% within District	100.0%	0%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	17	0	17
		% within District	100.0%	0%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	8	4	12
		% within District	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	25	2	27
		% within District	92.6%	7.4%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	32	2	34
		% within District	94.1%	5.9%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	29	0	29
		% within District	100.0%	0%	100.0%
Total		Count	125	8**	133
		% within District	94.0%	6.0%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South
** see Table 5.5 for detailed explanation

Table 5.10. Reasons for Not Agreeing to the Decision to come to live in the community

	Frequency	**Percent**
Did you agree to come and stay in this community? *(n=345)*		
Yes	125	36.2
No	8	2.3
Undecided	212	61.4
Number of Adults not Agreeing	**Who took the Decision**	**Reasons for not Agreeing**
2	Producer / Farm Owner	Because I had children with him I had to move
1	Mother	It helps reduce the distance to be covered to school
2	Father	Father insisted they move to the community
1	Parents	No money and job in my previous community
2	Myself	No reasons given

Survey responses

Table 5.11 summarizes the adult workers' perspective on who decided that they should come and stay on the farms where they work or in the communities where they stay. About 53 percent of the sampled adult workers indicated they took the decision themselves. The decision according to other adult workers was taken by relatives (parents, father, mother, brother, sister, and uncles/aunts). Many adult workers who were born in the communities did not need to move anywhere and therefore this question did

not apply to them. But it also demonstrates the personal choices that many workers are free to make, whether to stay and work on cocoa farms or go elsewhere into another occupation.

Table 5.11: Decision for Adult Worker to Come and Stay on this Farm/In this Community

Decision Maker	Frequency	Percent
Myself	157	52.9
Parents	61	20.5
Family	59	19.9
Producer/Farm owner	12	4.0
Friend	8	2.7
Total	297	100.0

Source: survey results

The labour and living situations of the adult workers who had moved from other communities to live in the present communities were compared in terms of their life situations, labour situations and remuneration (salary) for labour use. These are summarized in the table. About 17 percent of the total sampled adult workers indicated that their life situations currently compared to their previous have worsened. Almost 54 percent iterated that their life situations have indeed improved and were better off than before. Those who had no basis to compare a previous life situation to current (perhaps indicating that they have lived in that community since infancy) comprise 17 percent.

Table 5.12 shows that as many as 201 adult workers representing about 57 percent of the total sampled adult workers indicate that their salary situations currently compared to their previous earnings have improved. Those whose salary situations have worsened comprise about 16 percent. Those who had no basis to compare a previous labour situation to current comprised about 19 percent of the adult workers.

It is noted from table 5.12 that 16.9 percent of the total sampled adult workers indicate that their labour situations currently compared to their previous have worsened[10]. Those whose labour situations have improved comprise about 41 percent. Those who had no previous situation to compare their current situation to comprised 19 percent of the sampled adults.

[10] It is not clear the situation in which those who report that they were worse off found themselves before, or what factors indicated they were worse off. From the CWIQ II of 2005, households by perception of their current economic situation compared to one year ago in rural Ghana showed that 51.6 percent of the population in rural Ghana indicated they were worse off than a year ago.

Table 5.12. Perception of Welfare Situations of Sampled Adult Workers

	Frequency	%
1. Comparison of life situation now to before *(n=355)*		
Same	44	12.4
Better	190	53.5
Worse	60	16.9
Undecided	61	17.2
2. Comparison of labour situation now to before *(n=355)*		
Same	43	12.1
Better	147	41.4
Worse	96	27.0
Undecided	69	19.4
3. Comparison of salary situation now to before *(n=355)*		
Same	29	8.2
Better	201	56.6
Worse	56	15.8
Undecided	69	19.4

Source: survey results

Undecided refers to those who responded that cannot tell the before and after situations.

5.3. Assessing the Incidence or Otherwise of Adult Debt Bondage

From the UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery (1956)[11], ***debt bondage*** is defined as " the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined" (Art. 1a). Based on the above article, the ILO has explained debt bondage or bonded labour as the situation where a person becomes a security against a debt or loan, and in practice it lies on the borderline between forced labour and slavery. Usually the individual works exclusively or partly to pay off the debt, and such debt may also be perpetuated and could persist for a long time.

The survey solicited information on the possible sources of debt among the sampled adult farm workers, which included whether the adult farm worker was working to redeem a debt in general, or redeem debt for help to travel to work in that community, or working to redeem debt for help in finding job in the community. The survey also solicited information from the adult farm workers sampled on whether they were working to redeem a debt to the cocoa producer (owner farmer/caretaker) or whether the worker owed any debt, for which he/she was working to redeem. These issues and the responses are summarized in the Tables that follow.

[11] International Labour Organization (ILO). 2005. Human Trafficking and Forced Labour Exploitation: Guidance for Legislation and Law Enforcement. Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour. ILO Office. Geneva. Pp 20.

In Table 5.13, the percentage of adult workers sampled who indicated that they themselves receive salaries for work done on the farms constitutes 94 percent of the total sample. This is an indication that the adult workers are not being exploited but are being remunerated for their labour. Of the wage earners, the proportion who indicated that such incomes help to pay the debt of someone back home (Table 5.14) constitutes 4 percent of the sample. The percentage is higher in the Samreboi cocoa district (14%) than the other districts. It should be noted that in Ghana, remittance to families back home is a popular practice which individuals are not obligated to perform. However, based on FGD, some individuals explained that they have ageing parents, disabled relations or other dependants, and that they remit some of their wages back home for their upkeep. This is not a debt to be redeemed but rather a social function.

Tables 5.15 to 5.17 indicate the proportion of the adult workers whose salaries go to pay for help in travelling, in securing jobs in the communities, and in redeeming debts owed to the producer. In Table 5.12, only 0.3 percent of the respondents indicated that their earnings go to service debts or help in travelling to the community; in Table 5.13, 94 percent indicated they owe no one in terms of help in finding jobs; and the remaining respondents indicated it does not apply to them. In Table 5.14, only 4.5 percent indicated that they owe the producer and their earnings go to help settle those debts. These debts are incurred as a result of soft loans contracted from the farmers in off-season periods and paid back in bits when crops have been harvested. The practice is akin to what pertains in other sectors, including formal employment where salaried workers borrow monies for rent or other use and pay back when they receive their salaries.

Table 5.13 Payments for Adult Worker Services in the Communities by location

District			Will you or your family receive any salary in cash or in kind for the labour you perform on the cocoa farm?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai	Count	58	2	60
		% within District	96.7%	3.3%	100.0%
	Konongo	Count	59	1	60
		% within District	98.3%	1.7%	100.0%
	Kade	Count	55	1	56
		% within District	98.3%	1.8%	100.0%
	Samreboi	Count	55	4	59
		% within District	93.2%	6.8%	100.0%
	Debiso	Count	55	6	61
		% within District	90.1%	9.8%	100.0%
	Kaase	Count	52	7	59
		% within District	88.1%	11.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	334	21	355
		% within District	94.1%	5.9%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.14. Adult Worker Services on the farm and whether it Redeems Debt to someone back Home (by Cocoa districts)

District			Does your salary or labour here help to pay debt to someone back home?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai	Count	1	59	60
		% within District	1.7%	98.4%	100.0%
	Konongo	Count	1	59	60
		% within District	1.7%	98.4%	100.0%
	Kade	Count	0	56	56
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
	Samreboi	Count	8	51	59
		% within District	13.6%	86.5%	100.0%
	Debiso	Count	3	58	61
		% within District	4.9%	95.1%	100.0%
	Kaase	Count	0	59	59
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
Total		Count	13	342	355
		% within District	3.7%	96.3%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.15 Adult Worker Services on the farm and whether it Redeems Debt to Someone who helped him/her to travel to the farm community (by Cocoa districts)

District			Does your salary or labour here help to pay debt to people who helped you travel here?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai	Count	0	60	60
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
	Konongo	Count	0	60	60
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
	Kade	Count	0	56	56
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
	Samreboi	Count	0	59	59
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
	Debiso	Count	1	60	61
		% within District	1.6%	98.4%	100.0%
	Kaase	Count	0	59	59
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
Total		Count	1	354	355
		% within District	.3%	99.7%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.16 Adult Worker Services on the farm and whether it Redeems Debt to Someone who helped him/her find job in the Community (by Cocoa districts)

District			Does your salary or labour here help to pay debt to people who helped you find a job?		Total
			No	N/A	
	Bekwai	Count	56	4	60
		% within District	93.3%	6.7%	100.0%
	Konongo	Count	59	1	60
		% within District	98.3%	1.7%	100.0%
	Kade	Count	49	7	56
		% within District	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	Samreboi	Count	56	3	59
		% within District	94.9%	5.1%	100.0%
	Debiso	Count	59	2	61
		% within District	96.7%	3.3%	100.0%
	Kaase	Count	56	3	59
		% within District	94.9%	5.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	335	20	355
		% within District	94.4%	5.6%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

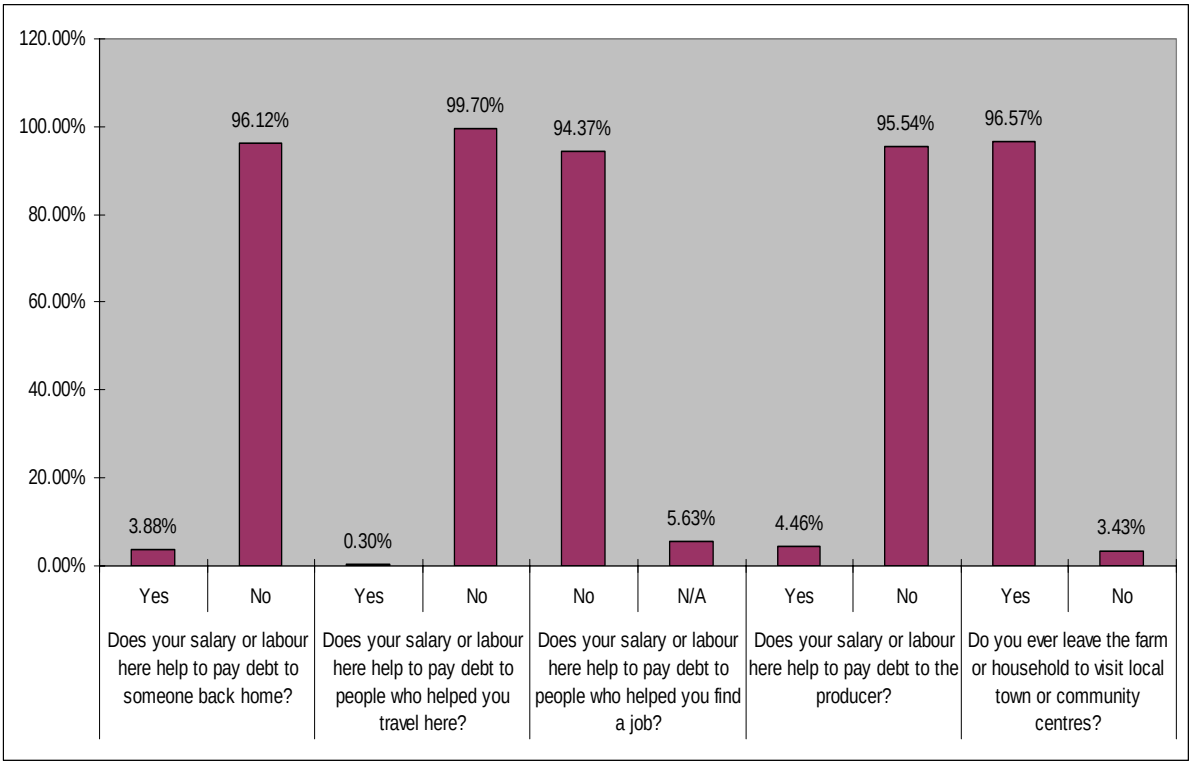
NA means respondents did not provide any responses to this question

Table 5.17 Adult Worker Services on the farm and whether it Redeems Debt to the Producer (by Cocoa districts)

District			Does your salary or labour here help to pay debt to the producer?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai	Count	5	55	60
		% within District	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	Konongo	Count	4	56	60
		% within District	6.7%	93.4%	100.0%
	Kade	Count	0	56	56
		% within District	.0%	100%	100.0%
	Samreboi	Count	1	58	59
		% within District	1.7%	98.3%	100.0%
	Debiso	Count	1	60	61
		% within District	1.6%	98.4%	100.0%
	Kaase	Count	4	55	59
		% within District	6.8%	93.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	15	340	355
		% within District	4.2%	95.8%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Figure 5.5. Debt Situation of Adult Farm Workers in the Communities



5.4. Assessing the Extent of Freedom of Movement of Adult Workers

The International Labour Organization (ILO)[12] describes ***restrictions of movement*** of the worker in its human trafficking and forced labour exploitation document. It states that "a common means by which labour is extracted by duress from workers is through their confinement. The workers are locked into the work place or their movement is restricted to a very limited area, often with the objectives of preventing contact with the host community, and extracting the maximum amount of labour from the individuals. Restrictions of movement correspond to the common law offence of false imprisonment, which is any restraint of liberty of one person under the custody of another". In an attempt to find out whether any of the sampled workers faced restrictions, questions about their freedom of movement were solicited.

In Table 5.18, 96.6 percent of the sampled adult workers indicated they can leave the farm or household to visit local towns or community centres without any restriction. The proportion of the sample who indicated they do not leave the farm/household to visit comprises 3.4 percent. In Table 5.19, 95.7 percent of the sampled adult workers indicated that they have no problems leaving the farm/household whenever they wanted to leave.

[12] International Labour Organization (ILO). 2005. [see full reference from footnote 5].

Table 5.18 Freedom of Adult Worker to leave the farm for Visitation (by Cocoa districts)

District			Do you ever leave the farm or household to visit local town or community centres?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	58	2	60
		% within District	96.7%	3.3%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	58	2	60
		% within District	96.7%	3.3%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	56	0	56
		% within District	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	52	4	56
		% within District	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	59	1	60
		% within District	98.3%	1.7%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	55	3	58
		% within District	94.8%	5.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	338	12	350
		% within District	96.6%	3.4%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.19 Freedom of Adult Worker to Leave the Farm whenever Desirable (by Cocoa districts)

District			Do you feel that you can leave this farm/household whenever you want to?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	54	6	60
		% within District	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	59	0	59
		% within District	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	54	2	56
		% within District	96.4%	3.6%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	53	2	55
		% within District	96.4%	3.6%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	59	0	59
		% within District	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	53	5	58
		% within District	91.4%	8.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	332	15	347
		% within District	95.7%	4.3%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

5.5. The Extent or Otherwise of Abusive Labour Practices by Producer on the Adult Worker

Information on the extent of abusive labour practices among the sampled adult workers are summarized in this section. The indicators include whether the adult worker has experienced violence or abusive conduct by the producer; whether the adult worker has experienced violence or abusive conduct by a relative or the caretaker of the cocoa farm owner; or whether the adult worker has been obliged/forced to work while sick or injured. The responses are summarized in Tables 5.20 to 5.22.

In Table 5.20, the sampled information indicates that the total proportion of adult workers who has experienced violence or abusive conduct by the producer is about 14 percent. The percentage is higher in the Debiso (27%) district than in the other cocoa districts. Similarly, in Table 5.21, the proportion of the total sampled adult workers that have experienced violence or abusive conduct by relatives of the producer or the caretaker of the producer constitutes only 7 percent. In Table 5.22, the proportion of the total sampled adult workers that have felt obliged/forced to work whilst sick or injured constitutes 5.4 percent. From the focus group discussions, it was observed that what some workers indicated as being 'forced' or obliged to work when sick or injured was in reference to their own circumstances; for example as in the case where they will have no money and therefore food to eat and therefore are forced by the situation to work even during the time that they don't feel very well. The proportion is higher in Samreboi (8.5%) and Kade (7.1%). This group of people is made up predominantly of by-day workers who live practically "from hand to mouth" and therefore feel forced to work everyday to earn their income.

Table 5.20 Adult Workers who have or have not Experienced Violence/Abusive Conduct by Producer (by Cocoa districts)

District			Have you experienced violence or abuse conducted by the producer?		Total
			Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	Count	5	55	60
		% within District	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	Konongo (Ash)	Count	3	57	60
		% within District	5.0%	95.0%	100.0%
	Kade (ER)	Count	10	46	56
		% within District	17.9%	82.1%	100.0%
	Samreboi (WS)	Count	8	51	59
		% within District	13.6%	86.4%	100.0%
	Debiso (WN)	Count	16	43	61
		% within District	27.1%	72.9%	100.0%
	Kaase (WN)	Count	8	51	59
		% within District	13.6%	86.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	50	303	353
		% within District	14.2%	85.8%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Farm owners and their relatives usually exercise oversight of their farms, and it is normal for them to request farm workers to assist in doing specific jobs outside the farms, e.g.

helping to maintain a food crop farm (maize, plantains or yams). This tendency of farmers and relatives to request workers to do other jobs is what some workers termed abuse (based on information elicited from the FGDs).

Table 5.21 Adult Workers who have or have not Experienced Violence/Abusive Conduct from relatives of Producer (by Cocoa districts)

District		Have you experienced violence or abusive conduct by relatives or caretakers of the producer while working on the cocoa farm?		Total
		Yes	No	
Bekwai (Ash)	Count	4	56	60
	% within District	6.7%	93.3%	100.0%
Konongo (Ash)	Count	2	58	60
	% within District	3.3%	96.7%	100.0%
Kade (ER)	Count	3	53	56
	% within District	5.4%	94.6%	100.0%
Samreboi (WS)	Count	4	55	59
	% within District	6.8%	93.2%	100.0%
Debiso (WN)	Count	9	50	59
	% within District	15.3%	84.7%	100.0%
Kaase (WN)	Count	3	56	59
	% within District	5.1%	94.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	25	328	353
	% within District	7.1%	92.9%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 5.22. Adult Workers who have or have not felt Obliged/Forced to Work while Sick or Injured (by Cocoa districts)

District		Have you felt obliged/forced to work while you have been sick or injured?		Total
		Yes	No	
Bekwai (Ash)	Count	0	60	60
	% within District	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Konongo (Ash)	Count	6	54	60
	% within District	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
Kade (ER)	Count	4	52	56
	% within District	7.1%	92.9%	100.0%
Samreboi (WS)	Count	5	54	59
	% within District	8.5%	91.5%	100.0%
Debiso (WN)	Count	2	57	59
	% within District	3.4%	96.6%	100.0%
Kaase (WN)	Count	2	57	59
	% within District	3.4%	96.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	19	334	353
	% within District	5.4%	94.6%	100.0%

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

SECTION 6: THE INVOLVEMENT OF CHILDREN IN COCOA PRODUCTION

The involvement of children in cocoa production and related activities in the surveyed cocoa districts is discussed in this section. The survey involved interviewing children between the ages of 5 to17 (grouped on the basis of the degree to which a child can do some types of work; 5-12 years, 13-14 years and 15-17 years). The categorization of children into these age groups is guided by the provisions in the Ghana's Children's Act (Act 560 of 1998) and ILO Convention 182. According to the Children's Act, children are allowed to take part in light work from age 13 years; they can be employed at age 15 in non-hazardous work. However, only persons 18 years old and above are permitted by law to engage in hazardous work.

Again, the children interviewed were grouped into two categories:
(a) Children identified as part of the farmer/caretaker household survey sample (*sampled household children*)
(b) Community children outside the sampled households, whose parents or guardians are either cocoa farm owners or caretakers, and who assist in cocoa farm operations in the listed community. These children are classified as *other household children*.

In the sections that follow, the socio-economic characteristics (age, school enrolment, migration status, whether the child is staying with own parents or not, among others) of the children sampled in the communities; how and why the child came to live in the community; whether the children sampled are in any form of debt and must work to redeem these debts; whether the child is restricted in his/her movements at home and whether the child has suffered abusive labour practices, are presented and discussed. The method of analysis is mainly descriptive statistics, based on a total of 610 children comprising both the *sampled household children* and the *other household children* in the six (6) cocoa districts in the survey.

6.1 Socio-economic characteristics of the children in the sampled communities

The total sample size of the children surveyed was 610. Children linked to household sampled were 190 (31%) while 420 (69%) were other household children (children from the community outside the sampled households). We note here that there is actually no difference in characteristics between *sampled household children* and *other household children* because they come from the same communities and live under similar conditions. However, the sampled household children were obtained from a systematic sampling of households (as described earlier) while the other household children were picked by randomly sampling children in the same community. They are discussed separately for statistical reasons only. Table 6.1 provides a summary of the distribution of these children in the cocoa districts sampled.

Table 6.1. Child in Community by Cocoa District (Sample Survey)

Cocoa District	Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
Bekwai (Ash)	45 (44.6%)	56 (55.4%)	101 (100.0%)
Konongo (Ash)	41 (41.0%)	59 (59.0%)	100 (100.0%)
Kade (ER)	31 (31.0%)	69 (69.0%)	100 (100.0%)
Samreboi (WS)	27 (23.9%)	86 (76.1%)	113 (100.0%)
Debiso (EN)	18 (16.8%)	89 (83.2%)	107 (100.0%)
Kaase (WN)	28 (31.5%)	61 (68.5%)	89 (100.0%)
Total	190 (31.1%)	420 (68.9%)	610 (100.0%)

Note: Percentage values are within districts

Table 6.2 summarizes the age profile, school enrolment status and the gender of the sampled children in the combined communities. In terms of age profile by groups, 314 children (52%) are within the ages of 5 and 12; 159 children (25%) falls within the 13-14 year bracket and 137 children (23%) of the children fall within the 15-17 year bracket. Of the children within the 5-12 age group, 67 percent are other household children (211 children), whilst with the 13-14 year group, 74 percent are other household children. Of the 15-17 year group, 66 percent are other household children.

Table 6.2 Child in Community by Age Group, Education and Gender

Type of Child in Community	AGE GROUPS (YEARS)			CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SCHOOL?		GENDER	
	5-12	13-14	15-17	YES	NO	MALE	FEMALE
Sampled household children	103 (32.8 %)	41 (25.8 %)	46 (33.6 %)	159 (28.9 %)	30 (52.6 %)	102	88
Other household children	211 (67.2 %)	118 (74.2 %)	91 (66.4 %)	391 (71.1 %)	27 (47.4 %)	277	141
Total	314 (100 %)	159 (100 %)	137 (100 %)	550 (90.6 %)	57 (9.4 %)	379	229

Sample Survey: count and percentage within group. Numbers reported are valid respondents

Also from Table 6.2, 91 percent of all the children sampled are currently enrolled in schools. From Table 6.2, there are three hundred and seventy nine (379) males in the sample comprising 62 percent. The other household children (male) comprise 27 percent of the total male in the sample. Table 6.3 indicates the distribution of the school enrolment by cocoa districts. The proportion of children currently enrolled in schools in the districts (Table 6.3) ranges from 84 percent-94 percent, although one observes a relatively lower enrolment rate among current sampled children in Kaase and Bekwai cocoa districts.

We note that this average is higher than the general average enrolment of 88.1 percent for

the same category of children in all the districts surveyed, based on the Ghana Living Standard Survey report of 2000 (see Appendix I). The increased enrolment might be attributed to the implementation of the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (F-CUBE) policy of the government and the subsequent institution of the Capitation Grant, which was not in place in year 2000.

Table 6.3 Current School Enrolment by Cocoa District

Cocoa District		Current School Enrolment		Total
		Yes	No	
	Bekwai (Ash)	88 (87.1%)	13 (12.9%)	101 (100.0%)
	Konongo (Ash)	92 (92.0%)	8 (8.0%)	100 (100.0%)
	Kade (ER)	93 (93.9%)	6 (6.1%)	99 (100.0%)
	Samreboi (WS)	103 (92.0%)	9 (8.0%)	112 (100.0%)
	Debiso (WN)	100 (93.5%)	7 (6.5%)	107 (100.0%)
	Kaase (WN)	74 (84.1%)	14 (15.9%)	88 (100.0%)
Total		550 (90.6%)	57 (9.4%)	607 (100.0%)

Notes: Percentage values are within districts. 3 data missing

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 6.4 summarizes school attendance ratio (the number of children who are currently enrolled at school and who attended school full day all school days in the last week) for the cocoa districts. The total school attendance is 71.3 percent. The highest ratio of 84 percent is observed for Kaase whilst the least ratio is in Samreboi (60%).

Table 6.4 Proportion of current school enrolled children who attended school full day all school days during the last week by Cocoa District

Cocoa District	Attendance at school full day all school days during the last week			
	YES	NO	No answer / missing	Total children indicating school enrolment
Bekwai (Ash)	59 (67.0%)	23 (26.1%)	6 (6.8%)	88 (100.0%)
Konongo (Ash)	69 (75.0%)	21 (22.8%)	2 (2.2%)	92 (100.0%)
Kade (ER)	60 (64.5%)	31 (33.3%)	2 (2.2%)	93 (100.0%)
Samreboi (WS)	62 (60.2%)	40 (38.8%)	1 (1.0%)	103 (100.0%)
Debiso (WN)	80 (80.0%)	20 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)	100 (100.0%)
Kaase (WN)	62 (83.8%)	10 (13.5%)	2 (2.7%)	74 (100.0%)
Total	392 (71.3%)	145 (26.4%)	13 (2.4%)	550 (100.0%)

Notes: Percentage values are within districts.

Note: Ash = Ashanti; ER = Eastern Region; WN = Western North; WS = Western South

Table 6.5 summarizes the migrant status of the children (as reported by the child). In all, twenty four (24) percent of the children are indigenes. The largest proportion of the children (36%) was born to migrant farmers in the communities. This larger proportion holds for both the other household children and the sampled household child. In-migration from outside the region (but within Ghana) comprises 31 percent of the total

(34% for the other household children and 24% for the sampled household children). Children responding as having migrated from outside Ghana (either with their parents or their parents were from outside Ghana and were born in the community) and are living in the communities comprised only 0.7 percent and are all associated with the *other household children*.

Table 6.5 Child in Community and Migration Status

Migration Status	Child in Community		
	Sampled Household children	**Other Household Children**	**Total**
Indigene of the district	60 (31.6%)	88 (21.0%)	148 (24.3%)
In-migration from within administrative region	11 (5.8%)	41 (9.8%)	52 (8.5%)
Born into community to migrant parents from outside the administrative region	73 (38.4%)	146 (34.8%)	219 (35.9%)
Brought in by parents from outside this administrative region	46 (24.2%)	141 (33.6%)	187 (30.7%)
Brought in by, or born to, parents from outside Ghana	0 (0.0%)	4 (1.0%)	4 (0.7%)
Total	190 (31.1)	420 (68.9)	610 (100%)

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group)

Table 6.6 Child in Community and Location of Child's Father

Location of Father	Child in Community		
	Sampled Household child	**Other Household Child**	**Total**
In our house in this village/community	136 (71.6%)	299 (71.4%)	435 (71.4%)
Elsewhere in the village/community	12 (6.3%)	19 (4.5%)	31 (5.1%)
Elsewhere in the region	12 (6.3%)	28 (6.7%)	40 (6.6%)
Elsewhere in the country	21 (11.1%)	41 (9.8%)	62 (10.2%)
Abroad	0 (0.0%)	5 (1.2%)	5 (0.8%)
Dead	8 (4.2%)	22 (5.3%)	30 (4.9%)
Don't Know	1 (0.5%)	5 (1.2%)	6 (1.0%)
Total	190 (31.2%)	419 (68.8%)	609 (100.0%)

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group)

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 indicate the location of the sampled children's father and mother, respectively. In Table 6.6, 71 percent of the total children's fathers live in the house with the children. The next largest proportion of children has their fathers elsewhere in the country (10 percent for other household children and 12 percent for sampled household children).

From Table 6.7, the proportion of children staying with their mothers' in the same house in the communities is relatively larger (78%) compared to the children living with their fathers. Again, in Table 6.7, the next larger proportion has their mothers located elsewhere in the country. Three (3) percent of the children (18 children) indicate their

mothers are dead. Who these eighteen children are staying with in the communities is profiled in Box 2.

Table 6.7 Child and location of child's mother

Location of Mother	Child in Community		
	Other Household Child	**Sampled Household child**	**Total**
In our house in this village/community	330 (78.6%)	147 (77.4%)	477 (78.2%)
Elsewhere in the village/community	8 (1.9%)	6 (3.2%)	14 (2.3%)
Elsewhere in the region	32 (7.6%)	11 (5.8%)	43 (7.0%)
Elsewhere in the country	34 (8.1%)	22 (11.6%)	56 (9.2%)
Abroad	2 (0.5%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (0.3%)
Dead	14 (3.3%)	4 (2.1%)	18 (3.0%)
Total	420 (68.9%)	190 (31.1%)	610 (100.0%)

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group count)

In Table 6.6, six (6) children reported of ***not knowing*** where their fathers were. In Table 6.8, three (3) of these children are indigenes of the district, two (2) were born into the community to migrant parents from outside the region, and one (1) child was brought in by parents from outside the region (see Table 6.8). Some of these six children, however, are staying with their mothers (see Box 2).

Table 6.8 Migration Status and where the Father is

Migration Status	Location of Father							
	In our house in this village/community	Elsewhere in the village/community	Elsewhere in the region	Elsewhere in the country	Abroad	Dead	**Don't Know**	Total
Indigene of the district	104	14	12	10	1	3	**3**	147
In-migration from within this region	24	1	15	6	1	5	**0**	52
Born into community to migrant parents from outside the region	182	11	6	4	1	13	**2**	219
Brought in by parents from outside this region	123	5	7	42	2	7	**1**	187
Brought in by or born to parents from outside Ghana	2	0	0	0	0	2	**0**	4
Total	435	31	40	62	5	30	**6**	609

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group)

Box 2: Profile of sampled children who don't know where their fathers are, and of those who indicated their mothers are dead

Of the six children in Table 6.6 who indicated they *do not know* where their fathers are, three (3) indicate they are staying with their mothers in the same house. One child indicated the mother is elsewhere in the country and two (2) have their mothers' dead.

In Table 6.7, a total of 18 children reported that their mothers were dead. The profiles of these children are: 16 of these are currently enrolled in school. The two not in schools are aged 16 years (likely to be a post-JSS) and 9 years, respectively. Ten (10) of these children live with their fathers, four (4) with grand parents, one (1) with an aunt and three (3) with uncles.

Table 6.9 summarizes whom the sampled children are staying with in the communities. Eighty four percent of the children are either staying with both parents, the father or the mother in the community. Those living with a non-relative were 2.4 percent of the sample, combining sampled household children and other household children. The proportion of the other household children staying with parents is 85 percent and compares favourably with the 83 percent of the sampled household children.

Table 6 .9 Child in community and who the child is staying with

Who Child is Staying With	Child in Community		
	Sampled Household children	**Other Household Children**	**Total**
Parents /Father/Mother	157 (82.6%)	355 (84.7%)	512 (84.1%)
Relatives (Aunt/Uncle/Brother/Sister/Grand Parents)	28 (14.7%)	54 (12.9%)	82 (13.5%)
Non-Relative (Foster parent)	5 (2.6%)	10 (2.3%)	15 (2.4%)
Total	190 (100.0%)	419 (100%)	609 (100.0%)

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group count)

Table 6.10 Children staying with non-parents and whether the arrangement is permanent

Type of child in the community	Staying with non-parents (relatives/non-relatives) and whether the arrangement is permanent			
	YES	NO	Not Applicable	Total
Sampled household children	19 (10.0%)	14 (7.4%)	157 (82.6%)	190 (100.0%)
Other household children	25 (6.0%)	29 (6.9%)	365 (87.1%)	419 (100.0%)
Total	44 (7.2%)	43 (7.1%)	522 (85.7%)	609 (100.0%)

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group count)

In Table 6.10, of those children staying with non-parents (relatives and non-relatives), 7.2 percent (44 children) are staying with these non-parents in a kind of a permanent arrangement.

Table 6.11 summarizes how these 44 children who are *not* living with their parents in the communities, but are in a kind of permanent living arrangement with non-parents came to live in those communities, with reference to table 6.10. Overall, children born elsewhere and sent/brought to the communities by their parents constitute the largest proportion (72.7%) of the children who do not live with their parents.

Table 6.11 How children who do not live with parents in the community came to live with non-parents (relatives and non-relatives) in the community on a permanent arrangement

Child not with parents and how child came to live with non parent in the permanent arrangement in the community	**Child in Community**		
	Sampled Household Children	**Other Household children**	**Total**
I was sent/brought here by my Parents/father/mother	12 (37.5%)	20 (62.5%)	32 (72.7%)
I was sent/brought here by my relatives (Aunt/Uncle/Sister/Brother/etc)	5 (55.5%)	4 (44.4%)	9 (20.5%)
No response	0 (0.0%)	1 (100.0%)	1 (2.3%)
Self	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)	2 (4.5%)
Total	17 (38.6%)	27 (61.4.0%)	44 (100.0%)

(Sample Survey: count and percentage within group count)

Note: This question apply to only children living with non-parents in a permanent basis in the community

The reasons for the arrangement to live with non-parents, whether in a permanent arrangement or not, in those communities (from the children's perspective) are summarized in Table 6.12. The major reason given by the children was that the arrangements were made for convenience, which clearly reflects the cultural setting of

these Ghanaian communities and the fluidity in who a child can stay with in a community. In most Ghanaian societies, it is very common for parents to send their children to live with other relatives in order to enjoy better educational facilities or vocational training, or for proximity to school.

The need to make money as a reason for staying with other relatives than one's parents constitutes 11.5 percent (see Box 3). Those living with others as a family tradition made up 9.8 percent; and living for convenience (living with aunt, uncle, sister, brother, among others) comprises 78.7 percent of the sampled children who are not living with their parents.

Table 6.12 Reason for the arrangement for child to live in the community

Reasons	**Child in Community**		
	Sampled Household child	**Other Household Child**	**Total**
Need to make money	1 (5.0%)	6 (14.6%)	7 (11.5%)
This is our family tradition	2 (10.0%)	4 (9.8%)	6 (9.8%)
For convenience	17 (85.0%)	31 (75.6%)	48 (78.7%)
Total	20 (100.0%)	41 (100.0%)	61 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children since their parents lived in the communities

Box 3: The need to make money as a reason

The need to make money as a reason for the seven (7) children to come to live in the community is followed up as to the ages of the children, gender and whether the child is at school. Five (5) of these children are between the ages 15-17, mostly male with only two of these currently enrolled at school.

Profile of children who indicated the need to make money as a reason to come live in the community

Type of Child	Age Profile (YEARS)					Enrolled at School?		Gender	
	10	12	15	16	17	YES	NO	Male	Female
Sampled household children	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Other household children	1	1	1	3	0	2	4	6	0

There were two children – a 10 and 12-year-old male - who are both currently enrolled at school. The only female is seventeen years old and not currently in school (perhaps a post JSS graduate).

For children who come from outside the region, the issue of who decided that the child should come to live in the community, where applicable (note that some of these children were born in the communities), and whether the child agreed to the decision are summarized in Tables 6.13 and 6.14, respectively.

Table 6.13a summarizes, from the child's perspective, who decided that he/she should come and stay in the household. Only 3.4 percent of the sampled children (6 children) indicated that they took the decision themselves. Their reason was basically to access school facilities in consenting to parental suggestions to live with a relative whose home might be closer to the school or vocational training facility.

Table 6.13a Decision to come to live in the Community (Household)

Decision taken by:	**Sampled household children**	**Other household children**	Total
Myself	2 (4.3%)	4 (3.1%)	6 (3.4%)
Parents	37 (80.4%)	113 (86.9%)	150 (85.2%)
Relatives	7 (15.2%)	13 (10.0%)	20 (11.4%)
Total	46 (100.0%)	130 (100.0%)	176 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children since they were born in the communities

It is a normal occurrence for children to visit relatives and then choose to stay permanently. In cases where children choose to stay permanently, children need the consent of both parents/guardians and the host, but that will be subsequent to the child taking the decision to stay permanently. The decision to live in the community was taken by parents in 85 percent of cases and other relatives in 11.4 percent of the children.

Table 6.13b summarizes the profile of the six (6) children who decided by themselves to come to live in the community. Three (3) of these children are between the ages 15-16, all male with four (4) of these enrolled at school.

Table 6.13b Profile of Children who decided by themselves to come to live in the community.

Type of Child	Age Profile (YEARS)				Enrolled at School?		Gender	
	10	12	15	16	YES	NO	Male	Female
Sampled household children	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Other household children	0	2	1	1	3	1	6	0

In Table 6.14, 4 percent of the sampled children whose parents did not live in the community did not agree to the decision to come and live in the community. These are found in the other household children. The profile of the four (4) other household children who did not agree to the decision to come and live in the community are summarized in table 6.14b.

Table 6.14a If decision to come to live in the community (household) NOT taken by child, did the child agree

Child's agreement to decision	**Sampled household children**	**Other household child**	Total
Yes	27 (100.0%)	71 (94.7%)	98 (96.1%)
No	0 (0.0%)	4 (5.3%)	4 (3.9%)
Total	27 (100.0%)	75 (100.0%)	102 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children since they lived with their parents or were born in the communities

Table 6.14b Profile of the four (4) children who did not agree to the decision to come and live in the community

Type of Child	Age Profile (YEARS)			Enrolled at School?		Gender		Who put you in the arrangement
	10	13	17	YES	NO	Male	Female	
Sampled household children	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	-
Other household children	1	2	1	3	1	2	2	Parent (1) Uncle (1) Sister (1) Not indicated (1)

In Table 6.14 b, three (3) of these children are between the ages 13-17, two male, two female with three (3) of these enrolled at school. This is also not surprising since, as indicated before, the household head could take certain family decisions in the best interest of the child.

6.2 Perceptions on Living conditions of Sampled Children

From the outset to this section, it is important to emphasize that (a) 97.6 percent of the sampled children live with their parents and relatives (aunts, uncles, brothers, etc), (b) 91 percent of these children are in school (c) and that the sampled children in the majority are not cocoa farm workers but do help with some cocoa farm activities.

Expectations on the conditions of the children who had moved from other communities to live in the present communities were asked in terms of their involvement in cocoa farm work situation and payments, if any, for their labour use. These are summarized in Tables 6.15 to 6.16, respectively.

In Table 6.15, relative to the total sample, 8.5 percent of the children indicate that their life situation currently compared to their previous has improved. This refers to general living situation and not specific to work on the cocoa farm. The largest proportion (9.3%) is in the other household children.

Table 6.15 Child's life situation comparison

Life situation comparison	Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
Same	5 (2.6%)	15 (3.6%)	20 (3.3%)
Better	13 (6.8%)	39 (9.3%)	52 (8.5%)
Worse	11 (5.8%)	37 (8.8%)	48 (7.9%)
Not Applicable	161 (84.7%)	329 (78.3%)	490 (80.3%)
Total	190 (100.0%)	420 (100.0%)	610 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they never moved from one community to another.

In Table 6.16, 6 percent of the total sampled children indicate that their labour situation currently compared to their previous has improved. Those whose labour situation has worsened comprise 3.4 percent.

Table 6.16 Child's labour situation comparison

Labour situation comparison	Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
Same	5 (2.6%)	10 (2.4%)	15 (2.5%)
Better	8 (4.2%)	28 (6.7%)	36 (5.9%)
Worse	5 (2.6%)	16 (3.8%)	21 (3.4%)
Not Applicable	171 (90.5%)	366 (87.1%)	537 (88.2%)
Total	189 (100.0%)	420 (100.0%)	609 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they had not moved and indicated they could not compare any previous work situation.

In Table 6.17, seven (7) children comprising 1.2 percent of the children who are able to compare their earnings indicate their salary situation currently compared to their previous has worsened. Those whose salary situation has improved (better) comprise 1.8 percent.

Table 6.17 Comparison of money paid for work situation in community to where child was before

Comparison of money paid for work		Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	Same	2 (1.1%)	2 (0.5%)	4 (0.7%)
	Better	1 (0.5%)	10 (2.4%)	11 (1.8%)
	Worse	1 (0.5%)	6 (1.4%)	7 (1.2%)
	Not Applicable	185 (97.9%)	401 (95.7%)	586 (96.4%)
Total		189 (100.0%)	419 (100.0%)	608 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they had not moved, do not work for any payments and cannot compare to any previous situation.

In conclusion to this section, most of the children are not in any position to compare a previous work or life condition to current situation. This is so because most have not

moved from their communities and are not in paid employment (cocoa farm labour employment) to earn wages or salaries. Hence the responses here are best seen as perceptions on the part of the children.

6.3 Debt indicators in the Sampled Children in the Communities

As already discussed in an earlier section, the ILO has explained debt bondage or bonded labour as the situation where a person becomes a security against a debt or loan, and in practice it lies on the borderline between forced labour and slavery. Usually the individual works exclusively or partly to pay off the debt and such debt may also be perpetuated and could persist for a long time.

From the outset to this section, it is again important to emphasize that (a) 97.6 percent of the sampled children live with their parents and relatives (aunts, uncles, brothers, etc), (b) 91 percent of these children are currently enrolled in school (c) and that the sampled children in the majority are not cocoa farm workers but do help with some cocoa farm activities.

The survey solicited information on possible sources of debt owed among the sampled children in the communities. The indicators included whether the child or family is receiving payments for the child's work; whether the child was working to redeem a debt in general, debt for help to travel to work in that community or working to redeem debt for help in finding job in the community. The survey also solicited information from the children sampled on whether the child working is to redeem a debt to the cocoa producer (owner farmer/caretaker). These issues and the responses are summarized in the Tables 6.18 to 6.20.

In Table 6.18, the proportion of children sampled who indicated that they or their families would be receiving payments for the work they perform on the cocoa farms constitutes 32 percent. The proportion is higher in the sampled household children (39%) than the other household children (28%). Those who indicated NO are 68 percent. The proportion is larger in the other household children (72%) than in the sampled household children (61%). For the children who indicated that they or their family received payments for their work, further probing showed that most of the children perceived that the help they render on the farms are rewarded in the school fees, clothing and other subsistence they receive from the parents (not that there was any agreement on some amount of money to be paid to them monthly or yearly) either directly or indirectly. Thus, it was more a case of perception on receiving payments rather than actual occurrence of cash/wage payments.

Table 6.18 Child or family receiving payments for Child's work

You or your family receipt of any payment in cash or in kind for the labour you perform on the cocoa farm		Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	Yes	71 (39.4%)	103 (27.8%)	174 (31.6%)
	No	109 (60.6%)	268 (72.2%)	377 (68.4%)
Total		180 (100.0%)	371 (100.0%)	551 (100.0%)

In Table 6.19, only 2.0 percent of the sampled children indicated that their income or work in the communities helps pay debt to someone back home. All the sampled household children indicated their incomes do not help pay debt to anyone.

Table 6.19a Child Work to Redeem Debt by someone back home

Labour to help pay debt to someone back home		Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	Yes	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.0%)	2 (2.0%)
	No	2 (100.0%)	97 (98.0%)	99 (98.0%)
Total		2 (100.0%)	99 (100.0%)	101 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they had not moved.

The profiles of the two (2) *other household children* who indicated they are working to redeem debt owed someone back home are summarized in table 6.19b.

Table 6.19b Profile of Children who indicated they were working to redeem debt owed by someone back home

Type of Child	Age (YEARS)		Enrolled at School?		Gender	
	12	17	YES	NO	Male	Female
Community sampled child	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other household child	1	1	1	1	1	1

From the profile, the male child is seventeen (17) years old and not in school. This child is staying with the brother-in-law and is a migrant from outside the region where he is staying. The twelve year old is female, at school and lives with both parents and an indigene. The 12-year old female child's assertion of owing someone and needs to work to pay back needed further probing. For the seventeen year old, the possibility of owing someone is possible.

In Table 6.20, only 0.9 percent of the sampled children indicated their incomes help pay a debt for help in travelling to the community. The only individual is linked to the sampled

household children.

Table 6.20 Redemption of debt of help in travelling to community

Labour help to pay debt to people who helped you travel		Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	Yes	1 (33.3%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.9%)
	No	2 (66.7%)	98 (100.0%)	100 (99.1%)
Total		3 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)	101 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they had not moved.

The profile of the child who indicated that the work performed on the cocoa farm help pay debt to people who helped the child to travel to the community show some degree of inconsistency on the part of the child: the child is 13 years, currently enrolled at school, female and lives with both parents. This child couldn't have contracted any debt to travel to live in that community.

In Tables 6.21 and 6.22, none of the children who answered to the question, is working to redeem debt as for being helped to find job in the community (Table 6.21) or is working to redeem debt as owed to a cocoa producer/farmer (Table 6.22).

Table 6.21 Child Working to Redeem Debt for help in finding job in the Community

Labour help to pay debt to people who helped you find a job		Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	No	2 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)	100 (100.0%)
Total		2 (100.0%)	98 (100.0%)	100 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they had not moved.

Table 6.22 Child Working to Redeem Debt to the Producer/Farmer

Labour help to pay debt to the producer		Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	No	2 (100.0%)	97 (100.0%)	99 (100.0%)
Total		2 (100.0%)	97 (100.0%)	99 (100.0%)

Note: This question did not apply to most children because they had not moved.

6.4 Freedom of Movement in the Sampled Children

Tables 6.23 and 6.24 analyse the free movements of the sampled children in the communities. In Table 6.23, 92 percent of the sampled children who responded to this question indicate they can leave the farm or household to visit local towns or community centres without any restriction. The proportion is higher in the other household children (93%) than in the sampled household children (85%). The total proportion of the sample that indicated they do not leave the farm/household to visit other communities comprises 8 percent. The proportion is higher among sampled household children (10%) than among other household children (7%). The children indicated that they have no need to go anywhere outside the community.

In Table 6.24, 82 percent of the sampled children indicated that they have no problems leaving the farm/household whenever they want to leave. The proportion is highest among household linked children (88%) than in the external children (79%). The children who feel not free to leave the farm when they desire comprise some 18 percent of the total sample responding to this question. They indicate there was no feeling of a need to go anywhere. Parental discipline was also given as a reason for children not being free to go wherever they wish.

Table 6.23 Freedom of child to visit local town or community

Leave the farm or household to visit local town or community centres		**Sampled household children**	**Other household children**	Total
	Yes	161 (90.4%)	386 (93.2%)	547 (92.4%)
	No	17 (9.6%)	28 (6.8%)	45 (7.6%)
Total		178 (100.0%)	414 (100.0%)	592 (100.0%)

Table 6.24 Does the children feel he/she can leave whenever desired

The feel that child can leave this farm/household whenever		**Sampled household children**	**Other household child**	Total
	No problem	154 (87.5%)	289 (79.4%)	443 (82.0%)
	Difficult to leave	21 (11.9%)	75 (20.6%)	96 (17.8%)
	Impossible to leave	1 (0.6%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.2%)
Total		176 (100.0%)	364 (100.0%)	540 (100.0%)

The profile of the one (1) child who indicated impossibility of leaving whenever desired is: the child is 8 years old, female and staying with a non-relative. She is currently not enrolled in school, of northern extraction and was brought to live in the community by the father.

For the children (96 children) who indicated difficulty to leave to visit whenever, Table 25 shows the reasons given for their difficulties. The most dominant reason for difficulty

in leaving whenever is because they need the permission of parents. Twelve (12) percent indicated they are afraid of being hurt.

Table 6.25 Reasons why child finds it difficult to leave to visit

Reasons given by children	Sampled household children	Other household children	Total
	Those who indicated **YES**	Those who indicated **YES**	
Need permission of parents	18	63	81 (84.4%)
Because of debt	0	2	2 (2.1%)
No money to travel	1	0	1 (1.0%)
No place to go	0	1	1 (1.0%)
Afraid of being hurt	2	9	11 (11.5)%
Received threats not to leave	2	1	3 (3.1%)
Total	**23**	**73**	96 (100.0%)

Note: The numbers under the YES columns sums up those who indicated have difficulty to leave in Table 6.24

As a further probe to the children who indicated difficulties in leaving and the reasons adduced, Table 6.26 indicates who these children are staying with in the communities.

Table 6.26. Child who finds it difficult to leave to visit and who child is staying with

Child who finds it difficult to leave and reasons adduced	**Who child is staying with in the communities**			
	Parents/Mother /Father	**Relative**	**Non-relative**	**Total**
Afraid of being hurt	**7**	**4**	**0**	**11**
Received threats	**2**	**1**	**0**	**3**
Need for permission of parents	**61**	**17**	**3**	**81**
Because of debt	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
No money to travel	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
No place to go	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
TOTAL	72 (72.7%)	24 (22.2%)	3 (3.0%)	99 (100.0%)

It is observed from Table 6.26 that 73 percent of these children live with both parents, fathers or mothers in the communities. Those who live with non-relatives constitute 3 percent.

6.5 Labour practices among the sampled children

It is important to note, again, from the outset to this section that (a) 97.6 percent of the sampled children live with their parents and relatives (aunts, uncles, brothers, etc), (b) 91 percent of these children are currently enrolled in school (c) what constitutes abusive labour practices were not clearly defined/explained to the sampled children other than to ask them in the local language whether they are reprimanded if they erred at home (d) that the sampled children in the majority are not cocoa farm workers but do help with some cocoa farm activities either on weekends or during school holidays. The reasons

adduced for abuse have no link with cocoa farming; "abuse" generally took place in the home and not on the farm.

Information on the question of abusive labour practices among the sampled children is summarized below in Tables 6.27 to 6.29. The indicators included whether the child has experienced violence or abusive conduct by the producer (parents/relatives who are cocoa farmers); whether the child has experienced violence or abusive conduct from a relative or the caretaker of the cocoa farm, or the child has been obliged/forced to go to the farm while sick or injured.

In Table 6.27, the information obtained indicates that the total proportion of children who have experienced violence or abusive conduct from the producer/farmer is about 11 percent. The proportion is higher in the other household children (12%) than in the sampled household children (9%). Further probing of the respondents indicated that what the children perceive as abuse generally bordered on parental discipline in the interest of the child. Issues that emanated from the focus group discussions confirmed this.

Table 6.27 Experience of violence or abusive conduct by the producer/farmer

Experienced violence or abuse conducted by the producer/farmer	**Sampled household children**	**Other household child**	Total
Yes	15 (8.6%)	47 (12.1%)	62 (11.0%)
No	159 (91.4%)	341 (87.9%)	500 (89.0%)
Total	174 (100.0%)	388 (100.0%)	562 (100.0%)

In Table 6.28, the proportion of the total sampled children that have experienced violence or abusive conduct from relatives of the producer/farmer or the caretaker of the producer/farmer constitutes 7 percent. Again, the proportion is higher in the other household children (8%) than in the sampled household children (6%).

Table 6.28 Experience of violent or abusive conduct from relatives or caretakers of the producer/farmer

Experienced violence or abusive conduct by relatives or caretakers of the producer /farmer while working on the cocoa farm	**Sampled household children**	**Other household children**	Total
Yes	11 (6.3%)	29 (7.5%)	40 (7.1%)
No	164 (93.7%)	359 (92.5%)	523 (92.9%)
Total	175 (100.0%)	388 (100.0%)	563 (100.0%)

In Table 6.29, the forty (40) children who indicated having experienced violent or abusive conduct from relatives or caretakers of the producer/farmer shows that 80 percent live with parents, father or mother. The rest live with relatives.

Table 6.29 Children who have experienced violent or abusive conduct from relatives or caretakers of the producer/farmer and who they are staying with in the communities

Who child is taying with	**Sampled household children**	**Other household children**	Total
Parents/Father/Mother	7 (63.6%)	25 (86.2%)	32 (80.0%)
Relatives	4 (36.4%)	4 (13.8%)	8 (20.0%)
Non-relative	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	11 (100.0%)	29 (100.0%)	40 (100.0%)

In Table 6.30 the proportion of children in the total sample answering that they have felt obliged or forced to work whilst sick or injured comprises 2 percent. As explained during the focus group discussions, one should note that sometimes such parents/guardians thought that the children feigned sicknesses to escape performing their normal household and other responsibilities, and would not act in a way that would harm the children. However, the perceptions of such children were different. Table 6.31 indicates who these children (those who indicated **yes** to forced to work while sick) are staying within the communities.

Table 6.30 Has Child felt obliged/forced to Work While Sick/Injured

Have you felt obliged/forced to work while you have been sick or injured?		**Sampled household children**	**Other household child**	Total
	Yes	3 (1.7%)	11 (2.7%)	14 (2.4%)
	No	178 (98.3%)	392 (97.3%)	570 (97.6%)
Total		181 (100.0%)	403 (100.0%)	584 (100.0%)

In Table 6.31, children who indicated they are obliged or forced to work whilst sick shows that 93 percent of these children live with their parents (parents, father or mother) in the communities.

Table 6.31 Children who indicated obliged/forced to work whilst sick and who they are staying with in the communities

Who child is taying with	**Sampled household children**	**Other household children**	Total
Parents/Father/Mother	3 (100.0%)	10 (90.9%)	13 (92.9%)
Relatives	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Non-relative	0 (0.0%)	1 (9.1%)	1 (7.1%)
Total	3 (100.0%)	11 (100.0%)	14 (100.0%)

6.6 Participation of Children in Cocoa Production Activities

In this section, the participation of children in the cocoa production process during the last cocoa season (2005/2006) in the communities by age groupings, location (cocoa districts), type of child and whether the child is currently enrolled in school or not, are summarised and analysed. The Children's Act (Act 560) and ILO Convention 182 has a list of hazardous activities. This list is currently under review and it will include a list of light as well as hazardous activities in cocoa production. The discussion in this section is done within the context of these legal instruments and preliminary lists developed from the WACAP project.

In Table 6.32, children of all age groupings are involved in the various cocoa activities. The involvement, however, differs by activity and age group. For example, pre-planting activities such as land clearing and tree felling were found to be activities in which children as grouped were not engaged. However, their involvement in these two cocoa activities intensifies (in terms of the proportion of children indicating YES) as the age groupings increase. For instance, the proportion of children in the age groups who indicated they participated in land clearing increases from 0.7 percent in age group 5-12 to 5.2 percent in the 13-14 groups and to 12.1 percent in the 15-17 year group.

Again, in Table 6.32, an arbitrary 30 percent[13] participation rate within each age group cut off is employed to identify cocoa activities in which these children are engaged. Using this arbitrary cut-off participation rate, children of all age groups do not intensively participate in land clearing for cocoa cultivation, and in lining and pegging for planting of seedlings. Children within the age group 15-17 engage in holing and planting for suckers and planting at stake. This may be attributable to the fact that raising of nurseries and lining and pegging are not widely practiced in the communities.

[13] The 30 percent participation here means that if the percentage of children who reported involvement in any activity was 30 percent or more, then we considered it intensive participation and captured in the discussion, for simplicity. Participation rates less than 30 percent were also important, but has not been highlighted.

Table 6.32 Child Participation in Cocoa Production Activities in the last cocoa season – 2005/2006 (sample survey)

Cocoa Activity	AGE GROUPINGS					
	5-12 (percentage within same group)		13-14 (percentage within same group)		15-17 (percentage within same group)	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Pre-Planting						
Land clearing	2 (0.7%)	287 (99.3%)	8 (5.3%)	143 (94.7%)	16 (12.4%)	113 (87.6%)
Felling trees	3 (1.0%)	285 (99.0%)	6 (4.0%)	145 (96.0%)	12 (9.2%)	119 (90.08%)
Burning	9 (3.1%)	280 (96.9%)	20 (13.2)	131 (86.8%)	19 (14.6%)	111 (845.4%
De-stumping	8 (2.8%)	281 (97.2%)	15 (9.9%)	136 (90.1%)	17 (13.0%)	114 (87.0%)
Peg cutting	6 (2.1%)	283 (97.9%)	8 (5.3%)	143 (94.7%)	8 (6.1%)	123 (93.9%)
Lining/pegging	9 (3.1%)	280 (96.9%)	11 (7.3%)	140 (92.7%)	9 (6.9%)	122 (93.1%)
Planting						
Holing/planting of suckers (shade plants)	41 (14.2%)	247 (85.8%)	44 (29.3%)	106 (70.7%)	46 (35.1%)*	85 (64.9%)
Prep. Seedlings	13 (4.5%)	276 (95.5%)	7 (4.7%)	143 (95.3%)	14 (10.7%)	117 (89.3%)
Carrying seedling	13 (4.5%)	276 (95.5%)	12 (8.0%)	138 (92.0%)	16 (12.1%)	116 (87.9%)
Holing for seedlings	13 (4.5%)	275 (95.5%)	10 (6.7%)	140 (93.3%)	18 (13.7%)	113 (86.3%)
Planting of seedlings	11 (3.8%)	277 (96.2%)	14 (9.3%)	136 (90.7%)	20 (15.3%)	111 (84.7%)
Sowing at stake	53 (18.4%)	235 (81.6%)	40 (26.5%)	111 (73.5%)	48 (36.9%)*	82 (63.1%)
Farm Maintenance						
Weeding (farm maintenance)	151 (51.2%)*	144 (48.8%)	105 (68.6%)*	48 (31.4%)	100 (75.8%)*	32 (24.2%)
Spraying insecticide	5 (1.7%)	289 (98.3%)	6 (3.9%)	147 (96.1%)	16 (12.0%)	117 (88.0%)
Application of fertiliser	15 (5.1%)	278 (94.9%)	8 (5.2%)	145 (94.8%)	21 (15.8%)	112 (84.2%)
Application of fungicide/other chemical	8 (2.7%)	285 (97.3%)	7 (4.6%)	146 (95.4%)	18 (13.7%)	113 (86.3%)
Water carrying for spraying	184 (62.4%)*	111 (37.6%)	113 (73.9%)*	40 (26.1%)	97 (73.5%)*	35 (26.5%)
Sanitation/pruning	16 (5.4%)	278 (94.6%)	24 (15.7%)	129 (84.3%)	45 (33.8%)	88 (66.2%)
Mistletoe control	25 (8.4%)	271 (91.6%)	21 (13.7%)	132 (86.3%)	44 (33.1%)	89 (66.9%)
Harvesting						
Pod plucking	60 (20.3%)	236 (79.7%)	55 (35.9%)	98 (64.1%)	71 (53.4%)	62 (46.6%)
Pod gathering /heaping	271 (90.9%)*	27 (9.1%)	137 (89.5%)*	16 (10.5%)	113 (84.3%)*	21 (15.7%)
Pod breaking/fermentation	104 (35.3%)*	191 (64.7%)	73 (47.7%)*	80 (52.3%)	83 (62.4%)*	50 (37.6%)
Bean scooping	176 (59.1%)*	122 (40.9%)	91 (59.5%)*	62 (40.5%)	87 (65.9%)*	45 (34.1%)
Post-Harvest						
Carting fermented bean	151 (50.7%)*	147 (49.3%)	107 (70.4%)*	45 (29.6%)	99 (75.0%)*	33 (25.0%)
Drying beans	89 (29.8%)	210 (70.2%)	76 (50.0%)*	76 (50.0%)	85 (64.4%)*	47 (35.6%)
Carting dried beans for sale	65 (21.8%)	233 (78.2%)	65 (43.0%)*	86 (57.0%)	76 (57.6%)*	56 (42.4%)

Notes: Percentages in asterisk (*) are participation rates above 30 percent within age groupings

The common activities, using this cut off participation rate, within the age groupings are the farm maintenance activities of weeding, water carrying for spraying; harvesting activities of pod gathering and heaping, pod breaking/fermentation and scooping of beans, and post-harvest activity of carting fermented beans. The larger proportion of these age groupings are found in weeding (50-75%), carrying water for spraying (61-73%), pod gathering and heaping (84-89%), bean scooping (58-65%) and carting fermented beans (50-74%). Pod plucking, drying of beans and carting dried beans for sale dominate among the 13-14 and 15-17 year groups. The implication is that as children age, more and more of them help in some activities on cocoa farms.

The hazardous activities, which are mainly adult work, see some children participating. The participation rates of these age groups are found in table 6.33a. The hazardous activity that cuts across age groups is the post-harvest activity of carting fermented beans

to the house for drying (using the 30% participation rate). This activity is considered hazardous to the child if the loads are heavy and the distance covered is over 4 km. In the focus group discussion with the children, most children admitted carrying fermented cocoa and dry cocoa beans, but always in smaller containers commensurate to their ages. They agreed that parents/guardians were conscious of the extra burden and expenses on them when they (the children) feel sick, and would therefore not give them heavy loads. The other hazardous activity found, with participation rates above 30 percent, is in pod plucking (involving dangerous tools such as harvesting hooks). This hazardous work increases with increasing age.

Table 6.33a Child Participation in Hazardous Cocoa Production Activities in the last cocoa season – 2005/2006 (sample survey)

Cocoa Activity	AGE GROUPINGS					
	5-12 (percentage within same group)		**13-14 (percentage within same group)**		**15-17 (percentage within same group)**	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Pre-Planting						
Land clearing	2 (0.7%)	287 (99.3%)	8 (5.3%)	143 (94.7%)	16 (12.4%)	113 (87.6%)
Felling trees	3 (1.0%)	285 (99.0%)	6 (4.0%)	145 (96.0%)	12 (9.2%)	119 (90.8%)
Burning	9 (3.1%)	280 (96.9%)	20 (13.2%)	131 (90.8%)	19 (14.6%)	111 (85.4%)
Farm Maintenance						
Spraying insecticide	5 (1.7%)	289 (98.3%)	6 (3.9%)	147 (96.1%)	16 (12.0%)	117 (88.0%)
Application of fertiliser	15 (5.1%)	278 (94.9%)	8 (5.2%)	145 (94.8%)	21 (15.8%)	112 (84.2%)
Application of fungicide/other chemical	8 (2.7%)	285 (97.3%)	7 (4.6%)	146 (95.4%)	18 (13.7%)	113 (86.3%)
Harvesting						
Pod plucking	60 (20.3%)	236 (77.7%)	55 (35.9%)*	98 (64.1%)	71 (53.4%)*	62 (46.6%)
Post-Harvest						
Carting fermented bean [1]	151 (50.7%)*	147 (49.3%)	107 (70.4%)*	45 (29.6%)	99 (75.0%)*	33 (25.0%)
Carting dry beans for sale [1]	65 (21.8%)	233 (78.2%)	65 (43.0%)*	86 (57.0%)	76 (57.6%)*	56 (42.4%)

Notes: Table constructed from Table 6.26. Percentages in asterisk (*) are participation rates above 30% within age groupings.
[1] This activity is considered hazardous to the child if the loads are heavy and the distance covered is over 4 km. In the focus group discussion with the children, the children admitted carrying fermented cocoa and dry cocoa beans, but always in smaller containers commensurate to their ages.

The actual ages of the children in the age group 5-12 participating in the spraying of insecticides, application of fertilisers and fungicides (Table 6.33b) indicates that most of these children are aged between 8-12. From the focus group discussions with the children, some indicated the use of the non-motorised backpack Knapsack hand-spraying machines in the application of herbicides. There is a need to intensify education on the dangers to the children in these activities to the parents.

Table 6.33b Actual Ages of children in the age group 5-12 who participate in the application of agro-chemicals

Age (Years)	Spraying Insecticide	Application of fungicide/other chemicals	Application of fertilisers	Total
5	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	1	1
8	1	1	2	4
9	0	1	1	2
10	0	2	2	4
11	2	3	4	9
12	2	1	5	8
Total	5	8	15	28

In Table 6.34, in all the cocoa districts, children participate in the various cocoa activities, except the Bekwai cocoa district where children were not involved in clearing and tree felling in the last cocoa season. The involvement however differs in activity and location. For example, while land clearing and tree felling is seen as not an activity where children in the Bekwai cocoa district are engaged, the involvement in these two cocoa activities intensifies (in terms of the proportion of children indicating YES) from Debiso (Western North), Konongo (Ashanti), Kade (Eastern), Samreboi (Western South) and Kaase (Western North).

Again, in Table 6.34, using the arbitrary 30 percent participation rate within each location, children do not intensively participate in land clearing in the cocoa production process up to lining and pegging for seedlings. Children in Kaase engage in holing and planting for suckers and sowing at stake.

Table 6.34 Child Participation in Cocoa Production Activities in the last season (by Cocoa District) – 2005/2006 (sample survey)

Cocoa Activity	COCOA DISTRICTS											
	Bekwai (Ash)		Konongo (Ash)		Kade (ER)		Samreboi (WS)		Debiso (WN)		Kaase (WN)	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Pre-Planting												
Land clearing	0 (0.0)	101 (100)	4 (4.2)	91 (95.)	2 (2.2)	90 (97.8)	8 (8.9)	82 (91.)	1 (0.9)	105 (99.1)	11 (12.9)	74 (87.1)
Felling trees	0 (0.0)	101 (100)	4 (4.2)	91 (96.)	1 (1.1)	91 (98.9)	9 (10.)	80 (90.)	1 (0.9)	105 (99.1)	6 (6.9)	81 (93.1)
Burning	2 (2.0)	99 (98.)	6 (6.3)	89 (94.)	5 (5.4)	87 (94.6.)	19 (21.)	71 (79.)	5 (4.8)	100 (95.2)	11 (12.6)	76 (87.4)
De-stumping	5 (5.0)	96 (95.)	8 (8.4)	87 (92.)	2 (2.2)	90 (97.8.)	8 (8.9)	82 (91.)	3 (2.8)	103 (97.2)	14 (16.1)	73 (83.9)
Peg cutting	1 (1.0)	100 (99.)	4 (4.2)	91 (96.)	3 (3.3)	89 (96.7)	5 (5.6)	85 (94.)	0 (0.0)	106 (100.)	9 (10.3)	78 (89.7)
Lining/pegging	1 (1.0)	100 (99.)	2 (2.1)	93 (98.)	8 (8.7)	84 (91.3.)	6 (6.7)	84 (93.)	1 (0.9)	105 (99.1)	11 (12.6)	76 (87.4)
Planting												
Holing/planting of suckers (shade plants)	3 (3.0)	98 (97.)	4 (4.2)	91 (96.)	30 (32.6.)	62 (67.4)	35 (40.)	53 (60.)	8 (7.5)	98 (92.5)	**51 (58.6)**	36 (41.4)
Prep. seedlings	4 (4.0)	97 (96.)	4 (4.2)	91 (96.)	10 (10.9)	82 (89.1)	5 (5.6)	84 (94.)	0 (0.0)	106 (100.)	11 (12.6)	76 (87.4)
Carrying seedling	2 (2.0)	99 (98.)	5 (5.3)	90 (95.)	13 (13.8)	81 (86.2)	5 (5.6)	84 (94.)	0 (0.0)	106 (100.)	16 (18.6)	70 (81.4)
Holing for seedlings	3 (3.0)	98 (97.)	5 (5.3)	90 (95.)	11 (12.)	81 (88.)	6 (6.7)	83 (93.)	0 (0.0)	106 (100.)	16 (18.6)	70 (81.4)
Planting of seedlings	4 (4.0)	97 (96.)	5 (5.3)	90 (95.)	11 (12.)	81 (88.)	8 (9.0)	81 (91.)	0 (0.0)	106 (100.)	17 (19.8)	69 (80.2)
Sowing at stake	13 (13.)	88 (87.)	10 (11.)	85 (90.)	11 (12.)	81 (88.)	47 (52.)	43 (48.)	14 (13.)2	92 (86.8)	**46 (54.1)**	39 (45.9)
Farm Maintenance												
Weeding	42 **(42.)**	59 (58.)	**55 (56.)**	44 (44.)	**67 (72.8.)**	25 (27.2.)	**78 (82.1)**	17 (17.9)	**55 (51.9)**	51 (48.1)	**59 (67.8)**	28 (32.2)
Spraying insecticide	1 (1.0)	100 (99.)	2 (2.0)	97 (98.)	7 (7.6)	85 (92.4.)	10 (11.)	85 (90.)	1 (0.9)	105 (99.1)	6 (6.9)	81 (93.1)
Application of fertiliser	0 (0.0)	101 (100)	2 (2.0)	97 (98.)	9 (9.8)	83 (90.0)	22 (23.)	73 (77.)	8 (7.5)	98 (92.5)	3 (3.5)	83 (96.5)
Application of fungicide/other chemical	1 (1.0)	100 (99.)	2 (2.0)	96 (98.)	5 (5.4)	87 (94.6)	12 (13.)	83 (87.)	4 (3.8)	102 (96.2)	9 (10.6)	76 (89.4)
Water carrying for spraying	**48 (48.)**	53 (53.)	**60 (61.2)**	38 (38.8)	**65 (70.7.)**	27 (29.3)	**73 (76.)**	23 (24.)	**80 (76.2)**	25 (23.8)	**68 (77.3)**	20 (22.7)
Sanitation/pruning	6 (5.9)	95 (94.)	12 (12.)	88 (88.)	25 (27.2.)	67 (72.8.)	27 (28.)	68 (72.)	5 (4.7)	101 (95.3)	10 (11.6)	76 (88.4)
Mistletoe control	8 (7.9)	93 (92.)	13 (13.)	87 (87.)	19 (20.7.)	73 (79.3)	**33 (35.)**	62 (65.)	5 (4.7)	101 (95.3)	12 (13.6)	76 (86.4)
Harvesting												
Pod plucking	25 (25.)	76 (75.)	29 (29.)	71 (71.)	**38 (41.3.)**	54 (58.7)	**57 (60.)**	38 (40.)	18 (17.)	88 (82.)	19 (21.6)	69 (78.4)
Pod gathering /heaping	**98 (97.)**	3 (3.0)	**94 (94.)**	6 (6.0)	**69 (75.)**	23 (25.)	**95 (97.)**	3 (3.1)	**90 (84.9)**	16 (15.1)	**75 (85.2)**	13 (14.8)
Pod breaking/fermentation	**47 (47.)**	54 (54.)	**48 (49.)**	50 (51.)	**53 (57.6)**	39 (42.2.)	**68 (71.)**	28 (29.)	23 (21.7)	83 (78.3)	21 (23.9)	67 (76.1)
Bean scooping	**92 (91.)**	9 (8.9)	**74 (74.)**	26 (26.)	**73 (78.5.)**	20 (21.5)	**75 (78.)**	21 (22.)	17 (16.)2	88 (83.8)	23 (26.1)	65 (73.9)
Post-Harvest												
Carting fermented bean	**45 (45.)**	56 (55.)	**57 (57.6)**	42 (42.4)	**64 (68.8)**	29 (31.2)	**81 (84.)**	15 (16.)	**58 (55.2)**	47 (44.8)	**52 (59.1)**	36 (40.9)
Drying beans	17 (17.)	84 (83.)	**36 (36.)**	64 (64.)	**57 (61.3)**	36 (38.7)	**72 (74.)**	25 (26.)	31 (29.5)	74 (70.5)	**37 (42.5)**	50 (57.5)
Carting dry beans for sale	12 (12.)	89 (88.)	27 (27.)	72 (73.)	**49 (52.7)**	44 (47.3)	**66 (69.)**	30 (31.)	24 (22.9)	81 (77.1)	**28 (32.2)**	59 (67.8)

Notes: Bold highlighted values are percentage participation rates above 30 percent within cocoa district groupings

The common activities, using the cut off participation rate, within the cocoa districts are weeding, water carrying for spraying, pod gathering and heaping, pod breaking/fermentation (except Debiso and Kaase) and scooping of beans (except Debiso and Kaase), and carting fermented beans. The larger proportions of children are found in weeding (42-81%), carrying water for spraying (48-80%), pod gathering and heaping (69-97%), bean scooping (73-91%) and carting fermented beans (45-84%). Pod plucking and carting dry beans for sale dominate among children in Kade (Eastern Region) and Samreboi (Western South) cocoa districts. In Table 6.35, irrespective of type of child in all the cocoa districts, children participation in the various cocoa activities is similar in terms of proportion.

Table 6.35 Child Participation in Cocoa Production Activities in the last cocoa season – 2005/2006 (Sample survey)

Cocoa Activity	Other household children			Sampled Household Children		
	YES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	N/A
pre-planting						
Land clearing	22 (5.4%)	381 (92.9%)	7 (1.7%)	10 (5.3%)	175 (92.6%)	4 (2.1%)
Felling trees	20 (4.9%)	387 (94.2%)	4 (1.0%)	6 (3.2%)	179 (94.7%)	4 (2.1%)
Burning	38 (9.2%)	369 (89.8%)	4 (1.0%)	16 (8.5%)	169 (89.4%)	4 (2.1%)
De-Stumping	24 (5.8%)	383 (93.2%)	4 (1.0%)	21(11.1%)	164 (86.8%)	4 (2.1%)
Peg cutting	13 (3.2%)	392 (95.6%)	5 (1.2%)	12 (6.3%)	173 (91.5%)	4 (2.1%)
Lining/pegging	16 (3.9%)	390 (94.9%)	5 (1.2%)	12 (6.4%)	172 (91.5%)	4 (2.1%)
Planting						
Holing/planting of suckers (shade plants)	104 (25.3%)	302 (73.5%)	5 (1.2%)	38 (20.1%)	147 (77.8%)	4 (2.1%)
Prep. Seedlings	16 (3.9%)	388 (94.9%)	5 (1.2%)	17 (9.0%)	168 (88.9%)	4 (2.1%)
Carrying seedling	23 (5.6%)	380 (92.9%)	6 (1.5%)	20 (10.6%)	165 (87.3%)	4 (2.1%)
Holing for seedlings	23 (5.6%)	381 (93.2%)	5 (1.2%)	20 (10.6%)	165 (87.3%)	4 (2.1%)
Planting of seedlings	27 (6.6%)	377 (92.2%)	5 (1.2%)	19 (10.1%)	166 (87.8%)	4 (2.1%)
Sowing at stake	109 (26.5%)	298 (72.5%)	4 (1.0%)	44 (23.2%)	142 (74.7%)	4 (2.1%)
Farm Maintenance						
Weeding	251 (60.5%)*	161 (38.8%)	3 (.7%)	98 (51.9%)*	87 (46.0%)	4 (2.1%)
Spraying insecticide	29 (7.0%)	383 (92.3%)	3 (.7%)	6 (3.2%)	180 (94.7%)	4 (2.1%)
Application of fertiliser	30 (7.2%)	382 (92.3%)	2 (.5%)	19 (10.0%)	167 (87.9%)	4 (2.1%)
Application of fungicide/other chemical	32 (7.7%)	380 (91.6%)	3 (.7%)	17 (8.9%)	169 (88.9%)	4 (2.1%)
Water carrying for spraying	261 (62.7%)*	152 (36.5%)	3 (.7%)	126 (66.3%)*	60 (31.6%)	4 (2.1%)
Sanitation/pruning	68 (16.4%)	344 (82.9%)	3 (7%)	29 (15.3%)	157 (82.6%)	4 (2.1%)
Mistletoe control	66 (15.9%)	347 (83.4%)	3 (.7%)	31 (16.3%)	155 (81.6%)	4 (2.1%)
Harvesting						
Pod plucking	137 (32.9%)*	276 (66.3%)	3 (.7%)	61 (32.1%)*	125 (65.8%)	4 (2.1%)
Pod gathering /heaping	368 (88.7%)*	44 (10.6%)	3 (.7%)	163 (86.2%)*	22 (11.6%)	4 (2.1%)
Pod breaking/fermentation	192 (46.4%)*	219 (52.9%)	3 (.7%)	80 (42.1%)*	106 (55.8%)	4 (2.1%)
Bean scooping	244 (58.8%)*	167 (40.2%)	4 (1.0%)	116 (61.4%)*	69 (36.5%)	4 (2.1%)
Post-Harvest						
Carting fermented bean	267 (64.2%)*	146 (35.1%)	3 (.7%)	113 (59.5%)*	73 (38.4%)	4 (2.1%)
Drying beans	190 (45.8%)*	222 (53.5%)	3 (7%)	83 (43.9%)*	102 (54.0%)	4 (2.1%)
Carting dry beans for sale	144 (34.7%)*	267 (64.3%)	4 (1.0%)	66 (34.9%)*	119 (63.0%)	4 (2.1%)

Notes: Percentages in asterisk (*) are participation rates above 30 percent within type of child grouping

The common activities that cut across the type of child in the community, using the 30 percent cut off participation rate are weeding, water carrying for spraying, pod plucking, pod gathering and heaping, pod breaking/fermentation and scooping of beans, and carting fermented beans. The larger proportions of children are found in pod gathering and heaping (over 85%) and carrying water for spraying (over 60%).

In Table 6.36, children, whether currently enrolled or not enrolled in school, are involved in the various cocoa activities. The involvement however differs by activity and school enrolment. For example, compared to the proportion of children currently enrolled in school and their involvement in the various cocoa activities, a greater proportion of children not enrolled in school are involved in the participation in the various cocoa activities. However, with respect to involvement in activities such as lining/pegging, bean scooping, application of fertilizer, application of fungi/other chemical, pod gathering/heaping and spraying insecticide, the proportion of children currently in school are involved more than children currently not in school.

Table 6.36 Current school enrolment and child participation in cocoa production activities in the last cocoa season – 2005/2006 (sample survey)

Cocoa Activity	SCHOOL ENROLMENT					
	CHILDREN CURRENTLY IN SCHOOL			CHILDREN CURRENTLY NOT IN SCHOOL		
	Participate in activity	Not participate in activity	N/A	Participate in activity	Not participate in activity	N/A
Pre-Planting						
Land clearing	25 (4.6%)	504 (93.5%)	10 (1.9%)	7 (12.3%)	50 (87.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Felling trees	21 (3.9%)	512 (94.8%)	7 (1.3%)	5 (8.8%)	52 (91.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Burning	47 (8.7%)	486 (90.0%)	7 (1.3%)	7 (12.3%)	50 (87.7%)	0 (0.0%)
De-Stumping	38 (7.0%)	495 (91.7%)	7 (1.3%)	7 (12.3%)	50 (87.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Peg cutting	21 (3.9%)	511 (94.6%)	8 (1.5%)	4 (7.1%)	52 (92.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Lining/pegging	26 (4.8%)	505 (93.7%)	8 (1.5%)	2 (3.5%)	55 (96.5%)	0 (0.0%)
Planting						
Holing/planting of suckers (shade plants)	125 (23.1%)	407 (75.4%)	8 (1.5%)	16 (28.1%)	41 (71.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Prep. Seedlings	26 (4.8%)	504 (93.7%)	8 (1.5%)	6 (10.5%)	51 (89.5%)	0 (0.0%)
Carrying seedling	35 (6.5%)	494 (91.8%)	9 (1.7%)	7 (12.3%)	50 (87.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Holing for seedlings	34 (6.3%)	496 (92.2%)	8 (1.5%)	9 (15.8%)	48 (84.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Planting of seedlings	37 (6.9%)	493 (91.6%)	8 (1.5%)	9 (15.8%)	48 (84.2%)	0 (0.0%)
Sowing at stake	137 (25.3%)	397 (73.4%)	7 (1.3%)	16 (28.1%)	41 (71.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Farm Maintenance						
Weeding	312 (57.4%)*	226 (41.5%)	6 (1.1%)	37 (64.9%)*	20 (35.1%)	0 (0.0%)
Spraying insecticide	32 (5.9%)	507 (93.0%)	6 (1.1%)	3 (5.3%)	54 (94.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Application of fertilizer	45 (8.3%)	494 (90.6%)	6 (1.1%)	3 (5.3%)	54 (94.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Application of fungicide/other chemical	45 (8.3%)	494 (90.6%)	6 (1.1%)	4 (7.0%)	53 (93.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Water carrying for spraying	348 (63.7%)*	192 (35.2%)	6 (1.1%)	38 (66.7%)*	19 (33.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Sanitation/pruning	82 (15.0%)	457 (83.9%)	6 (1.1%)	15 (26.3%)	42 (73.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Mistletoe control	85 (15.6%)	455 (83.3%)	6 (1.1%)	12 (21.1%)	45 (78.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Harvesting						
Pod plucking	173 (31.7%)*	367 (67.2%)	6 (1.1%)	24 (42.1%)*	33 (57.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Pod gathering /heaping	479 (88.1%)*	59 (10.8%)	6 (1.1%)	50 (87.7%)*	7 (12.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Pod breaking/fermentation	237 (43.6%)*	301 (55.3%)	6 (1.1%)	34 (59.6%)*	23 (40.4%)	0 (0.0%)
Bean scooping	325 (59.6%)*	213 (39.1%)	7 (1.3%)	33 (58.9%)*	23 (41.1%)	0 (0.0%)
Post-Harvest						
Carting fermented bean	341 (62.5%)*	199 (36.4%)	6 (1.1%)	37 (64.9%)*	20 (35.1%)	0 (0.0%)
Drying beans	243 (44.7%)*	295 (54.2%)	6 (1.1%)	28 (49.1%)*	29 (50.9%)	0 (0.0%)
Carting dry beans for sale	185 (33.9%)*	353 (64.8%)	7 (1.3%)	25 (44.6%)*	31 (55.4%)	0 (0.0%)

Notes: Percentages in asterisk (*) are participation rates above 30 percent within school status

Again, in Table 6.36, using the arbitrary 30 percent participation rate within each category of children in school as well as those not in school, most children do not intensively participate in the activities from land clearing to sowing at stake. The evidence suggests that most farmers are selective in the use of children for activities on cocoa farms, even though due to labour constraints they sometimes involve children in more hazardous activities.

The common activities, using this cut off participation rate, within the school enrolment groupings are weeding, water carrying for spraying, pod plucking, pod gathering/heaping, pod breaking/fermentation, scooping of beans, carting fermented beans, drying of beans, and carting of dry beans for sale. The larger proportions are found in weeding (57-65%), carrying water for spraying (63-67%), pod gathering and heaping (87-88%), bean scooping (58-60%) and carting fermented beans (62-65%).

6.7 Time of Participation in Cocoa Activity by Child (Sample Survey)

In this section, when these children participate in the cocoa production process is discussed. Table 6.37 presents the responses of the children to whether they undertake the cocoa activities they participate in after school hours. About 34 percent of all the sampled children indicated their participation is after school hours. Over 65 percent indicated they do not participate even after school hours.

Table 6.37 Proportion of Children within an age group that participate in the cocoa production process after school hours

Age Groupings of Children		Normally do the work on the cocoa farm after school hours	Do not do work on cocoa farms during or after school hours	Total
	5-12	111 (37.6%)	184 (62.43%)	295 (100.0%)
	13-14	55 (35.7%)	99 (64.3%)	154 (100.0%)
	15-17	34 (26.8%)	93 (73.2%)	127 (100.0%)
Total		200 (34.7%)	376 (65.3%)	576 (100.0%)

In Table 6.38, the responses of the children as to whether they undertake the cocoa activities they participate in during the weekend are reported. About 90 percent of all the sampled children indicated their participation is at the weekend, which includes going to the farms situated in or by the cocoa farms to harvest food-crop.

Table 6.38 Proportion of Children within an age group that participate in the cocoa production process on weekends

Age Groupings of Children	Normally do the work on the cocoa farm on weekends		Total
	Yes	No	
5-12	273 (92.2%)	23 (7.8%)	296 (100.0%)
13-14	146 (94.8%)	8 (5.2%)	154 (100.0%)
15-17	114 (87.0%)	17 (13.0%)	131 (100.0%)
Total	533 (91.7%)	48 (8.3%)	581 (100.0%)

In Table 6.39, the larger proportion of the sampled children (87.7%) indicated they participate in the various cocoa production activities when school is out of session and they are on holidays. In Table 6.40, only 21.8 percent of the sampled children indicated that they participated in the production process when their parents need them. In others, 77 percent of the children across all age groups indicated that even when their parents needed them to go to help on the cocoa production process, they were not available.

Tables 6.41 and 6.42 indicate the responses of the sampled children as to whether they participate in the cocoa production activities when they feel like not going to school (Table 6.41) or that they participate in the production activities everyday (Table 6.42). In Table 6.41, only 10 percent of all the age groups indicated that they engage in the cocoa production activities when they feel like not going to school. The highest proportion is in the 15-17 year group (14%) compared to the 5-12 year group (9%) and the 13-14 year group (9 percent). The children themselves decide not to attend school but rather go to the farm to do the job; they are not compelled by their parents to do this. This is especially true of children over 15 years of age, and the purpose of this is often to make some extra money for themselves.

Table 6.39 Proportion of Children within an age group that participate in the cocoa production process during school holidays

Age Groupings of Children	Normally do the work on the cocoa farm during school holidays		Total
	Yes	No	
5-12	261 (88.2%)	35 (11.8%)	296 (100.0%)
13-14	141 (92.2%)	12 (7.8%)	153 (100.0%)
15-17	102 (81.0%)	24 (19.0%)	126 (100.0%)
Total	504 (87.7%)	71 (12.3%)	575 (100.0%)

Table 6.40 Proportion of Children within an age group that participate in the cocoa production process when their parents need them

Age Groupings of Children		Normally do the work on the cocoa farm when your parents need you?		Total
		Yes	No	
	5-12	58 (19.7%)	236 (80.3%)	294 (100.0%)
	13-14	30 (19.9%)	121 (80.1%)	151 (100.0%)
	15-17	37 (28.9%)	91 (71.1%)	128 (100.0%)
Total		125 (21.8%)	448 (78.2%)	573 (100.0%)

Table 6.41 Proportion of Children within an age group that participate in the cocoa production process when they feel like not going to school

Age Groupings of Children		Normally do the work on the cocoa farm when you feel like not going to school		Total
		Yes	No	
	5-12	26 (9.0%)	264 (91.0%)	290 (100.0%)
	13-14	14 (9.4%)	135 (90.6%)	149 (100.0%)
	15-17	19 (14.7%)	110 (85.3%)	129 (100.0%)
Total		59 (10.4%)	509 (89.6%)	568 (100.0%)

Table 6.42 Proportion of Children within an age group that participate in the cocoa production process everyday

Age Groupings of Children		Normally do the work on the cocoa farm everyday		Total
		Yes	No	
	5 -12	7 (9.7%)	64 (90.1%)	71 (100.0%)
	13-14	1 (4.8%)	20 (95.2%)	21 (100.0%)
	15-17	8 (38.1%)	13 (61.9%)	21 (100.0%)
Total		16 (14.2%)	97 (85.8%)	115 (100.0%)

Note: This question applied to only a few children who did not attend school

In Table 6.42, 14 percent of all the age groups indicated they participated in the cocoa production activities during the last season. The largest proportion is in the 15-17 years age group (36%) compared to the 5-12 years (10%) and the 13-14 year group (5%).

In summary, children in the sampled cocoa districts engage in the cocoa production activities mainly during the weekends (90% regardless of age groups). This is followed by participation during school holidays (85%). The least participation times are: when they feel like not going to school (10%); working everyday (14%); when their parents need them (21%) and after school hours (34%).

SECTION 7: HEALTH AND SAFETY ISSUES AMONG CHILDREN IN COCOA PRODUCTION: OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH

Occupational health and safety provides an important perspective on evaluating work activity of children with regard to WFCL. Although the link between health and work could be complex, occupational health approach provides evidence of the health consequences of different types of child work activities or condition in order to identify hazardous work and to characterize child labor.

Review of previous research on occupational health aspects of children participation in cocoa farming in Ghana (WACAP, 2004) showed that the main mechanisms by which child labour may impact health is via occupational hazards. The sources of occupational hazards in cocoa farming identified in that survey originated from tasks or activities, working tools and equipments and condition or circumstances under which these children work.

The occupational health aspect of this study thus examined the involvement of the 610 children surveyed in farm activities considered hazardous. The contribution of exposures to hazards of general agriculture and rural environment to the health - related problems of these children during the 2005/2006 cocoa season was also evaluated. The distribution of some cocoa-associated hazards among children activities was examined to illustrate trends. The relationship between children's perception of risk and PPE use in their chemical-related work was also investigated. Health complaints from exposure to specific hazards of cocoa farming during 2005/2006 cocoa season were explored to assess the health impact. The use of, and health complaints from, a common farming tool – the cutlass and PPE use were assessed. Finally the influence of age and location of these children were also explored during the analysis to illustrate trends.

7.1. Participation of children in hazardous work

Exposure of children to the hazards of farming is due mainly to the fact that children in the course of farming participate in a wide range of activities on the farm, use various farming tools and implements, and work under various circumstances. Table 7.1 showed that participation of children in cocoa farming activities that are considered hazardous. The study found that in the cocoa season preceding the survey, between 30 – 60 percent of sampled children participated in activities such as carting fermented and dry cocoa and pod plucking. Involvement of children in the spraying of pesticides, application of fertiliser, bush burning, clearing land and felling and chopping trees ranges between 3 and 8 percent.

Table 7.1: Participation of children in hazardous cocoa farming activities in the last cocoa season-2005/2006

Cocoa Activity	No of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Carting fermented bean	357	58.5
Carting dry beans for sale	206	33.8
Pod plucking	186	30.5
Burning	48	7.9
Application of fertiliser	44	7.2
Application of fungicide/other chemical	33	5.4
Spraying insecticide	27	4.4
Land clearing	26	4.3
Felling trees	21	3.4

Note: Data reflects children reporting involvement in more than one activity during the last cocoa season.

The hazardous activity list and criteria for child labour in the cocoa sector in Ghana is still under review (MMYE, 2006). The activities identified above were evaluated as hazardous because of the increased inherent risk of these activities to harm the health of children. The potential for harm(hazard) from these activities include exposing these children to carrying or lifting heavy loads, exposing them to sharp farming implement such as the cutlass and dangerous harvesting tools such as "go-to-hell" (WACAP, 2004) or could exposure to chemicals(pesticides or fertilisers) or extremely laborious conditions of work. Burning of bush also could lead to inhalation of smoke and the risk of burns.

The involvement of some children in these hazardous activities is not surprising since the focus group discussions (FGDs) show that cocoa farming is extremely labour intensive and there is universal shortage of labour or no money to hire labour. This coupled with the high desire to increase production and general decline in yields means more hands are needed. Naturally, the adult farmers have no other choice than to allow children to assist them on the farm though they indicated they prefer their children in school and not be overburdened with farm work. This participation of children also implies more children will do wider range of activities which eventually include hazardous work and use of dangerous farming tools. From the FGDs however, most of the children involved in plucking of cocoa pods pluck only the low lying pods with simple cutlass. Thus the risk of such activities is low.

7.2 Evaluation of Problems from exposure to hazards of general agriculture and rural environment

Table 7.2 shows the perception of children participating cocoa farming on the contribution of above hazards to their health-related problems in the past one year. It must be emphasized however, that the hazards listed are not peculiar to cocoa farming but are associated with general agriculture and rural environment.

Within the last cocoa production season, the survey indicates that 30 to 50 percent of the 610 children interviewed reported they had problems due to exposure in their work on the

cocoa farm, such as carrying and lifting heavy load, animal/insect bites, slips and falls and prolonged static postures such as bending during weeding.

Table 7.2 Respondents who had problems due to the following exposures in the last cocoa production season

Activity/exposures	No of respondents	Percentage of respondents	Group Ranking in percentage
Carrying heavy load	288	48.6	30- 50
Animal/insect bites	254	42.8	
Slips & falls	217	36.7	
Awkward prolonged static postures	181	30.7	
Dust	167	28.3	10- 29
Heat/cold	167	28.3	
Heavy lifting	161	27.3	
Walking Long Distance	119	20.2	
Bad/unsuitable tools	116	19.6	
Pesticides & chemicals in last 3ys	91	15.4	
Repetitive work	67	11.5	
Poor lighting	30	5	0.5 -5
Working alone	23	4.1	
Loud Noise	20	3.4	
Snake bites	18	3.1	
Forced to work when sick	18	3.1	
Vibration	5	0.8	

Note: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem during the last cocoa season.

Farming implements being used are not ergonomically designed for children; they have no proper training in manual handling techniques or care of their backs. Thus weeding and carrying loads such as cocoa pods, fermented cocoa, water, firewood, foodstuff, etc, are could be challenging for children as indicated in the FGDs. Some have to travel long distances sometimes on slippery paths and difficult terrain. With limited use of appropriate footwear, foot grip on the ground may be compromised making the incidence of slips and falls high as indicated in the table.

About 10 to 29 percent of the children experienced problems from inhalation of dust from weeding and stirring cocoa beans during drying, working under temperatures conditions of open weather ranging from heat of hot days to cold of rainstorm and raining season, walking long distances to and from the farm, unsuitable working tools and exposure to chemicals.

Between 1 and 5 percent of the children experienced such hazards as being “forced” to work when sick, snake bites, loud noise and lone working. Though these constitute relatively small proportion, the risk associated with these hazards is could be high because their consequence could be fatal. Snakebite for example could result in serous

consequences if these children work on farms far from settlements and health facilities or are alone at the time.

The implication for health facilities in these farming areas is to stock anti-snake serum as well as antihistamines for high incidence of insect bites. Children should be properly shod and clothed while working the farm.

There are a number of hazards that do not usually apply to cocoa farming but may be associated with other activities these children may engage in. Exposures to loud noise and vibration from mainly agricultural machinery and chainsaws may have future health implication for the children in the form of noise induced hearing loss and vibration finger disease.

7.3 Relation between Child Activity and Exposure to work-related Hazards in the last Cocoa Season-2005/6

The activity of children on cocoa farms shown in Figure 7.1 can be divided into land preparation (clearing land, felling tree and burning) and harvesting and post harvest (plucking, carrying fermented and dry cocoa beans) activities. Walking long distances is on the average the least occurring hazard among the four hazards evaluated. It occurred relatively more at the harvesting and post harvest activities. Heavy lifting occurred fairly constantly among all activities mostly in the range 30-40 percent and was reported slightly higher among children carrying dry cocoa beans. Carrying a heavy load is on average the highest occurring hazard reported by over 60 percent of children in the activities under consideration except carrying dry beans which were surprising low about 20 percent. Slips and falls occurred exceptionally high, about 85 percent, in association with felling and chopping trees activity. It was reported in association with over 40 percent of all the activities.

Perception of health problems due to exposure to chemicals among children participating in spraying of pesticide and application of fertilizer ranged from 48 -55 percent of children participating in these activities (see Figure 7.2). Of particular interest is the fact that for children participating in insecticide spraying, perception of exposure to chemical hazard perfectly correlated with use of PPEs. All the 13 children who perceived chemicals as health hazard used PPE. This is an important finding because it indicates that even in the agric sector where PPE use is low i.e. only about 25% of sampled children use protective clothing of any kind (see Table 7.6), PPE use is relatively high among children working with chemicals (30-40%) and rate of use correlates favourably with perception of risk. This has implication for intervention. Increasing awareness of the health risk of farming activity will increase use PPEs.

Figure 7.1: Children's participation in land preparation, harvesting and post harvesting activities versus common farming hazards in the last 12 months (July 2005 to June 2006)

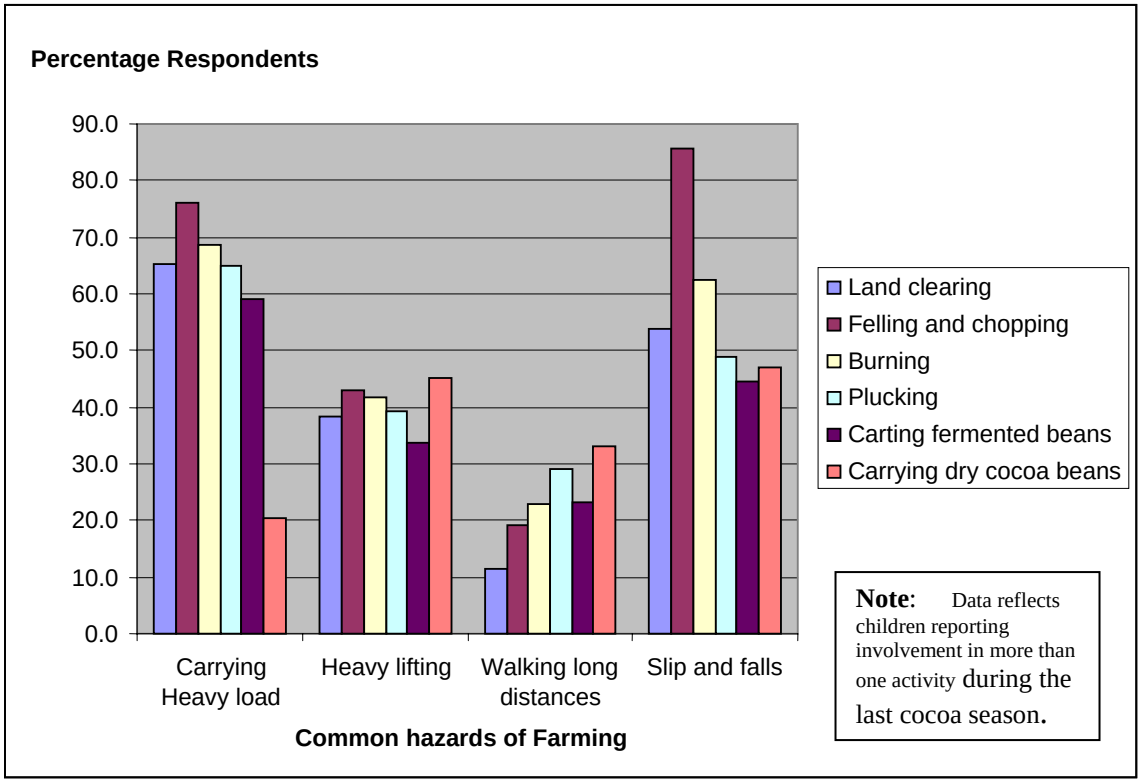
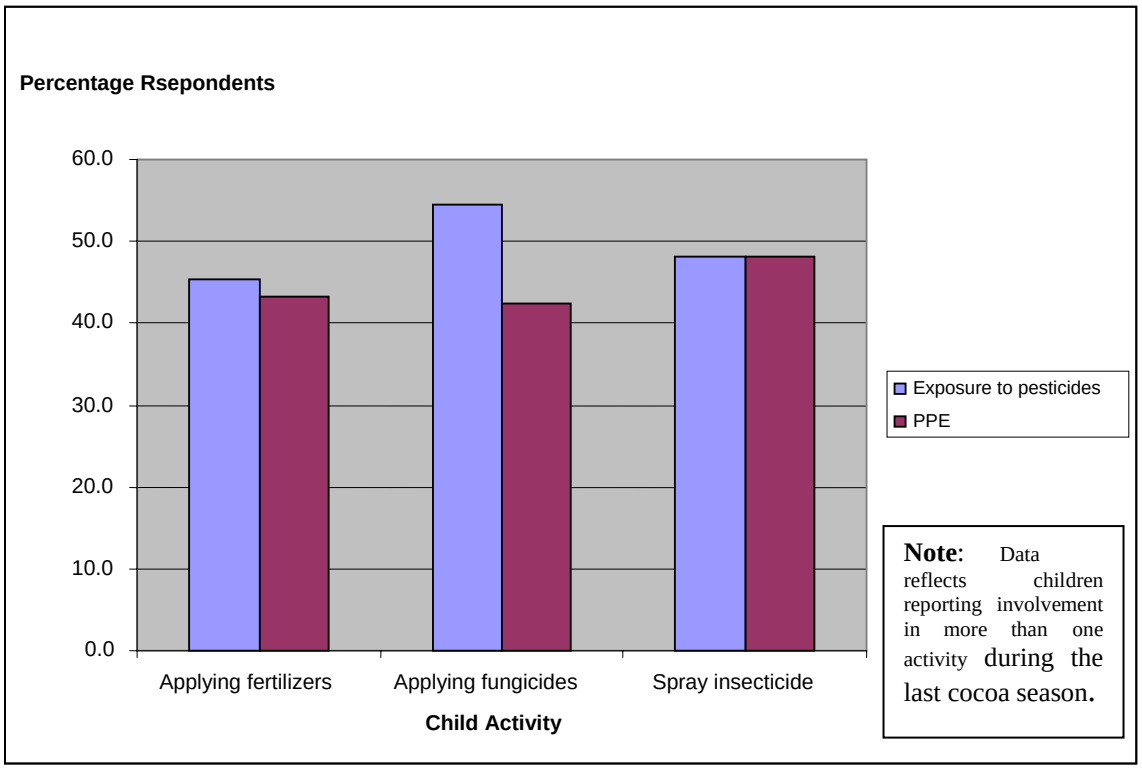


Figure 7.2: Perception of chemical risk versus the use of PPE among children who participated in chemical-related activities in the last cocoa season (2005/2006)



7.4 Reported health problems from cocoa specific hazards

Recent Health Complaints associated with cocoa farming activities

Health experiences of children in the survey demonstrate current health issues resulting from their participation in cocoa farming activities. In general, children reported that they suffered from coughing/respiratory problems, skin irritation, eye irritation, headaches, stomach upsets, etc, following their participation in some of the activities on the cocoa farms, including spraying of pesticides and application of fertilizer, among others.

About one-fifth of children who participated in pesticide spraying activities reported of symptoms including coughing and respiratory problems. According to adult FGDs, children's participation in pesticide spraying was limited to fetching water for mixing the chemicals and they were not involved in the actual spraying. Some of the children FG admitted they were involved in actual spraying. This survey suggests that either some children were involved in the spraying or were in the vicinity during the spraying, or re-entered the sprayed farm too early. Similar toxic symptoms were experienced by about 10% of children during the application of fertilizer. Considering the limited use of PPEs 40 -50% (see Figure 7.2), these children could be exposed for a life time to the harmful effects of these chemicals. Urgent intervention is needed to protect the health of these children.

Carrying a heavy load was the commonest activity that children reported having participated in, reported in nearly 50% of the children (Figure 7.2) in last cocoa season. From the survey, as much as 55% of these children reported having had symptoms which they attributed to carrying loads (see Table 7.5). Carrying is a major part of cocoa activity because it permeates several tasks such as gathering pods, fetching water, transporting foodstuffs and cocoa. In the absence of vehicles and draft animals, head potterage is the most common if not the only means of haulage left for these communities. Carrying a heavy load (that is large relative to the age and size of the child) could have adverse health effects on the child.

Table 7.3: Health problems from pesticide spraying in the last cocoa season

Health complaints	No of respondents	% respondent
Coughing/respiratory	63	22.6
Skin irritation	28	9.9
Eye irritation	16	5.8

Note: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem during the last cocoa season.

Table 7.4: Health problems from applying fertilizer in the last cocoa season

Health complaints	No of respondents	% respondent
Skin/headache	19	11.5
Cough/Respiratory	17	7.7
Stomach upsets	10	6.1
Eye irritation	6	3.7

Note: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem during the last cocoa season.

The cutlass is the most common farming implement used on the cocoa farm. The frequency of exposure to cutlass can be inferred form the activities of children. Cutlass is used on weeding, plucking, breaking pods, sowing at stake etc. However, the cutlass in the hands of children whose risk perception is low can result in injuries some of which can be severe. The study found that nearly two-thirds of sampled children have been injured by a cutlass within the last three years (see Table 7.6).

The duration of healing of the wound ranged from one week to three months (see Figure 7.3). Majority of wounds healed within one week, indicating that these were minor injuries. Over half of these children are treated at home by themselves or by their parents. It must be noted that, the wound could become infected resulting in tetanus, large ulcers and other complications.

The fact that certain farming activities could be hazardous for children can be deduced from the finding that nearly two-thirds of all children have complained of either injury or ill health which could be directly attributable to their work on the farm; nearly a third complained of pain after the day's work.

Table 7.5: Heath problems from carrying heavy load during the last cocoa season – 2005/2006

Health complaints	No of respondents	Percentage of respondents
Neck pains	295	55
Back pains	190	36
Leg pains	120	22.6
Stomach/chest/waist pains	58	10.8

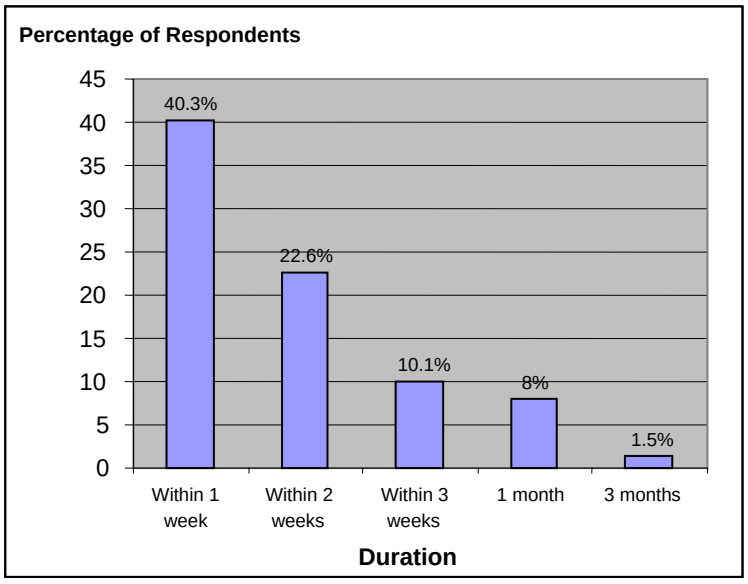
Note: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem during the last cocoa season.

Table 7.6: Use of Cutlass and General health complaints from farming activities in the last 3 years

	No. of respondents	Percentage respondents
Use of cutlass	441	74.7
Ever had injury/illness from farm	362	65.1
Injured by cutlass in the last 3yrs	327	60.4
Persistent pain after day's work	164	27.5

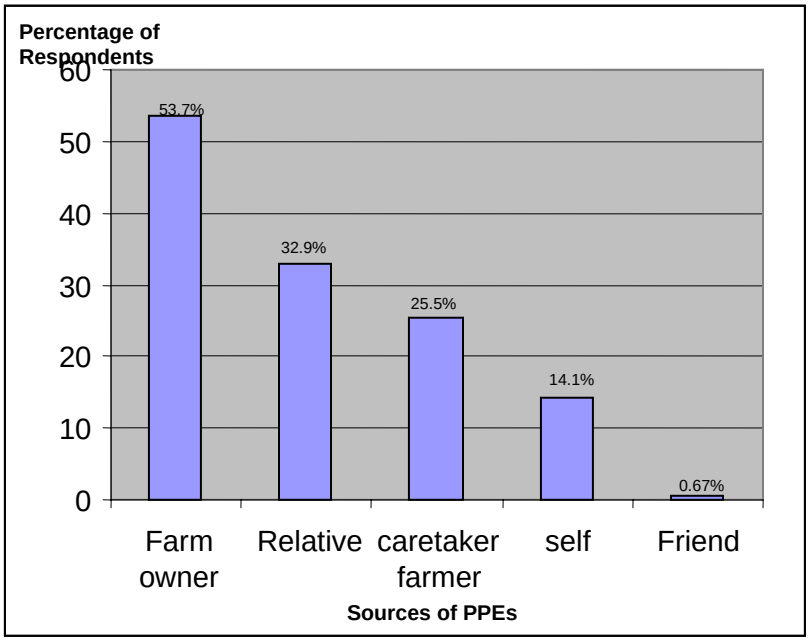
Note: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem during the last cocoa season.

Figure 7.3: Healing period of injury from cutlass wounds



The use of personal protective equipments (PPEs) in the form of boots, overalls, gloves, goggles, etc, was limited. For example, only 25% of children interviewed use any PPEs. Various categories of people were responsible for providing PPEs to working children (see Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4: Sources of PPEs for working children



Most PPEs are designed for adult use and therefore PPEs for children are largely unavailable. There is no compulsion for children to be provided with PPEs. In addition, the providers of PPEs do not have the money to purchase them. Some working children are thus exposed to farm injuries such as animal bites, tree stump injuries and pricks as was indicated in the focus group discussions (FGDs).

7.5 Health complaints by age and location.

In terms of absolute numbers children in age 5 -12 year group reported more symptoms from farming hazards. In terms of proportion of children, age group 15 – 17 years led, followed by 13 -14 year age group (see Table7.7). This implies that the likelihood of experiencing these symptoms increases with age. This is explained by the fact that children in the higher age group were more likely to be involved in pesticide spraying, fertilizer application and carrying loads. However, the sheer numbers in the 5 -12 age group is worrying, considering the fact that the impact of these hazards is more severe in the younger than in the older age groups.

Samreboi in the Western Region reported the highest rate of recent symptoms in all the hazards examined except in the isolated instances of cough from pesticide spray and back pain which Kade and Kaase had the highest incidence, respectively (see Table 7.8). From the focus group discussions, Samreboi cocoa district has the largest average farm size and therefore much activity is expected there. This should have implication for further research to look at the peculiarities of this district and to facilitate targeted interventions.

Table 7.7: Distribution of recent health complaints by age groups

Health complaints	5-12	13-14	15-17	Total
Head/neck pain from carrying load	129(42.2)	89(56.0)	77(56.6)	295
Back problem from carrying load	74(24.5)	62(39.7)	54(25.0)	190
Persistent pain after a days work	64(21.1)	51(35.9)	49(35.7)	164
Leg pain from carrying load	52(17.1)	34(21.7)	34(25.3)	120
Respiratory/cough from pesticide	21(6.9)	23(14.5)	19(14.0)	63
Stomach/chest/waist pain from carrying load	20(18.0)	17(40.5)	25(46.7)	58
Skin damage from pesticides	11(3.6)	7(4.4)	10(7.5)	28
Skin irritation/ headache from fertilizer	7(6.9)	4(19.0)	8(21.6)	19
Eye irritation	4(1.3)	4(2.5)	8(5.9)	16
Respiratory/could from fertilizer	3(1.0)	4(2.5)	6(4.4)	13
Eye irritation from fertilizer	2(0.7)	0	4(3.0)	6

( ) is corresponding % of children who reported of the symptom in each age group

Note: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem during the last cocoa season.

Table 7.8: Recent health symptoms by location (Cocoa district)

Activity/Exposure	Bekwai	Konongo	Kade	Samreboi	Debiso	Kaase	Total
Head/neck pain from carrying load	30	33	44	78	56	54	295
Back pain from carrying load	14	24	17	49	36	50	190
Persistent pain after days work	16	17	13	43	36	39	164
Pain in leg from carrying load	17	25	3	30	18	27	120
Respiratory/cough from pesticides	0	1	29	24	2	7	63
Stomach/chest/waist pain from carrying load	0	1	13	31	4	9	58
Skin irritation from pesticides	1	0	2	19	2	4	28
Skin irritation/headache from fertilizer	1	0	0	16	0	2	19
Eye irritation from pesticide	0	1	1	6	2	6	16
Respiratory/cough from fertilizer	0	0	1	8	3	1	13
Eye irritation from fertilizer	0	0	0	4	1	1	6

Note I: Since nearly 100 children were chosen from each district the % of respondents correlated very Well with the absolute numbers in the table therefore % were not shown.

Note II: Data reflects children reporting more than one problem/symptom during the last cocoa season.

SECTION 8: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary objective of this study was to provide empirical evidence about labour use and labour practices in Ghana's cocoa sector as a basis for establishing a certification system for the sector. The specific objectives of the study included (a) identifying sources, types and periods of labour needs in cocoa production in Ghana; (b) documenting incidence or otherwise of the unconditional worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in Ghana's cocoa sector; and (c) documenting the incidence or otherwise of forced adult labour (FAL) in Ghana's cocoa sector. The summary of the main findings of the study is outlined in this section.

8.1 Cocoa Production activities: sources/types/period of labour needs

Cocoa production in Ghana is predominantly a smallholder activity, and commercial cocoa plantations are non-existent in Ghana. Farm sizes typically average less than 10 acres in the Ashanti and Eastern regions, and 10 acres to 20 acres on the average in the Western North and Western South regions. Farmers use a combination of family, hired and communal (*nnoboa*) labour in cocoa production. In general, the farmer's household is the main source of labour for the cocoa farm, contributing almost 60 percent of the total labour requirement. The children of the farm household also provide labour on the cocoa farm.

From the sampled survey summary, the contribution of the heads of household to land preparation activities (including land clearing, felling and chopping, burning and stumping) indicates that the number of household heads who contributed to land preparation activities during last season were less than those who did not contribute their labour. This trend is observed in all the other activities preceding the maintenance of the farms and in the harvesting of the cocoa pods. The trend observed could be attributed to the fact that household heads (farmers) usually hire labour to do most of the activities involved in land preparation.

Significant changes in the labour contribution of household heads are noted in the maintenance of the farm. Percentage ranges of about 22 percent to 83 percent of household heads contributing labour to application of fertilizer, application of fungicides, spraying of insecticide and weeding shows a continuous appreciation of the labour contribution of household heads to the farming activities. Percentage contributions of 53 percent, 61 percent, 68 percent and 78 percent are observed for carrying of water for spraying, mistletoe control, sanitation and pruning, and plucking of pods respectively. The results also show that 79 percent of household heads contributed labour to pod breaking and fermentation while 73 percent contributed labour to carting of fermented beans and gathering and heaping of pods. The peak demand for labour needs in the various cocoa activities in a cycle (2005/2006 cocoa production season) indicates cocoa activities of matured cocoa trees occur between the periods July to December in any typical cocoa season.

Children in the sampled cocoa districts engage in the cocoa production process mainly during the weekends (90% regardless of age groups). This is followed by participation during school holidays (85%). The "least participation times" are: when they feel like not going to school (10%); working everyday (14%); when their parents need them (21%) and when they close from school (i.e. after school hours) (34%).

8.2 Children in Cocoa production activities

The involvement of children in cocoa production and related activities in the surveyed cocoa districts focused on children between the ages of 5 -17 years (grouped on the basis of the degree to which a child can do different types of work; 5-12 years, 13-14 years and 15 -17 years). The children interviewed were also grouped into two categories: (a) those children interviewed identified as part of the farmer/caretaker household survey sample (*sampled household children*), and (b) Community children outside the sampled households, whose parents or guardians are either cocoa farm owners or caretakers, and who assist in cocoa farm operations in the listed community. These children are classified as *other household children.*

From the analysis, ninety one (91) percent of the total children are currently enrolled in schools. The proportion of children currently enrolled in schools by cocoa districts ranges from 84-94 percent although one observes a relatively lower enrolment rate among current sampled children in Kaase and Bekwai cocoa districts. This average is higher than the general average enrolment of 88.1% for the same category of children in all the districts surveyed, based on the Ghana Living Standard Survey report of 2000 (see Appendix II). From the sample, the school attendance rate is 71 percent.

The migrant status of the children indicated that twenty four (24) percent are indigenes. The largest proportion of the children (36 percent) was born to migrant farmers in the communities. This larger proportion holds for both the other household children and the sampled household children. In-migration from outside the region (but within Ghana) comprises 31 percent of the total (34 percent for the other household children and 24 percent for the sampled household children). Children responding as having migrated from outside Ghana (either with their parents or their parents are from outside Ghana) and are living in the communities comprised only 0.7 percent, and are all associated with the other household children.

Eighty four (84) percent of the children are either staying with parents, the father or the mother, in the community. Living with a non-relative comprised 2.1 percent from the sample survey. The proportion of other household children staying with either both parents, father or mother is 85 percent and compares favourably with the 83 percent of the sampled household children. For children who are not staying with own parents in the communities, the main reason to live with the non-parents (relatives, non-relatives) are for convenience, suggesting the common practice for parents to send their children to live with parents' relatives in order to enjoy relatively better educational facilities, vocational training or proximity to school. The decision to come to live in the community was taken by parents (85.4%) and relatives (11.4%).

The proportion of children sampled who indicated that their families would be receiving payments for the work they perform on the cocoa farms constituted 32 percent. The proportion is higher in the sampled household children (39 percent) than the other household children (28 percent). Those who indicated that they do not work for their parents back home to receive cash in the total sample are 68 percent. The proportion is larger in the other household children (72 percent) than among the sampled household children (61 percent). For the children who indicated that they or their family received payments for their work, further probing showed that most of the children perceived that the help they render on the farms are rewarded in the school fees, clothing and other subsistence they receive from the parents (not that there was any agreement on some amount of money to be paid to them monthly or yearly) either directly or indirectly. Thus, it was more a case of perception on receiving payments rather than actual occurrence of cash/wage payments.

In terms of restrictions on the child's freedom to move (which reflect more parental discipline rather than indications of servitude or bondage), ninety-two (92) percent of the sampled children indicated they can leave the farm or household to visit local towns or community centers without any restriction. The proportion is higher in the other household children (93%) than in the sampled household children (85%). The total proportion of the sample who indicated they do not leave the farm/household to visit other communities is 8 percent. The proportion is higher in sampled household children (10%) than in the other household children (7%).

Again, 82 percent of the sampled children indicated that they have no problems leaving the farm/household whenever they want to leave. The proportion is highest among sampled household children (88%) than in the other household children (79%). Those children who find it difficult to leave are 18 percent of the total sample.

In terms of abusive conduct (which adults contend is discipline related at home and not on farm), the sampled information indicates that the total proportion of children who has experienced violence or abusive conduct by the producer/farmer is about 11 percent. The proportion is higher in the other household children (12%) than in the sampled household children (9%) and the proportion of the total sampled children that have experienced violence or abusive conduct by relatives of the producer/farmer or the caretaker of the producer/farmer constitutes 7 percent. Again the proportion is higher in the other household children (8%) than in the sampled household linked children (6%). The proportion of children in the total sample that has felt obliged or forced to work whilst sick or injured (which some parents emphasize are their responses to pretences of some children) comprises 2 percent.

In terms of children's involvement in the cocoa production process, it is observed that children of all age groupings are involved in the various cocoa activities. The involvement however differs by activity and age group. For example, pre-planting activities of land clearing and tree felling is seen as not an activity where children as grouped are engaged. However, their involvement in these two cocoa activities intensifies

(in terms of the proportion of children indicating YES) as the age of children increases. In land clearing activities for instance, the proportion of children in the age groups who indicated they participated in that activity increases from 0.7 percent in age group 5-12 to 5.2 percent in the 13-14 groups, and then to 12.1 percent in the 15 -17 age group. These are adult work and some children find themselves participating in some of these activities.

The common activities, using a 30 percent cut off participation rate, within the age groupings are farm maintenance activities of weeding, water carrying for spraying; harvesting activities such as pod gathering and heaping, pod breaking/fermentation and scooping of beans, and the post-harvest activity of carting fermented beans. The larger proportion of these age groupings are found in weeding (50-75 percent), carrying water for spraying (61-73 percent), pod gathering and heaping (84-89 percent), bean scooping (58-65 percent) and carting fermented beans (50-74 percent). Pod plucking, drying of beans and carting dry beans for sale dominate among the 13-14 and 15-17 age groups. The participation ratio of children in hazardous work is minimal.

In summary, the study on the involvement of children in the cocoa production activities are that (a) there was no evidence of known trafficked children in the sampled household communities, (b) most of the sampled household children are currently enrolled at school with school attendance ratio of about 71 percent, (c) the cocoa production process is family-based and on small land holdings, (d) most of the children in the sampled households are staying with either both parents, mothers or fathers (e) most of these children are not paid cocoa farm hands but do assist with the cocoa farm maintenance activities.

8.3 Children in cocoa production: Occupational Health

The occupational health aspect of this study examined the proportion of children in farm activities considered hazardous. Perceived contribution of hazards of general agriculture and rural environment to the health - related problems of these children was evaluated. The distribution of some cocoa-associated hazards among children's activities was examined to illustrate trends. The relationship between children's perception of risk and PPE use in their chemical-related work was also investigated. Health impacts from exposure to specific hazards in cocoa farming were assessed. Finally the influence of age and location of these children were also explored during the analysis to illustrate trends.

The study found that children's involvement in farm activities is widespread and diverse. The varying rate of participation of children in farm activities described as hazardous, children's own evaluation of their exposures to farm hazards and the subsequent health problems elicited during the survey is suggestive of presence of hazardous work. In particular the study found the following;

8.3.1 Involvement of children in cocoa farming activities

- Land Preparation: land clearing, felling trees, burning (3 – 8%)
- Chemical-related: application of fertiliser, application of fungicide/other chemical, spraying insecticide (4-6%)
- Harvesting and Post harvesting: pod plucking, carting fermented bean, carting dry beans for sale (30 – 60%)

8.3.2 Exposure to hazards

The annual prevalence of health-related problems from farming hazards and rural environment was evaluated as follows

- 30-50%: Carrying heavy load, Animal bite, Slips & falls, Static postures
- 10-29%: Dust, Heat/cold, Walking long distance, Unsuitable tools, Pesticides and chemicals, Repetitive work.
- Less than 5%: Loud noise, Snake bite, Forced to work when sick, Lone working

The overall use of personal protective equipments (PPEs) while working on the farm is low, that is, only about 25% but for children in chemical-related activities PPE use ranges 40-50%. The use of PPE also compared favourably with risk perception especially for children involve in pesticide spraying.

8.3.3 Health impacts of cocoa farm activities

The health impact from exposure to farming hazards in the last cocoa season was evaluated as follows:

Use of pesticides

Respiratory symptoms 20%, skin irritation 10%, eye irritation 6%

Application of fertilizer

Skin irritation and/or headache 12%, respiratory symptoms 8%, eye irritation 4%

Carrying loads

Neck pains 55%, back pains 36%, leg pains 23% Waist/chest pains 11%.

General Health impacts

Farm related injury or ill health 65%, Injury from cutlass 60%, Persistent pain after days work 27.5 %

The age distribution indicate that children in the most vulnerable age group 5-12 constitute the largest numbers in all the hazards but in terms of proportion children age group 15-17 leads, followed by 13-14 and then the 5-12 age groups in most of the exposures. Districts in the Western Region especially Samreboi was the worse affected district though the hazards evaluated occurred in all cocoa districts.

The above categorizations are however only part of the risk assessment process i.e. hazard characterization. The risk characterization phase must take into consideration the frequency, intensity and duration of these exposures at individual level as well as their consequences in terms both acute and chronic effects, severity and perception of risk. It is such characterized risk that could be used for the quantification of worst forms of child labour (WFCL).

This research being preliminary, did not measure the individual exposure parameters in detail and therefore quantification of individual risks could not be characterised from the study. This study however provides us with very useful information on the hazard profile and direction for emphasis in future research and interventions.

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that majority of children participating in cocoa farming are executing light work which is acceptable. However a few of these children (1-5%) are either exposed to serious hazards or working under extremely difficult conditions or have limited or no protection or their health and development is endangered in some cases. These conditions qualify under section 6 of the ILO child labour convention 182 and Ghana Child Labour laws as hazardous labour and therefore WFCL.

8.4 Incidence or Otherwise of forced adult labour (FAL) in Cocoa Production in Ghana

The incidence or otherwise of forced adult labour (FAL) of the adult workers sampled in the communities cantered on how the worker came to live in the community; whether the adult cocoa farm worker sampled is in debt bondage and must work to redeem the bonds; whether the worker is restricted in his/her movements; and whether he/she has suffered abusive labour practices in the hands of the producer or the producers' relatives, among others.

With regards to the migration status of the adult workers, eighteen (18) percent are indigenes. The larger proportions of indigenes are found in the Bekwai (Ashanti), Konongo (Ashanti) and Kade (Eastern) cocoa districts. In the Western North and Western South cocoa districts of Debiso, Kaase, and Samreboi, all the interviewed adult farmers were non-indigenes. The largest proportion of the adult workers (58 percent) is in-migrants from outside their region of current farm work and are mostly in the Western South cocoa districts. Adult workers who were born to migrant farmers in the communities constitute only nine (9) percent. In-migration from outside Ghana comprises 3 percent of the total sample.

About 75 percent of the total adult workers live alone in the communities. Those who live with their families in the villages constitute ten (10) percent. Adult workers who live on the farms alone, and on the farms with their families are ten (10) and four (4) percent, respectively. Combined, those adult farm workers who live on the farms, either alone or with their families comprise 14 percent of the total sampled workers. The proportion of adult farm workers living with the producer/farmer is only 0.3 percent of the total sample.

The decision to come to stay on the farm or community in the sampled adult workers was taken by about 44 percent of the adult workers themselves. The decision to come work on the farm or in the community as taken by the worker's parents, including either the father or mother, together constitutes 17 percent of the responses. Besides the father as the decision maker, the other significant decision maker is the brother (10 percent). Of the adult workers who did not directly take the decision to stay in the community or farm, only 2.3 percent of the sampled workers indicated they did not agree on the decision to come to live on the farm or in the community.

A large proportion of the adult workers classify themselves as engaged in by-day labour work (59 percent). The proportion of adult workers engaged in less than 6 months farm work contracts comprise about 12 percent. This contrasts with those adult workers who engage in short-term contracts of less than one (1) year but greater than 6 months (5 percent) and long-term (permanent) workers on the farm (64 percent).

The typical adult worker usually will engage in a verbal contract (76 percent of respondents) with the producer on the services to be rendered on the farm. Written contracts constitute only 2 percent in all the communities but mostly in the Western south cocoa districts.

Among the adult worker wage earners, the proportion who indicated that their incomes help pay for the debt of someone back home constitute 4 percent. The proportion is higher in the Samreboi cocoa district (14 percent). The proportion of the adult workers whose salaries go to pay for help in travelling was 0.3 percent; 94 percent indicated they owe no one in terms of help in finding jobs, and the remaining respondents indicated it does not apply to them; and only 4 percent indicated that they owe the producer, and their earnings go to help settle those debts.

From the analysis, ninety (95) percent of the sampled adult workers indicate they can leave the farm or household to visit local towns or community centres without any restriction. The total proportion of the sample who indicated they do not leave the farm/household to visit comprises 3.4 percent. In addition, 94 percent of the sampled adult workers indicated that they have no problems leaving the farm/household whenever they want to leave.

The proportion of adult workers who has experienced violence or abusive conduct by the producer is about 14 percent. The proportion is higher in the Debiso (26 percent) than in the other cocoa districts; while the proportion of the total sampled adult workers that have experienced violence or abusive conduct by relatives of the producer or the caretaker of the producer constitutes 7 percent.

Almost 54 percent iterated that their life situations have indeed improved and were better-off than before. About 17 percent of the total sampled adult workers indicated that their *life situations* currently compared to their previous have worsened. Those who had no basis to compare a previous life situation to current (perhaps indicating that they have lived in that community since infancy) comprised 80 percent.

Also, 27 (twenty seven) percent of the total sampled adult workers indicate that their *labour situation* currently compared to their previous have worsened. Those whose labour situations have improved (better) comprise about forty one (41) percent. Those who had no basis to compare a previous labour situation to the current comprised 19 percent of the sampled workers. It was also noted that as many as 201 adult workers representing about 57 percent of the total sampled adult workers indicated that their *salary situation* currently compared to their previous have improved (better). Those whose salary situation has worsened comprise about 16 percent. Those who had no basis to compare a previous salary situation to current comprised about 19 percent of the adult workers.

SECTION 9: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Sources/types/period of labour needs

The need for labour for the various activities in cocoa production presents an important challenge for farmers. Cocoa farming activities are generally labour intensive, and the predominantly smallholder farmers have generally relied on family labour (including children) to perform some of the farm activities. Technologies such as mechanical weeding devices, mistletoe cutting machines, and others should be explored for the cocoa sector, and indeed to reduce the drudgery in the agricultural sector as a whole.

Farmers generally find it difficult to find labour to perform some of the farm operations, particularly during January to March when land preparation is at its peak; and October and November when harvesting cocoa is at its peak. In cases where labour might be available, it is rather expensive (less farm workers are now available), and farmers generally are unable to afford hired labour. A clear case of the need for credit facilities to help farmers maintain their farms and to perform important operations during harvesting periods exists in the cocoa sector, and any intervention in that direction would be most appropriate.

9.2 Children in Cocoa production activities

The case of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector seems to be 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, a worrying development is the continual use of a small proportion of some of these children in activities that may be considered hazardous, and those that border on worst forms of child labour (WFCL). It is for this minority of children, who are usually the most vulnerable, that well planned and organized interventions should be embarked on as a matter of urgency to both protect and also ensure that these unfortunate children enjoy their right to full development.

9.3 Occupational Health aspects

9.3.1 Stakeholder Consultations on Acceptable/Tolerable Risk Levels

An important factor in risk management is the determination of acceptable or tolerable risk level with regard to each hazard identified. This acceptable risk level determination is not only a scientific process but also involves political, social, economic and cultural dimensions. This will require stakeholder consultation especially with the farming communities, agriculture experts and academics, occupational health experts, economists, educationists, the judiciary, and civil society organizations. It is at such fora that decisions bothering on scientific evidence are juxtaposed with stark realities of economics, social, cultural and environmental constrains amidst trade-offs to arrive at

acceptable or tolerable risk levels. The list eventually adopted should therefore be scientifically rigorous, economically feasible, and politically, socially and culturally acceptable. It is against this list that risks assessed in any given situation must be evaluated for intervention. The current hazardous list in Ghana is not only limited in range but also did not consider the extent or degrees of each hazard or activity. A program to review this list should be developed, and should consider and incorporate the community consultation process.

9.3.2 Tackling the Broader Socio-economic Situation of Farmers

Participation of children in farming is culturally rooted in the communities with children entering farms as early 3 months of their lives on their mothers back. Thus children working on farms with their parents, adults and other children are seen as a socially acceptable practice. This way, children socialize, learn parents' trade and are being taught to be responsible. However there is a thin line between social orientation and turning the child into a worker, and this distinction may be difficult to decipher by the communities. Any alteration in this culture will be difficult to achieve. Fortunately, this study shows that the willingness of the adults (i.e. farmers and caretakers) to educate their children are high (facilitated by the free education policy). But the socio-economic situation of the farmers implies they really do not have any choice but use these children in farming sometimes even to the levels that may be hazardous to them. Any intervention should look at this broader socio-economic condition such as providing credit to farmers, improving their schools both in numbers and quality, good road access and social amenities like water, electricity, housing etc.

9.3.3 Healthy Farming and Farming Practices Promotion

The participation of children in farming and sometimes-hazardous work is likely to be observed on some farms at least in the short term owing to the economic and cultural circumstances of these communities. Moreover the broader socio economic situations are difficult to change, and they usually take time. Therefore more cost-effective short-term measures should include health & education promotion campaigns by the relevant stakeholders (i.e. health, education, agriculture, local governments, NGOs, COCOBOD, etc) in the communities. Some of the issues to consider in the various promotional programmes could include but not limited to the following:

- Awareness creation and discourse on child labour in communities & at policy levels;
- Importance of education to the child in particular, and the family and society in general;
- Health & safety (i.e. preventing risks & avoiding harm to the working child);
- Safe handling of tools for farm work;
- Use of protective clothing;
- Use of safer chemicals
- Chemical safety (i.e. safe use of chemicals).
- Introduction of labour-saving techniques

These campaigns should use effective culturally acceptable methods of educating & reaching these communities via informal discussions, peer education, drama & theatre etc. It must have elements of sustainability and community ownership.

9.3.4 Further Research

This study has unearthed and clearly identified the potential hazards that children face on the farm, as well as their sources and contribution into the overall exposure burden. It also showed the prevalence of potential effects of these hazards. This is hazard characterization. Its weakness however is that, it was not sensitive and detailed enough to assess individual exposures to any appreciable depth necessary for risk characterization which is crucial for quantifying WFCL. Therefore a tailor-made follow up research is urgently needed to assess exposure details in order to characterise the risks from these hazards and objectively categorize farming activities. This can be done with detailed survey instruments such as psychometric questionnaires, tailored focus group discussions, and rapid ethnographic methods. A small pilot longitudinal study with follow-up ranging from 12 months to 18 months especially in the worse affected districts such as Samreiboi could produce ground breaking information.

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APPENDIX I: SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY SELECTED DISTRICTS

District	Level of Education	School Enrolment (% Of Population Currently Enrolled In School)
Bekwai	Pre-school	3.6
	Primary	**69.2**
	Middle/JSS	**20.8**
	Secondary/SSS	4.4
	Voc/tech/comm.	0.7
	Post secondary	0.5
	Tertiary	0.8
	Total	**100**
Konongo	Pre-school	3.8
	Primary	**64.0**
	Middle/JSS	**21.9**
	Secondary/SSS	6.2
	Voc/tech/comm.	1.1
	Post secondary	1.9
	Tertiary	1.1
	Total	**100.0**
Kade	Pre-school	3.9
	Primary	**66.1**
	Middle/JSS	**21.1**
	Secondary/SSS	5.6
	Voc/tech/comm.	1.3
	Post secondary	0.8
	Tertiary	1.2
	Total	**100.0**
Samreboi	Pre-school	4.3
	Primary	**68.2**
	Middle/JSS	**20.1**
	Secondary/SSS	5.0
	Voc/tech/comm.	1.0
	Post secondary	0.7
	Tertiary	0.7
	Total	**100.0**
Debiso/Kaase	Pre-school	3.6
	Primary	**70.8**
	Middle/JSS	**18.5**
	Secondary/SSS	4.7
	Voc/tech/comm.	1.0
	Post secondary	0.8
	Tertiary	0.6
	Total	**100.0**
Average for Primary + Middle/JSS for ALL Districts		**88.1**

Source: Ghana Statistical Service (GLSS, 2000).

GLOSSARY

1. Who is the cocoa farmer in Ghana? (Hinson-Ekong, 2006)

From discussions with COCOBOD field staff, Licensed Buying Companies and cocoa farmers in communities, it has been found that the concept of the cocoa farmer is very complex. When Ghana COCOBOD talks about the cocoa farmer it is usually referring to the **"landowner farmer" or "farm owner"**. The term **"producer"** has also been used for farm owners in some reports. These are the people who own the plots of land on which cocoa is grown. These are the farm owners who register with COCOBOD and hold 'passbooks'. All the other categories of farmers have no registration with COCOBOD. Some farm owners are absentee farmers who are not directly involved with cocoa farming activities but hire sharecroppers or workers (labourers) to take care of their farms and carry out all the farming and production activities for them based on contractual agreements. When the cocoa is sold the profits are shared. Most of the absentee landowner farmers live in townships in the cocoa growing areas or in big cities in other regions and may visit their farms occasionally. Other farm owners live in communities near their farms and carry out farm activities with their wives and children and other relatives.

The second category of cocoa farmers who are directly involved with routine cocoa farming activities are called by various names including: **sharecroppers, caretakers or tenant farmers.** They do not own the land they work on but are into either 'ebunu' or 'ebusa' relationships with land owners. In the ebunu system the sharecropper is responsible for cultivating the farm on virgin land for the farm owners and at harvest the proceeds are shared with the owner at the rate of 50:50. In the ebusa system the sharecropper takes care of mature farms and proceeds are shared at the rate of 1:2 in favour of the land owner. Contractual agreements between farm owners and sharecroppers may be written or verbal with witnesses. Sharecroppers may be indigenes of the area or migrant/settler farmers who have come from other regions in Ghana to live and work on the farms. Some small land owners also double up as caretakers for farms belonging to absentee landowners. This category of farmers is known to engage their families in farming activities. Most of them cannot afford hired workers. From information gathered from group discussions with the cocoa communities it is evident that majority of the children of share croppers are also enrolled in school but in the peak cocoa season they may be required to spend most of their time helping out on the farms. This affects their quality of education and performance in school. Some share croppers who have worked for a land owner for a long time may be given a portion of land for himself and his family. However, this kind of gesture depends on the integrity of the farm owner.

A third category of cocoa farmer is the "**farm labourer"**. There are two main categories of farm labourers. The first category is bound by contractual agreements (written or verbal and witnessed) ranging from 1-3 years with the option to renew. The second category is those who work on an ad hoc basis when needed and are called **"by day labourers**". Almost all labourers are **migrant farmers**. Majority of the longer term

labourers live on the farms or in small farmsteads. They are paid either on yearly basis or at the end of the contract. In addition, at the end of each month they are given food rations and medical care whenever they need it. At the end of the contract they may be given a bicycle or whatever else has been agreed upon. Most of these labourers migrate from the impoverished northern sector or from the Volta Region to farming communities in the south in search of jobs. There are also seasonal migrants who move south during the lean season in the north to work and return to their own farms during the planting season in the north. Some of the present long term labourers on cocoa farms used to be seasonal migrants (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Discussions with some top ranking government officials show that some of them had been engaged in labour on cocoa farms as a form of vacation employment to be able to pay for their secondary education, without which they would have had to drop out of school. Migrant farmers can in the long-term own farms in which case they are called **migrant owners**.

The '**nnoboa'** system of providing labour for cocoa production is now dying off. In times past it was a major cooperative system that supplied labour in the sector. Groups of farmers, mostly sharecroppers/caretakers and small land owners worked together as groups that offered help to each other to reduce input costs in cocoa production. The system collapsed because some farmers failed to honour their pledges after work had been completed on their farms and gave excuses of ill health to avoid working for other farmers in the group. Furthermore, demands for expensive meals on host farmers became increasingly too expensive and defeated the objectives of the nnoboa system.

From ICI sponsored projects carried out by Future Resource Development and Participatory Development Associates, it has been found that it is not uncommon in cocoa growing communities to find older children of 16 and 17 years owning and working on their own farms. And this is an accepted practice. Some of these young people have cultivated their farms from scratch but others have inherited old farms from their deceased parents or relatives.

It is important therefore that data collection instruments indicate clearly which category of cocoa farmer is responding to a questionnaire or which groups are involved in focus group discussions. This is important because the living conditions may vary from one group to the other and this also affects the status of their children. Failure to do this will render invalid any generalizations of findings.

Another category of workers on the farms are **children.** Children's engagement in cocoa farming has been reported by all the studies conducted into child labour in cocoa production in Ghana. The fact that the majority of the children in the sector work on family farms to help parents and to be socialized to learn the family business has also been reported by all the studies. The Demographic Survey into cocoa production and labour practices (1997), commissioned by COCOBOD, reported that high input costs in cocoa production and unattractive producer price compel farmers to engage their entire families in cocoa production (**Error! Reference source not found.**). According to a study commissioned by MOWAC and funded by UNICEF, a majority (72%) of children working on cocoa farms worked on the farms of their parents or relatives while 11% of

the children indicated that they are hired as farm hands. Majority (43.4%) of children working on farms are between 6-10 years of age while nearly 14% are between 1-5 years of age, while 24% are between 11-15 years (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Children's engagement in work on family farms is not only for economic gains but is also meant to socialize them and give them skills to continue cocoa production when the adults are too old to continue. These reasons given by families for involving children in cocoa farming has been documented by all research into the cocoa sector).

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2. Occupational Health -Operational Definitions

Hazard: Hazard can be described as a factor, characteristic, nature of or exposure to anything which has a potential to cause harm. Therefore to identify a hazard in any given situation, you need to find out whether is it about the activity or working tool or work environment that can cause harm to the child. Hazard is therefore located in a source that is activity, tool or environment and has health outcome (injury, ill health, death).
Note that many books describe the source or health outcome as hazard. This can be confusing. For example carrying load is an important activity of children in farming. Carrying itself is not the hazard but the weight, distance or age of the child will make the activity hazardous.

Risk: It is an opinion or judgement or assessment about the hazard causing health harm to a specific child in specific situation. Risk is assessed based on the likelihood of the hazard causing harm under specific condition and the severity of the health outcome. The risk can be estimated as low, medium or high in simple terms.

Ergonomics: is simply defined as the fit between the worker and work environment. It deals with the physical capabilities of the working child and the demands of the work. When there is a misfit between these, it results in potential for harm which is referred to as ergonomic hazard. Examples of ergonomic hazards including manual handling, prolong awkward postures such as bending.

Manual handling: These include carrying, lifting, pulling, pushing objects, load etc.

PPE: Personal Protective Equipments indicates any protective gear worn to protect oneself against exposures to hazards during execution of farm work or an activity. In farm condition, it could include footwear, long dress, gloves, goggles overalls etc.