

Wageningen University and Research Centre –The Netherlands

Communication and Innovations Studies Group

MSc. Thesis (COM 80424)

Whose frame counts?

A framing perspective to understanding the complexity of child labour in cocoa farming and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in Ghana. A case study of the Wassa Amenfi West District of the west region of Ghana.

July 2012



Written by Robert Obenyah

Supervisor: Prof. Cees Leeuwis,

Communication and Innovations Studies Group- Wageningen University and Research Centre.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	0
Acknowledgement.....	7
Abstract.....	8
Chapter 1: Introduction	9
1.1 Introduction	9
1.2 Background: Cocoa farming and child labour in Ghana.....	10
1.3 Organization of thesis chapters	11
1.4 Conclusions	12
Chapter 2: Literature review and conceptual frame work	14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Literature review on the issues of child labour	14
2.3 Conceptual framework	16
2.3.1 Frames and framing perspective	16
2.3.2 The Concept of Autopoiesis and Social Change.....	17
2.3.3 Complexity theory and Social change.....	18
2.4 Problem statement	19
2.5 Research Question	20
2.6 Research objectives	21
2.7 The relevance of the study	21
2.8 Conclusion.....	22
Chapter 3: Research methodology	23
3.1 Introduction	23
3.2 The area of study	23
3.3 Research Design.....	24

3.4 Data collection	26
3.4.1 Interviews.....	26
3.4.2 Observations	26
3.4.3 Document search	27
3.5 Data Analysis.....	27
3.6 Conclusion.....	28
Chapter 4: Cocoa farming in the Wassa Amenfi West District	29
4.1 Introduction	29
4.2 The relevance of cocoa farming in the district	29
4.3 Farm preparations, planting and maintenance	30
4.3.1 Cocoa harvesting and processing.....	30
4.4 Cocoa farmers’ perception and handling of farming related dangers/harm	32
4.5 Land tenure and cocoa farm ownership.....	32
4.6 Organization of labour	33
4.7 Farm maintenance by caretakers	35
4.8 Conclusion.....	36
Chapter 5: Framing of child labour in cocoa production	37
5.1 Introduction	37
5.2 Framing by NGO officials as a problem of farmers’ ignorance	37
5.3 Cocoa farmers’ framing of on child labour as an essential socialization process.....	39
5.4 The fluidity of child labour frames by both NGO officials and farmers	41
5.5 Framing of child labour in cocoa farming by national officials in as a threat to cocoa trade and national reputation	42
5.6 Divergent framing of child labour in cocoa farming by the district officials as a problem of many causes.....	43
5.7 Conclusion.....	45

Chapter 6: Interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.....	47
6.1 Introduction	47
6.2 The interventions strategies to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming	47
6.2.1 Campaign activities to sensitize cocoa farmers on child labour	47
6.2.1.6 Stakeholders’ views on the effectiveness of sensitization campaign.....	52
6.2.2 Rewarding and encouraging compliance	56
6.2.3 Supporting Law enforcement to deter non-compliance	58
6.3 Farmers’ general response to the interventions	61
6.3.1 Full compliance to the interventions	63
6.3.2 Partial compliance to interventions.....	64
6.3.3 Non-compliant farmers to child labour elimination interventions.....	65
6.4 Perceived Impact of the interventions	66
6.4.1 Perceived positive impacts of the interventions	66
6.4.2 Perceived unintended negative consequences of interventions.....	68
6.5 Conclusion.....	70
Chapter 7: Galamsey and child labour in cocoa farming	71
7.1 Introduction	71
7.2 Galamsey operation in the district.....	71
7.2.1 Chinvan Galamsey operations	72
7.2.2 Dig and Wash galamsey	73
7.3 The opportunities and problems of the galamsey boom	73
7.4 Contested frames of galamsey by stakeholders	75
7.4.1 Framing of galamsey by NGO officials as a threat to children’s safety	75
7.4.2 Framing of galamsey by farmers as the source of all problems	76
7.4.3 Galamsey framed by district education officers as problem for basic educations.....	78

7.4.4 Framing by district assembly officials; gamamsey is problem but we cannot solve it alone	78
7.4.5 Framing of gamamsey as a source of employment and development by gamamsey operators ..	79
7.5 Gamamsey activities and child labour in cocoa farming in the district	81
7.6 Conclusion.....	82
Chapter 8: Findings, Discussions and Conclusions.....	83
8.1 Introduction	83
8.2 Research Questions	83
8.3 Summary of the main research findings.....	83
8.3.1 The organization of cocoa farming in the WAWD and child labour	84
8.3.2 Framing of child labour in cocoa farming	85
8.3.3 The Intervention to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming and farmers responses and the impact of the interventions in cocoa growing communities	86
8.3.4 Gamamsey operations and child labour in the district.....	87
8.4 Discussions	88
8.4.1 Improving opportunity for learning within the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.....	88
8.4.2 Building interventions which reflect broader stakeholders' interests	89
8.4.3 The limitations of targeted intervention: eliminating child labour in cocoa farming or improving the general wellbeing of children in the district.....	90
8.5 Overall Conclusion	91
8.6 Recommendations	92
8.7 Reflections on the research	93
References	96
Appendix: exploratory survey and interview guides	98
Exploratory survey	98
Interview guides.....	99

Name: District Assembly	99
NGO officials	99
Farmers	100
Galamsey miners.....	100

Dedication

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to Naa Dormor Kabukey Obenyah, my first daughter for bring soo much joy and favour to me and my adorable wife in the course of my MSc. Programme.

Acknowledgement

I am exceedingly thankful to God Almighty for his abundant grace and mercy which has brought me this far. To God be all the glory.

To my supervisor Professor Cees Leeuwis, I express my profound gratitude for his meticulous and insightful supervision and guidance in writing this thesis. It definitely would not have been possible without your effort and I thank you immensely for everything.

My sincere thanks to you Dr. Severine Van Bommel for willingly accepting to be the examiner of this thesis.

Special thanks to Mrs. Rita Owusu Amankwah for sharing several publications with me on the subject of child labour in cocoa farming. Those publications were extremely helpful in getting me started.

I acknowledge the tremendous effort of Madam Patience Dapaah of International Cocoa Initiative, Ghana for connecting me with the local implementing NGOs and public officials in the Wassa Amenfi West District for my research data collection.

To Mr. Nana Robert Obiri Yeboah of CODESULT and his team of staff in Asankragua I thank you all very much for your profound demonstration of friendliness and hospitality extended to me during the field data collection in the district, I thank you enormously.

To all interviewees and key informants who participated in this research, I am grateful to you all for your contribution to this work.

To all friends, family and colleagues who have contributed in diverse ways towards this research I thank you all immensely.

Finally to my lovely wife Nana Adwoa Obenyah and daughter Naa Djormor Kabukey Obenyah, I will forever remain thankful for your support, love and encouragement through this entire course.

Abstract

Ghana is an agrarian economy with cocoa being the most important crop in terms of its contribution to exchange earnings and employment for the country. Child labour has always been a part of cocoa cultivation for decades. However negative international media coverage and pressure from western civil society organizations on the issue recently has led to several interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in Ghana. The interventions have been implemented in several districts in Ghana for several years with reports of some initial success in eliminating child labour. There is however limited knowledge on how cocoa farmers have been responding to these interventions and how the interventions are impacting cocoa growing communities. This research therefore sought find out how cocoa farmers have been responding to the interventions to eliminate cocoa child labour in cocoa farming and how the interventions are impacting cocoa growing communities. The research was undertaken as a multi-sited ethnographic qualitative research with the Wassa Amenfi West District of the Western Region of Ghana as a case study. The data collection for this research involved several stakeholders in the district such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the district, public officials of governmental departments and agencies, cocoa farmers, children, teachers, illegal gold miners, traditional rulers and opinion leaders in the district. The findings revealed that the nature of cocoa farming in the district being small-scale farming operated by households labour explains the prevalence of child labour in cocoa farming in the district. The phenomenon of child was framed differently by the stakeholders. It was also revealed that most cocoa farmers are only responding partially to the interventions to eliminate child labour because the interventions are not addressing farmers' core need of labour scarcity in the district. The interventions were also found to be too narrow in scope hence reported incidence of displacement of child labour from cocoa to other activities such as hawking and illegal gold mining. Illegal gold mining has also been found to have a negative effect in child labour in cocoa farming and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

Key words: child labour, cocoa, interventions. Framing, complexity theory, autopoiesis

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Ghana is an agrarian economy with agriculture contributing about 50% of the annual GDP. Cocoa is the most important cash crop of the country in terms of its contributions to employment and foreign exchange earnings. It was estimated that cocoa contributes about 72% of all agricultural foreign exchange to the country (Ministry of Manpower June, 2008, Ministry of Manpower April, 2007). The issue of child labour in cocoa farming has been receiving unfavourable global media attention for almost a decade now as an unethical practice which must be stopped. Consumer groups and civil society organizations particularly in North America and in Western Europe have been the most persistent in their call for actions to be taken to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

Major chocolate manufacturing companies in North America and Europe in response to the extensive negative publicity and massive public actions began several initiatives to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. One of such initiatives was the Harkin-Engel cocoa protocol which brought together most of the major cocoa industry player to take action on child labour in cocoa farming (Ministry of Manpower June, 2008). National governments of cocoa producing countries including Ghana after initial reservations agreed to collaborate with stakeholders with other stakeholders to support and undertake actions and initiatives to address child labour in cocoa farming. The Government of Ghana and several international organizations with local partners have commenced interventions activities to address the issue of child labour in cocoa farming (Ministry of Manpower June, 2008). According to authors, the issue of child labour in cocoa farming is a very sensitive topic in the sense that although its occurrence has never been in doubt, views are sharply divided on how it should be addressed (Fafo 2006).

The interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming commenced several years in the midst of the raging controversy in several cocoa growing districts across the country. Subsequent reports on the interventions have indicated initial successes in eliminating child labour without clearly showing how the concerns of the farmers have been resolved or addressed. This thesis therefore seeks to offer an understanding of the functioning of the interventions on the ground and more importantly how farmers are responding to the interventions.

1.2 Background: Cocoa farming and child labour in Ghana

Commercial cocoa farming begun in Ghana in 1879 after the crop was first brought into the country by Tetteh Quarshie from Fernando Po in today's equatorial Guinea. Ghana is currently the third highest cocoa producing country on the international cocoa market reputed for its high quality cocoa beans (FAO 2011). Cocoa is mainly cultivated in the forest regions of Ghana by an estimated 720,000 small-scale farmers. Peoples from other parts of the country travel to cocoa growing regions either to start their own farms or to work as farm labourers. Research has shown that people who travel to work on cocoa farms as well as the cocoa farmers themselves work with their children and have been doing so since the commencement of cocoa farming in Ghana (Van Hear 1982).

Although, the national constitutions has very extensive provisions on the rights of children and how children should be treated, the recent focus on child labour seemed to have followed the adoption and ratification of ILO convention 182. Ghana ratified this convention which is the convention on worst forms of child labour in 2000. This is has marked the beginning of the recent renewed interest in child labour issues in the country. It is estimated that about 1.3million children age 5-17 years in Ghana are engaged in economic activities which could be classified as child labour. This represents about 20.3% of all children in that age limit with 80% of all child labour occurring in the rural areas of the country (White book). Child labour is defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development (Ministry of Manpower June, 2008).

Although research has confirmed the occurrence of child labour in cocoa farming (Hashim 2007, Ministry of Manpower April, 2007, Van Hear 1982), child labour is also shown to be prevalent in other sectors or activities such as other crop cultivation cassava, vegetables, fishing, hawking, cattle herding among others. There is however very sharp disagreement among researchers and stakeholders on the extent of child labour in cocoa farming, its impact on children's welfare and the best way to address child labour in cocoa farming.

Concerning the impact of child labour on children's welfare, the positions are still disputed. Some studies and western civil society organization's reports maintain that engaging children in cocoa production poses great risk to the healthy and educational progression of children (Mull and Kirkhorn 2005) (Mull and Kirkhorn 2005). A research conducted by independent Ghanaian and foreign researchers portrays a contrary position. In this research, Hashim makes the point

that there is no evidence that migration and child labour adversely affects education of children in Ghana. The research points out that in some cases children who engaged in child labour were able to raise necessary finance to support their education or apprenticeship (Hashim 2007).

In summary, the issues of child labour and child welfare in general has been an issue that has been dealt in Ghana for a while now. International conventions appear to be a major influencing factor behind the recent interest and intervention to address child labour concerns in Ghana. The topic of child labour in cocoa farming attracts a lot of varied interests from many stakeholders. Though stakeholders acknowledge the existence of child labour in cocoa farming, there remain intense disagreement on the extent of child labour in cocoa farming and how to address it. This thesis hope to contribute to the knowledge on issues of child labour in general and children in cocoa farming in particular which could be useful to many stakeholders

1.3 Organization of thesis chapters

This thesis is organized into eight chapters including this introductory chapter as the first. The first chapter gives the background to the research interest of child labour in cocoa farming in Ghana. The background broadly covers cocoa farming and child labour in Ghana. The chapter ends with an outline on the organization of the thesis chapters.

The second chapter of the thesis deals with literature and conceptual frame for the research. The chapter starts with the review of scientific literature on child labour and child labour in cocoa farming as well as attempts or efforts to eliminate it. Subsequently the chapter deals with the research problem, the research questions, the research objectives and finally the relevance of the research.

Chapter 3 provides information of the research methodology used in this research. The specific items covered include the description of the study area of the research, the selections of stakeholders or unit of analysis and key informants representing the various stakeholders as well as the considerations that informed these choices. The chapter continues to discuss the data collection methods and techniques used in the research. It then concludes with the data analysis approaches that were used to analyze the research data that were generated.

The fourth chapter being the first of the chapter on the research findings provides research findings on how cocoa farming is organized in the Wassa Amenfi West District (WAWD). The

chapter presents a detailed understanding of cocoa farming in the district in terms of the major activities undertaken, labour mobilization and constraints. The chapter also deals briefly with how the major feature of cocoa farming in the district promotes or hinders child labour.

Chapter five focuses on the framing of child labour in cocoa farming by the various stakeholders in the district. This chapter offers understanding on how the stakeholders selectively highlight some aspects of the issues, opponents and what solutions such stakeholders put forward. The stakeholders identified in the chapter are non-governmental organizations(NGO) officials, farmers, district assembly officer, national officers of government, district education officers and others.

The sixth chapter answers the central question of the research which was focused to understand the interventions been initiated to eliminate child labour. The chapter provides research findings on of the various interventions been undertaken to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district and stakeholders' views on the various interventions strategies as well as farmers 'compliance to the interventions. The chapter finally concludes with stakeholders' on the general impacts or consequences of the interventions either positive or negative.

Chapter seven presents the research findings on the relationship between illegal gold mining (galamsey) activities in the district and child labour in cocoa farming. The chapter also presents findings and observations made about the activities of illegal miners in the district.

The final chapter, chapter 8 beings the final chapter presents the main conclusions of all the major findings of the research. The chapter which begins with a research questions so that the research findings could easily be related to the specific research questions from chapter 4 till chpater 7. The chapter proceeds with discussions sessions based on the main issues of research findings. The chapter ends with an overall conclusion of the research, recommendations and reflections on the research.

1.4 Conclusions

This chapter has provided background information on the research and has presented how the entire thesis is organized. The chapter starts with an introduction to the research interest which is child labour in cocoa farming in Ghana. It continues to provide some background to the

interventions and then state the main issue of the research. It follows with a detailed outline of all the chapters covered in the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature review and conceptual frame work

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the scientific publications on the child labour in general and child labour in cocoa farming in particular. Subsequently, the chapter continues to present the concepts on which this research is constructed. The chapter finally concludes with a description of the research problem, research questions and objectives as well as the statement of the relevance of the research.

2.2 Literature review on the issues of child labour

This section reviews scientific literature on child labour to serve as the basis for this research. To start with, some authors assert that child labour or the participation of children in active economic production is not a new phenomenon but has rather been part of all civilization right from industrial revolution(Grier 2004). According to Grier, child labour mainly in the developing world has become an issue now because globalization and media proliferation has brought more coverage to it. He gives the example of children working on plantation during the colonial era in African and many practices. Grier argues that child labour meets very important socialization needs particularly in African communities. He asserts that despite the media coverage, not much is known of child labour especially in Africa hence must be researched further(Grier 2004).

Child labour according to Basu is also an issue of how the phenomenon is defined or framed(Basu 1999). In other words, what may be termed as child labour may be relative and dependent on how such an activity may be called? This is because certain domestic activities may be more difficult and risky to perform than working on a plantation, but the latter is not likely to be referred to as child labour though the former would call child labour. For instant, the framing of child labour in cocoa farming would not be applied to children who are involve in professional, music or dance even if these activities pose the same or even higher harm to the child.

Concerning child labour in cocoa farming, some authors argue that in as much as child labour undesirable, child labour reflects wider societal problem such poverty, low producer prices for cocoa farmers. According to these authors, child labour cannot be eliminated without

addressing these fundamental causal factors(Basu 1999, Blowfield 2003, Brown-Eyeson 2004). Several strategies have been suggested to tackle child labour in cocoa farming. Some of the suggested ways of tackling child labour include, use of laws prohibiting child labour, compulsory education for all children, ethical trade of child labour free goods, boycott of goods produced by child labour, sensitization of rural farmers to take collective action against child labour among others(Basu 1999, Blowfield 2003). These suggested ways have their own challenges as well as strengths. According Basu, strategies that demand national governments of cocoa growing countries to spend more money in building infrastructure or increase benefit to cocoa farming communities are likely to fail because these national governments are usually unable to do more than they have been doing already(Basu 1999).

According to Blowfield, Ethical or fair trade initiatives have been identified as the most accepted and implemented strategy intervention to addressing the child labour menace in cocoa farming (Blowfield 2003). This strategy adopts the use of certification schemes and other cooperative schemes to get cocoa farmers or producers to comply with appropriate farming standards. These initiatives are however considered to be buyer driven and as such pays little or no attention to the concerns of farmers in designing such schemes(Blowfield 2003). Basu argues that child labour is a very complex phenomenon and interventions initiated to address child labour must reflect the complexity of the issues to be successful(Basu 1999). He further makes the point that law enforcement strategies should only apply to criminals who use children in unethical ways such as force labourers or slave labourer but not parents or relatives of the children who have not such criminal intent towards their children. According to Basu using punitive measures to eliminate child labour in farming would most likely be unsuccessful(Basu 1999). This is because where child labour is wide spread it means that the alternative to child labour could be much worse than working on a farm.

In sum, the literature on child labour shows that child labour in the productive activities has been around for some time now. Child labour is also a relative term which depends on how people portray what becomes of child labour or not. There are many suggestions on how to address child labour in cocoa just as many other sectors. The literature also indicates that addressing child labour in any sector could be a very complex task and must be addressed as such.

2.3 Conceptual framework

This section of the chapter presents the relevant concepts that will guide the research in terms of stating the research problem, the research questions and direction or perspectives from which the issues of the research was investigated. Three concepts have been used to investigate the issues of child labour in cocoa farming and these concepts are frames and framing perspectives, the concept of autopoiesis and complexity theory. These concepts and theories are explained below.

2.3.1 Frames and framing perspective

The concept of framing has been recognized by many researchers as very useful in researching conflicting situations or issues over which conflicting parties express conflicting views (Dewulf et al. 2009, Gray 2003). According to Entman, framing entails the process by which individuals and groups select highlights aspects of social reality so as to promote a particular problem definition or establish a causal relationship or interpretation(Entman 1993). In other words, a frame is the selective influence over a person or group's meanings or interpretations attributed to a social phenomenon.

Disputants to any conflict situation frame issues, solutions, other persons or groups who are connected to the conflict and many others(Dewulf et al. 2009, Gray 2003). Usually in framing, characterization of other individuals and groups is aimed at undermining their opponents so as to mobilize support for their preferred cause action whiles demobilizing support from the other opponents.

Literature on framing has identified two broad approaches to framing namely cognitive and the interactional approaches(Dewulf et al. 2009, Gray 2003)). The cognitive approach to framing has to do with the collection of mental images which individuals or groups rely on to understand and interpret social reality. In other words, people understand or make of social events by reference to their mental reservoir built through past experiences or it is the process where individual store mental images/pictures of events, experiences and actions in their minds which they draw upon to interpret ensuing or new occurrences.

The interactional approach to framing on the other hand is the process whereby individuals construct meanings and interpret ensuing actions or events through the interactive signs they pick from others in the interaction process. The interactional approach to framing depicts

framing the co-creation or negotiations of meanings arrived at through interactions between parties. It is very important to note that both approaches to framing conceive framing not as a static but as a phenomenon which is subject to change. Framing is thus a very active and dynamic process. This is because as mental pictures get replaced with new ones through experiences, and interactions also lead to new meanings assigned to events, behaviours and experiences (Benford and Snow 2000).

In summary, framing entails how people especially disputants make meaning of and interpret occurrences around them as they relate to the issue of dispute. In interpreting social reality in their world, people draw from mental images of events in past or through interactions with others. The frames that individuals or groups hold change as the mental images and or interactions that inform or influence such frame also change. The concept of framing therefore provides a very good basis to investigate child labour in cocoa farming and galamsey.

2.3.2 The Concept of Autopoiesis and Social Change

The concept of autopoiesis was originally a biological science concept attributed to Maturana and Varela. It is the tendency and ability of living organisms to self-produce their own kind through the logic of closed systems in that human organizations exhibit strong tendencies of producing themselves in other organizations (Morgan and Videotrainning 1997). The concept of autopoiesis has been adopted and applied by system theorists to social change processes in the sense that human institutions exhibit the tendency to create themselves in other organizations or institutions (Luhmann 1986, Morgan and Videotrainning 1997). In applying the concept to social change processes, Morgan asserts that human organizations or institutions also operate in the logic of closed systems. In other words, social institutions or organizations relate to others based on their understanding and appreciation of themselves and as such try to create themselves in others or in their environment. In supporting this position, Luhmann argues that social systems or organizations are connected and inseparably linked to their environment and so aim to influence their environment in autopoietic ways (Luhmann 1986).

Concerning the implications of autopoiesis for social change processes, Morgan puts forward three implications which are; first, that social systems operating in the logic of self-referentiality seek to create their environments as an extension of their own identity or institutions. Second is the idea that social systems or institutions in relating to others in their environments are faced with the challenge of preserving their own distinct identity or institutions. The final implication is

that, for organizations or social institutions to grow, evolve and survive change processes they must work to close the difference between themselves and their environment(Morgan and Videotraining 1997).

Put together, the concept of autopoiesis presents an interesting perspective for analyzing or understanding social change interventions. That is whether or not an intervention is based on the logic of a closed system in which change initiating institutions seek to create themselves in other organizations. It also outlines some of the challenges that may be faced in undertaking social change initiatives in autopoietic ways. The concept of autopoiesis was thus relied upon in investigating the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

2.3.3 Complexity theory and Social change

Complexity theory entails the idea that social change processes are dynamic, emergent and unpredictable contrary to the usual conception of change processes in linear motion (Burnes 2005, Morgan and Videotraining 1997). Complexity theorists emphasize the limitations of social interventions based on cause and effect linear relationship which are planned to yield predicted change outcomes. According to complexity theorists social change processes are usually affected and influenced by a lot of factors many of which can neither be predicted nor controlled(Aragón 2010, Burnes 2005, Morgan and Videotraining 1997). Social change interventions which are planned and controlled strictly towards achieving clear cut social objectives such as eliminating child labour in cocoa farming are likely to be less successful.

In conceptualizing social change as the emergent result of the recursive interactions of multiple actors and factors, complexity theorists' emphasis conflict as an integral part of social change (Burnes 2005, Coleman 2006, Morgan and Videotraining 1997). This is because social change interventions are initiated and embed into an entire social system which is made up of several stakeholders with varying and often conflicting interests(Pawson and Tilley 2006). Social change interventions therefore subject stakeholders to unequal distribution of cost and benefit. In other words, social change interventions create winners and losers among stakeholders in the sense while other stakeholders benefit. Others may not benefit as much or may even suffer loss as result of change interventions(Adger, Arnell, and Tompkins 2005).

In emphasizing some of the inherent lapses in the logic of linear social change interventions, complexity theorists argue that alternative ways interventions are needed to make change interventions more beneficial than they have been in the past (Morgan 1997). Some argue that

the focus of interventions must be on developing the capacity stakeholders. Other authors also suggest that more attention should be placed on the context within which an intervention is to take place (Morgan 1997).

In conclusions, complexity theory has challenged the logic of social change interventions which are based on the traditional cause and affect the logic of designing and implementing social change. The insight of complexity theory provided a very good basis for investigating the interventions been undertaken to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

2.4 Problem statement

The interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming as stated earlier commenced as a result of public agitations by consumer groups and civil society organizations in North America and Europe. In the case of Ghana, the government only acknowledged the issue and agreed to the interventions after threats of the possible boycott of cocoa beans from Ghana were issued by some stakeholders. Many other local stakeholders especially farmers were also initially opposed to the interventions as they considered it as an unnecessary foreign interference in their affairs which would increase their economic hardship and other concerns.

Notwithstanding the initial disagreement on the issues of child labour and its elimination in cocoa farming, the interventions began in some cocoa farming districts in Ghana. Studies have shown that such change interventions as the one to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming which do adequately consider local context are likely to fail in achieving their goal(Blowfield 2003). Research has also shown that cocoa farmers in Ghana were faced with the challenge of raising sufficient labour for their work due mainly rural urban migration of youthful labour to urban cities(Dormon et al. 2004). In spite of these apparent challenges, recent reports on the interventions showed that they are achieving positive signs of success in eliminating child labour in cocoa farming(report) July 2012). There is however inadequate knowledge on the extent to which the interventions are addressing farmers' concerns and how farmers are responding to the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. There is also a lack of knowledge and understanding of how compliance to the interventions is impacting cocoa growing communities. This research therefore seeks to provide insight into the interventions and how cocoa farmers are responding to them as well as the impact of the interventions on those communities.

2.5 Research Question

Following logically from the research problem stated above, the central issue of this research is to understand what farmers are doing or not doing to be able to cultivate cocoa without child labour and how these ways of doing things are affecting their communities. The main research question therefore is: How have farmers been responding to the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming and what has been the impact of the interventions on social dynamics within those communities?

These specific sub-questions were posed to help answer the main question comprehensively.

- a) How is cocoa farming organized in the district and how does this organization promotes or hinders child labour in cocoa farming?
- b) How has the issue of child labour been framed and counter framed by the various stakeholders?
- c) What kind of interventions are been implemented to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming and how are farmers responding to these interventions?
- d) How are the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming impacting cocoa growing communities?

During the data collection for the research stakeholders mentioned illegal gold mining (galamsey) as affecting their ability to farm without children and affecting children's welfare as well. A fifth sub-question was then developed to assess the relationship between child labour in cocoa farming and galamsey operations in the district.

- e) What are stakeholders' perceptions or frames on galamsey and how does galamsey affect child labour and children's welfare in the district?

2.6 Research objectives

The main objective of this research is to contribute to knowledge on the issue of child labour in cocoa farming and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. Other specific objectives include;

- a) To understand the main features of cocoa farming that promotes or hinders child labour in cocoa farming,
- b) To understand how the various stakeholders frame child labour,
- c) To understand the intervening activities that are been undertaken to eliminate child labour and specific farmers' responses to them,
- d) To understand what is changing or not changing in cocoa growing communities as a result of the interventions to eliminate child labour, and
- e) To understand the relationship between galamsey operations and child labour in the district.

2.7 The relevance of the study

Cocoa is a very important crop in many ways to many of the stakeholders such as the farmers whose livelihood depends on it and the millions of consumers of chocolate and other cocoa products. This research aims to provide knowledge to all stakeholders on the specific issue of child labour in cocoa farming. This knowledge will be helpful to policy makers, NGOs officials and many who are currently working on several interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming to improve current programmes as well as future ones. The insight and knowledge from this research will also be helpful for future studies into this subject matter.

In the nutshell, this study would be relevant in contributing to knowledge that could be useful to policy making, governments, NGOs and other stakeholders in cocoa sector as well as other sectors in addressing the child labour menace. The benefits of this research could also extend to researchers and the general public that could use the insight of this research in many ways.

2.8 Conclusion

The review of scientific literature on child labour show that it is an issue over which different views abound in terms of its history, prevalence, causes and how to tackle it especially in cocoa farming. The controversy over child labour is even more pronounced with child specific issue of child labour in cocoa farming due to many varied interests in the cocoa sector. With this background the chapter outlines relevant concepts and theories that would be used to research the issues such as the framing perspectives, autopoiesis and complexity theory. The chapter follows on to state the knowledge gap that exists for which specific research questions have been developed to address. The chapter ends with statement of the research objectives and the relevance of the study.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology in terms of the processes and mechanisms for data collection and analysis. The chapter starts with a description of the study area of the research. It continues with the design and data analysis used. The chapter ends with a conclusion of all the main points raised in the chapter.

3.2 The area of study

Data for this research were collected through field work done in the Wassa Amenfi West District (WAWD) of the western region of Ghana. The district which has total land area of 2354 sq. km is located between Latitude 400'N and 500 40'N and Longitudes 10 45' W and 20 10'W. It shares boundaries with the Wassa Amenfi East District to the north, to the south with the Ahanta West District, to the West by the Nzema East Municipal and to the East by Mpohor Wassa East District. The district capital is Asankrangua which host the district assembly and all other government department and agencies in the district.

The population of WAWD is projected to be 186, 257 and growing at 3.2% per annum which about twice the national average. It is estimated that about 40% of the population is less than 18 years. The district is prominently an agrarian one with about 85% of its workforce engaged in agriculture with the main crop being cocoa. The Wassa people are the natives of the land but there are a sizeable proportion of settlers or migrants most of whom are farmers. The notable among the settlers are Ewes, Akwapims, Krobos, Gomoans, Northerners, Brongs and even nationals from Ivory Coast (Cote D' Ivoire).

Figure 3.1 Maps of Wassa Amenfi West District



Source: District Assembly Profile (2010)

3.3 Research Design

The research was conducted as a multi-sited ethnographic research in that data collection was focused on different sites and actor over time and space (Marcus 1995) within the selected district of Wassa Amenfi West District. As a qualitative research, attention was given to communities, sites and participants or informants who are concerned by the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. This research adopted an interpretive approach to understanding the issues at stake. According to some authors, the interpretive approach to research seeks to understand social reality or the world through perception of the participants in it rather than an imposed explanation of reality (Green and Thorogood 2009). This approach assumes that there are multiple possible interpretations of a social reality. The researcher in this study therefore sought to investigate child labour in cocoa farming in real life context of farmers with interest in both the phenomena as well as the context (Yin 2002).

Concerning the consideration of the choice of district as the case study, the following reasons justified the selection of Wassa Amenfi West District (WAWD);

- a) It is a major cocoa growing district in Ghana,
- b) It was selected as one of the first districts for the interventions to eliminate child labour,
- c) The district has substantial populations of migrants who have travelled into the district to work on cocoa farms which is typical of many cocoa growing districts in Ghana, and
- d) The researcher was connected by a friend to some NGOs officials working in the district.

Regarding the actual data collection itself in the district, the process was organized in two phases. The first phase was the exploratory phase and the second was the data gathering phase. The exploratory phase involved an initial visit to the district to meet with the contact persons. This initial visit which lasted for two weeks enabled the researcher to make very important empirical decisions such as the methods, techniques and languages to be used in the data collection process. Other decisions made during this phase included the selection of communities for data gathering, and the selection of key informants. A simple survey was conducted among student in the selected communities to determined their extent of involvement in cocoa farming during the exploratory phase of the research.

In all four communities were selected in addition to the district capital of Asankragua. The selected communities were Aboi Nkwangta, Ammoaman, Bosiekrom and Sika Nti No.1 – 3. The selection of the communities was based on certain identified features found in these communities which were considered to enrich the research findings. In other words, the communities were selected such that they provided a wide range characteristics represented in the district. Aboi-Nkwangta and Ammoaman are child labour in cocoa intervention communities with booming galamsey operations as well as cocoa farming. Sika Nti No.1-3 on the other hand, are all child labour in cocoa farming intervention communities with no galamsey operations. Bonsiekrom is not a child labour in cocoa farming interventions area yet and as such has not benefited directly from any NGO intervention to eliminate child labour. All the communities chosen have cocoa farms and substantial mix of natives and migrant inhabitants.

3.4 Data collection

The main methods used to collect data for this research were interviews, observations and informal conversations and document search. The use of these multiple methods of data collection was particularly helpful in cross checking information or data from one source with others where possible.

This also gave the opportunity to probe into areas where initial information may not have been adequate on specific issues of interest. These methods were used all together and this made it possible for insight through one method to be used in another. The main methods used and processes are discussed below.

3.4.1 Interviews

Structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with relevant stakeholders to gather data on the various aspects of the research topic. Key informants were selected from the different groups of different stakeholders who were identified during exploratory phase of the research. The interviewees were selected purposively in the sense that interviewees were asked to help to get others from their fold who could also be interviewed. The Interviews were conducted with topic lists interview questions which were prepared to cover all the aspects of the research. Interviews were tape recorded with informants' permission and subsequently transcribed. Altogether, about 67 persons were interviewed either as individuals or groups or both during this research with some participants interviewed more than once.

3.4.2 Observations

Another very important data collection method used was observation. This entailed watching and scrutinizing the activities of particular stakeholders with or without their knowledge. Usually the observations ended up in informal conversations on the activities that were observed. During the data collection, the researcher observed activities on farms regarding how cocoa farmers worked on their farms. In respect to many aspects of the research, NGOs' community engagements and community meetings were also observed. The researcher also observed the activities of illegal gold miners (galamsey operators) as well as general interactions among people in the selected communities. These observations gave me the opportunity to compare what stakeholders said and what they actually did in real life situations (Green and Thorogood 2009). The researcher wrote down his observations in field notes such that the insight and knowledge gained through observations were not easily lost with moment. Field notes on

observations were also used as a source of data that were used for this research. The observation also helped the research with insights which enabled me to probe certain issues during interviews with key stakeholders.

3.4.3 Document search

Document search was another major source of data that was used to generate data for this research. This method of data collection is useful in getting data on events that might have occurred in the past which cannot be re-enacted in the future (Green and Thorogood 2009). I obtained data from NGO reports, proposal documents, government district departmental reports, community meeting minutes, news publications among others. Most of these documents used as data sources were gotten from the respective stakeholders in the district however a few other documents accessed through internet search engines.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data generated through the methods and techniques mentioned above were transcribed, coded, sorted and analyzed bearing in mind the conceptual framework of the research and the research questions. Two data analysis approaches were used in analyzing the data for this research. The approaches used were frame analysis and thematic content analysis.

Frame analysis was used to examine the conflicting views that stakeholders expressed about the issues of child labour in cocoa farming and galamsey operations. This approach entailed examining how interviewees' selectively highlight aspects of reality in order to present or portray a social phenomenon such child labour. This approach was useful in identifying how various framed stakeholders used for child labour and galamsey in the research. Framing analysis was used in analysis data collected on research question two and four. That is the questions regarding the framing of child labour in cocoa farming and galamsey respectively.

Thematic content analysis approach was used to examine data collected on research question one and three. This approach was thus used to investigate the main issues of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. In using this approach, I assembled the data collected on cocoa farming in the district and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming identifiable thematic categories. In doing this, I read through all the data which had been transcribed several times to identify specific themes that were prevalent in the data (Green and Thorogood 2009). The themes identified were used as the basis to rearrange data for the thesis.

3.6 Conclusion

The chapter started with a description of the study area. This helped to set the proper context for understanding and appreciating the issues of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district. It continues with research design which sought to explain the initial processes of the research process as well as some key decisions that were taken and the considerations that informed certain choices and decisions. In terms of the research design, considerations for the choice of stakeholders, communities were done after preliminary exploratory study and interactions were completed. Communities for data collection were chosen in such that it reflected most of the issues of interest to the research. Data collection methods used included interviews, observations and document search. The chapter finally ends with the explanations on how the data collected were analyzed as well as the approaches that were used in analyzing the research data. The data analysis approaches used were frame analysis and thematic content analysis.

Chapter 4: Cocoa farming in the Wassa Amenfi West District

4.1 Introduction

The fourth chapter of the thesis provides a general description of the cocoa industry in the Wassa Amenfi West District (WAWD). It focuses specifically on the key tasks undertaken in the cultivation of cocoa. The chapter intends to serve as an entry point to understanding the general context and the main activities in cocoa farming in the district. The chapter starts with the relevance of cocoa farming as an economic activity to the people in district and some of the main activities undertaken in cocoa farming as well as some common dangers faced by farmers. Other areas covered include land acquisition and farm labour arrangements for cocoa farming in the district.

4.2 The relevance of cocoa farming in the district

The WAWD is a major cocoa producing district in Ghana. It is estimated that about 80% of households in the district own cocoa farms. Cocoa is certainly the most important income generating activity in the district. The importance of cocoa farming in the district can be seen in the fact even full time employees of establishments, civil servants and traders or business people all have or cultivate cocoa as well as their regular jobs. Cocoa farms are found in almost every community in the district. Some farms are very to homes while others are very far away from homes that some farmers even prefer to live on their farms. Cocoa farming in the district appears to be more than just an economic activity. It is also an identity symbol or status as worthy member of communities in the district. A cocoa farmer emphasized this point when he said that

“If you do not have a cocoa farm in this community then you do not indeed have any meaningful stake in the affairs of the community and may not even be invited to community meetings”.

The cocoa farms in the district are cultivated on small scales with most farms ranging from 2-4 hectares. Cocoa farmers indicated that they work on their cocoa farm all year around although the intensity of increases in peak season. The major tasks involved in cocoa cultivation include farm preparation and planting, farm maintenance, harvesting and processing. Each of these tasks require varying amount of labour, abilities and skills to perform successfully. The main phases and major activities in cocoa cultivation are carefully explained in details below.

4.3 Farm preparations, planting and maintenance

Cultivating cocoa starts with clearing of the forest (land) to be used to start the new farm. This is one of the most difficult tasks of all. Land clearing entails using machetes or cutlasses to cut the forest, burn and prepare the land for the planting of the cocoa seedlings or seeds. The cocoa seedlings are usually bought from individual seedling nurseries for transplanting. The planted cocoa trees require some moderated shade to survive the usually scorching sun of the area and so plantains are mostly first planted as a part of the preparation before the cocoa trees follow. When a cocoa tree is planted, it must be nurtured or maintained carefully for a period of about four to seven years before it matures. Crop maturity is when the cocoa tree begins to yield sufficient fruits in commercial quantities. New cocoa farms are not cultivated by all farmers and most farmers do not have to prepare or plant new crops except to maintain existing crop.

The Maintenance of cocoa farms demands regular performance of many activities which include regular weeding around and pruning the trees, applying fertilizer, controlling mistletoes, spraying insecticides with chemicals among others. Cocoa farmers indicated that they spend a lot of time on crop maintenance activities as good farmer maintenance results good crop yield. Farmers made comments such as “*cocoa hates lazy people*” and “*if you treat cocoa well it will treat you well*” to emphasize the importance of crop maintenance. These activities which are usually undertaken from January until June are labour intensive and expose farmers to several hazards. Some of the hazards farmers face in performing these tasks mentioned above comprises snake bites, cutlass wounds (laceration), back pains and inhaling of harmful chemicals substances when spraying the trees with chemicals.

4.3.1 Cocoa harvesting and processing

The peak season for harvesting cocoa in the WAWD is usually from October till December. This depends on the rainfall pattern experienced in a particular year and also on one’s farm maintenance habit. Some farmers interviewed assert that with good crop maintenance, it is possible for a farmer to harvest cocoa for most parts of the year if not throughout the entire year. Harvesting cocoa involves plucking the ripe cocoa pods from the tree with long cutlass, and *sosoa*; *along harvesting knife* also known as “go to hells”. The plucked pods are then gathered from all around the farm and heaped at one point. The pods are then cut open to scoop out the fresh cocoa beans from the husk. The fresh cocoa beans are then gathered and covered with plantain leaves and left to ferment for a period between five and seven days. The fermented cocoa beans are then spread on a platform usually constructed with raffia and palm

branches in the form of a very large mat. The cocoa beans are left on the platform or mat to dry. With a sunny weather it takes about four to seven days to dry as required. The dried cocoa beans are then bagged and sold to purchasing clerks (PCs) of the various licensed buying companies located in almost every community in the district.

Some of the tasks performed during harvesting and processing are simple and repetitive in nature. This makes them easily for every able person including children to undertake. It is common in the district to find children below 15 years gathering cocoa pods or breaking pods on cocoa farms alongside the adults. According farmers though cocoa harvesting and processing activities are easily to performance, undertaking such activities for long hour in the day lead to back pains, lacerating due mainly to tiredness and others.

Table 4.1 Major stages and activities in cocoa cultivation

Stages/phases in cocoa cultivation	Main Activities	Tools & Implements used	Some risks and health hazards associated
Farm preparation & Planting	Forest Clearing & felling of huge trees, Burning, Planting of cocoa seedlings	Cutlasses, Axes	Cutlass wounds, Back pains and snake bites
Farm Maintenance	Weeding, pruning, fertilizer application, spraying insecticides and controlling mistletoes,	Cutlasses or Machetes, knapsack spraying machines	Cutlass or machete wounds, inhaling harmful chemicals, snake bites
Harvesting and Processing	Plucking cocoa pods, gathering pods, breaking pods, fermenting and drying cocoa beans	Cutlasses, knives, soso (shaped knife tied to a stick), baskets, and bowls	Cutlass/knife wounds, snake bites, back pains,

4.4 Cocoa farmers' perception and handling of farming related dangers/harm

Cocoa farmers in the district are aware of the many dangers they face in carrying out their daily tasks. The main sources of dangers to farmers are the tools they use, the long hours for which they work, and the nature of the environment within which they work. The use of farm implements such as cutlass or machete and hand held knapsack sprayer machines expose farmers to regular dangers such as lacerations and harmful chemical inhalation respectively. Farmers indicated that lacerations from cutlass on cocoa farm are experiences that almost all cocoa farmers interviewed have had to deal with from time to time. Farmers often complain of back pains usually as a result of the long hours of hard work they perform. The forest environment is also convenient for harmful reptiles and insects such as snakes, bees, scorpions and others. These reptiles and insects pose great danger to farmers as farmers sustain bites and stings from these reptiles and insects during their work on cocoa farms.

It was observed that, though cocoa farmers seem to be well aware of these dangers that their work poses to them, they do not appear keen on prevention of these dangers. It was realized that farmers assign superstitious reasons for the occurrences of these dangers. For instance a farmer interviewed indicated that snake bites and other injuries on the farms are usually punishment for one's evil deeds. He remarked;

"If you do your work with clean heart and mind things like that (injuries) do not follow you; evil follows evil".

There is also the problem of the unavailability of suitable protective gears for all sizes of persons on sale in shops. This is particularly the case with children and people with smaller body sizes. It is thus very common to see parents working with children with the adults protectively dressed by wearing wellington boots and nose masks while the children are not because there are no such gears made to fit children and persons of smaller statures.

4.5 Land tenure and cocoa farm ownership

Land in the district is held in trust by family heads (abusuapanyin) and chiefs (nananom) for their people and usually not sold at least for farming purposes. There are three notable ways of land acquisition for cocoa farming in the Wassa Amenfi West District; these are farming on

family land, share cropping and by a system of “quasi mortgage” called *awawa*. These modes of land acquisition are discussed below.

First, natives of the district whose families own farming lands are usually given their share of the family land on which to cultivate their cocoa farms. Natives who desire to have bigger farms than their portion of land given them by their clan head can acquire land through the other methods. Individuals cultivate their farms for their life time and pass them on to their estates usually through ones’ mother’s lineage or what is termed the maternal form of inheritance.

Secondly, Settlers and landless native who want to acquire land for cocoa farming does so through a sharecropping arrangement called *yemayenkye* which is translated in English as “*farm and let us share*”. Under the *yemayenkye* arrangement, landless individuals who want to cultivate cocoa acquire a piece of land from a land owner to cultivate the cocoa farms share the crop upon maturity. When the cocoa plant matures, the cocoa farm is divided into two parts; one for the landless farmer and the other for land owner. They both maintain their farms separately after that and can even pass their farms on to their heirs. This is because the life span of a cocoa tree is unknown. This is how an interviewee explained it,

“no one knows when the cocoa tree dyes and as such the landless farmer gets to keep his farmer forever and the farm can even be inherited by his estate upon his death” .

The third means of land and cocoa farm ownership is by a “quasi-mortgage” arrangement commonly referred to as *awawa*. With this arrangement, a cocoa farmer gives his entire farm to another person (moneylender) for a specified amount of money for an agreed period, usually to settle pressing financial commitments such as paying a debt, paying of a ward’s school fees in tertiary institutions and others huge expenditures. The money lender takes over take the maintenance and harvesting of the cocoa farm for the agreed period. During the negotiation process, consideration is given to the size of the farm, the age or “health” of the cocoa trees and past records of yields to determine the amount been requested and the duration of the arrangement. These deals are usually not put into formal contract but compliance with the terms is always assured so they do not see any need for a contract.

4.6 Organization of labour

There are three major ways of mobilizing labour to work on cocoa farms in the district. These are the use of household/family labour, forming communal labour support group and by the

hiring of daily labourers. According to farmers, most cocoa farms in the district are owned by families. The household or family then becomes major source of labour for working on the cocoa farms and as such every member of the family usually has a role to perform. The father of a home is most case is the head of the household and organizes activities on the farm. The district officials estimate that about 60% of farms in the district are cultivated solely by household labour.

Another way of mobilizing labour to work on the cocoa farms in the district is through the communal pooling of labour arrangement which is commonly referred to as *nnoboa*. This is an arrangement where cocoa farmers form a group (pool of labour) to work on members farms on rotational basis. Farmers indicated that *nnoboa* groups are most useful in performing activities such as cocoa harvesting and breaking of cocoa pods. This is because such activities require a lot of hands to make their performance effective and less boring for farmers while helping to promote unity among farmers. A farmer during a FGD asserted that

“nnoboa helps us to support each other on our farms together and it also helps to build communal spirit in our community”.

It is estimated that about 16% of farmers form *nnoboa* group to perform their farming activities.

The third means of organizing labour for cocoa farming is by hiring casual daily labourers. Casual labourers are hired by farmers as a means of raising labour to work on their farms when all other means of organizing labour have been exhausted. Casual daily labourers popularly known as “*by day*” are usually engaged by farmers on daily basis to do many of the activities on the cocoa farms. Though there is no fixed rate paid to casual labourers for a day’s work, casual labourers are currently paid daily rate ranging from GHc15 – 25(\$12-17). This amount is more than five times the current national daily minimum wage announced by the Government in 2012. The rate paid as a daily wage to a labourer depends on the time of the season and the availability of other economic activities ongoing in the community among others. District was that about 24% of farmers hire casual labourers to cultivate their cocoa farms. Farmers however indicated that due to the rising casual labour cost in the district less farmer are above to hire casual labourers to support them on their farms.

Figure 4.1 group of cocoa breaking cocoa pods



Group of farmers supporting each other under a nnoboa scheme to break cocoa pods

4.7 Farm maintenance by caretakers

Cocoa farming is a venture that demands a lot of regular attention and dedication in order for it to be profitable. Cocoa farmers who for one reason or the other do not have that much time and strength required, hire farm caretaker to manage their farms for them. The engagement of caretakers by cocoa farm is another way of maintaining cocoa farms in the district. Caretakers are mostly engaged by non-resident farmers and very old farmers who no longer have strength enough to continue working their farms all by themselves. According farmers, there are two types of caretaker of caretaker arrangements in the district. These are the ***ebunum*** and ***ebusan*** arrangements. Caretakers engaged under ebunum arrangement raise their own resources to maintain the farm and share the total harvest equally with the original cocoa farm owner. Under the ebusan arrangement, the original cocoa farmer also supplies inputs and money for labour cost in maintaining the farm. The harvest is thus divided into three and one part goes to the caretaker while the farm owner gets two parts of the harvest or its proceed.

The engagement of caretakers to manage one's farm is decision that cocoa farm owners do not make lightly. This is because caretakers are frequently accused of under declaring cocoa harvest and this has always been a sources concern to non-resident farm owners in the district.

Care takers are usually engaged as a matter of necessity when farm owners do not have what it takes to physically manage and maintain the own farms. In order prevent the perceived under declaration of harvest some farmers prefer to bring their relatives to work for them as farm caretakers.

4.8 Conclusion

Cocoa farming is the most predominant economic activity in the district. Most people in the district are engaged in cocoa farming either solely or partially as cocoa farmers. Cocoa farms in the district mostly small-scale farms which are cultivated by household labour. Other farmers depend on nnoboa schemes to maintain their farms while other still depend on hiring daily labourers. There is a rising cost of daily casual labour and this is reducing the number of farmers who demand casual labourers. This leaves most farmers with depending mostly on domestic labour which include children. The use on children in cocoa farming as stated in chapter has been framed by some stakeholders as child labour an undesirable phenomenon which must be eliminated. The next chapter focuses on how children's participation on cocoa farms has been frame differently by the various stakeholders in the district.

Chapter 5: Framing of child labour in cocoa production

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how the various stakeholders have framed or portrayed the issues of child labour in cocoa farming in particular. The chapter aims at enhancing the understanding of stakeholders' perception or interpretation of child labour in cocoa farming. This will intend facilitate a better appreciation of the interventions and stakeholders' responses interventions. As indicated earlier in chapter two, the concept of frames and framing perspective is useful for investigating and understanding conflicts situations or issues in conflict (Dewulf, Gray etc). The chapter will focus on the framing of child labour in cocoa farming by NGOs officials, cocoa farmers, national government official and district local government officials. The chapter ends with a conclusion based on the issues raised on the stakeholders framing of child labour in cocoa farming.

5.2 Framing by NGO officials as a problem of farmers' ignorance

The framing of child labour in cocoa farming by NGOs in the district is revealed in the ways the issues of child labour have been portrayed and presented by NGO officials. NGO officials interviewed in the district presented child labour in cocoa farming in the following ways; An NGO official defined child labour in cocoa farming as

“ the abusive and exploitative use of children in cocoa farming which deprive children of their right to education, play and development as well as exposing children to grave health hazards”.

Regarding the cause of child labour in the district the NGO official explained that

“Some of these farmers are ignorant about child labour and its effects but some farmers also use children because they don't want to pay high wages for adults casual labourers.

In explaining the seriousness of child labour in cocoa farming, Another NGOs official also remarked that *“on the cocoa farms children are made to work hard for very long hours in dangerous circumstances which deprive them of schooling (education) and the opportunity to enjoy their childhood”.*

From the interview excerpts above, NGO officials presents child labour in cocoa farming as a problem of farmers' ignorance or greed which affects children the victims. This frame is obvious from the statement that *“some of these farmers are ignorant about child labour and its effects*

but some farmers also use children because they don't want to pay high wages for adults casual labourers” and the phrases “ the exploitative and abusive use of children...as well as “ children are made to work...”.

The above excerpts did not only frame child labour as a problem but tended to characterized farmers as ignorant or greedy. This characterization of farmers certain undermines in relations to the issues at stake(Dewulf et al. 2009).

With regards solution framing, the above excerpts also provide a pointer as to how the issue of child labour in cocoa farming could be solved. From the framing of the problem as one caused by farmers' ignorance or greed, the most probable solution would be to enlighten ignorant farmers to the issues of child and its effects as well as tackling greedy farmers who want profit at the expense of children through law enforcement(situation analysis).

In summary, NGO officials in the district frame child labour in cocoa farming as a problem which affects children education and health which caused by farmers' ignorance or greed. Farmers who use children have been characterized as either ignorant or greedy people. According the problem frame and characterization put forward by NGOs the most probable solutions to child labour would include educating uninformed farmers' whiles enforcing the law against greed cocoa farmers.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 pictures of children working on cocoa farms alone



Pictures of children working on cocoa farms

5.3 Cocoa farmers' framing of on child labour as an essential socialization process

Cocoa farms in the district as stated in the previous chapter are cultivated on small-scale farms mostly with domestic labour including children. Cocoa farmers in the district admit have used children on their farms or still do. According to farmers working with children on farms or child labour do not only enable children to contribute their labour to farm work but also gives children the opportunity socialization into local customs as well as acquiring relevant skills and values. Farmers stressed that the acquisition of these basic skills are essential for a child's proper development into adulthood as the values and skills acquire through farm work could not be acquire through formal education.

In emphasizing the importance of acquiring relevant local skills and values through farm work for children, cocoa farmers tell stories of some very prominent politicians, business people, statesmen and top civil servants who have achieved national prominence as the result of their good socialization. Farmers link the success of these people to the values of hard work and respect which they believe children learn when working with their children on cocoa farms. Farmers also give bad examples of people who only had formal education without proper socialization which they refer to as improper upbringing of children. Farmers refer to many local adages to refer to the importance acquiring local knowledge through farm work.

One of the common adages which they often used to make this point was; “*esru efie nyasan and esru skull nyasan*”. This literally translates into English language as “*there is distinction*

between 'home' or local knowledge and academic knowledge". In a FGD of cocoa farmers, a respondent remarked that;

"We have worked on our parents cocoa farms from our childhood and that is why we are able to maintain our farms and families today as adults".

Concerning the framing of child labour by NGOs as depriving of education and posing health hazards to children, farmers have made the point that working on cocoa farms does not interfere with education of children. According to farmers children of cocoa farmers have always worked on cocoa farms and performed well in school over the years without any problems. Farmers mentioned that the main problems affecting the education of children in the district are high teacher absenteeism in schools and poor school infrastructure. A parent complained it that;

"When my children go to school, they could sit and play the whole day without teachers to teach them. The children sometimes beg to follow me to farm which is better than going to sit idle at school".

Regarding the health hazards, farmers asserted that cutlass wounds or snake bites are common dangers of rural communities which are not only limited to the working on cocoa farms but also present even at home or at school.

On the questions of the interventions to eliminate child labour from cocoa farming in the district, the farmers portray themselves are defenseless and vulnerable farmers who are been forced to comply with some laws and demands. In emphasizing this position, farmers made comments such as

"who am I to challenge government law on the use of children on our farms, we will do what we can do about it, "When times change we must also learn to change to survive but we know all of these will soon pass in the past".

Farmers seem to understand the interventions as a government laws. The comments also suggest that although they (cocoa farmers) may not be happy with the interventions they would comply without challenging it because they cannot.

There is however some farmers who have openly declared their defiance to the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. One such persons said in an interview that

“She could not farm alone to raise all her four children and would rather prefer to be jailed than to see her children starve” .

Notwithstanding their apparent concerns about the interventions, cocoa farmers however at a community meeting expressed their gratitude to the NGOs for their support and intervention in their community. These support the farmers mentioned to be support in constructing school building, and the training for farmers in farm management in that community. In that meeting, the farmers committed themselves to supporting the education of their children as they have always done.

Altogether, cocoa farmers frame the use of children on cocoa farms as an important component of good child upbringing for children in the district without which their adult life would be incomplete. Farmers frame children working on cocoa farms as compatible with formal education as it has been for ages. Farmers also assert that working on cocoa farms does not pose any more health hazards to children than that which is common in rural communities. Regarding characterization, farmers frame themselves as weak and powerless people who are faced up with powerful interests or people.

5.4 The fluidity of child labour frames by both NGO officials and farmers

The framing of the child labour in cocoa farming by both NGO officials and farmers have been found to have changed when the two stakeholders interact directly. This excerpt of an interaction during a village community meeting demonstrates this fluidity of frames clearer.

During the meeting an NGO officials explained that,

“we are not saying that you are wrong in using your own children on your cocoa farms. All that we are saying is that times have change and you must also change. The white people (foreign consumers) who buy your cocoa beans are saying that if you continue to use children on your farms they will stop buying your cocoa and we all know what that will mean for us”.

From this comments, one can note that the emphasis on farmers’ ignorance and greed framed as the main cause of child labour has shifted to an emphasis on the demand foreign cocoa consumers’ demand as the cause. Beside the shift in emphasis, this comment also did not attack or undermine the character of farmers and their practice of using children on cocoa farms as was previous done. This can be seen in the phrase *“we are not saying that you are wrong in using your own children....”*

Farmers at the said meeting expressed their heartfelt gratitude to NGO officials for bringing the intervention to their community and the benefits they have had from the intervention. When the farmers who spoke on behalf of the farmers were approach after the meeting to inquire about the benefits of the interventions for which they were grateful, he said that;

“This NGO has helped us to build a school, given us training on farm management and we are still expecting them to help us with some other projects”

Here also the framing of the NGO as helpful organization differs from the earlier framing of the NGOs as powerful organizations which are coercing farmers to do things they did not want to do as shown above in comment as such *“When times change we must also learn to change to survive but we know all of these will soon pass like other in the past”*. Another important aspect of the above comment by farmers is also that the emphasis of the intervention benefits had been laid on the project such as school building and farm management training. This clearly demonstrates the farmers interests were not necessarily about eliminating child labour because they had realized it was wrong but rather on the benefits they have received and expecting to receive.

5.5 Framing of child labour in cocoa farming by national officials in as a threat to cocoa trade and national reputation

Officially the government of Ghana has acknowledged child labour in cocoa farming as a problem which it is committed to addressing. National documents frames child labour in cocoa farming as a problem which threatens to tarnish the country’s international images and negatively affect its international cocoa trade (MMYEdocument). Beyond this official position on the issue of child labour in cocoa farming, pronouncements by national officials have varied widely with even some officials expressing contradictory views on the issue.

For instant, the Minister of employment and social welfare said in speech in March 2011 that *“though Ghana has succeeded in being taken out of the list of countries which produce cocoa with child labour, everybody must be committed to continue working hard to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming”*(Ghana News Agency March10, 2011).

This is statement indicate the commitment of government to child labour eliminate from cocoa farming which is consistent with the position of the government as expressed earlier. This

appeared to have been contradicted by another speech made by the vice president of the same government on child labour in cocoa farming. The vice president said that

“...seeing minors accompany their parents to cocoa farms is to be considered as part of their social acculturation as it cannot be child labour” (Ghana News Agency, September 11, 2011).

This view of the vice president seems to re-enforce the framing of child labour by cocoa farmers as a way of training their children into cocoa farming and to understand their local customs and practices. The framing of child labour as a socialization process goes against government acknowledgement of child labour as problem that must be addressed through the interventions been implemented.

5.6 Divergent framing of child labour in cocoa farming by the district officials as a problem of many causes

The framing of child labour in cocoa farming by district officials seems to have followed that of the national official in the sense that it is also contradictory in some sense. Officials of district education unit, framed child labour as one of the major problems facing basic education in the district. According the education officers, child labour in cocoa farming leads pupils to absent themselves from school regularly and this interrupts teaching and learning. An official interviewed remarked that;

“Using children on the cocoa farms is just like sacrificing the future of the child for the parent”

Officials of the district assembly gave broader frame of child labour. According district assembly officials, child labour is an issue in the district that is been addressed but alone farmers cannot be blamed for child labour in cocoa farming. In an interview with an official he revealed that child labour is the caused by many factors such the effective education system in the district, the inadequate school buildings in every village and many others. He said that

“Though I have been supporting the interventions to eliminate child labour to the villages I do not think that we can eliminate child labour because some aspect of child labour is good for both the child and the parents”.

The official interviewed cited himself as an example of the benefit of child labour. According to him, he worked alongside his parents and he has learnt many values that he has lived by even

in his adult life. This framing of child labour appears to mirror the framing of child labour as a socialization process portrayed by the farmers as presented earlier in this chapter.

In conclusion, the framing of child labour presented by district level officials in the district appeared to be a mixed of that of the farmers and that of the NGOs officials. The commonality in the framing of child labour is that it poses a challenge which must be addressed some also present child labour as presenting some benefits.

Table 5.1 summarizes frames as they pertained to the various stakeholders which have captured in the discussions above.

Stakeholders	Problem frame	Identity/characterization frame	Solution frame
NGO officials	Child labour is problem of the abusive /exploitative use of children and ignorance of cocoa famers	The interventionists portray themselves as the educated/ informed people seeking the welfare of children while the cocoa farmers are depicted as uninformed and abusers of children.	The solution in their view is educate farmers on child labour, use laws and some incentives to induce compliance to child labour free cocoa production in the District.
Cocoa farmers	Child labour is a normal ways of training children to become responsible and hardworking adults. If even it is problem then it is one of poverty as some parents need their children support them in raising their families.	The cocoa farmers present themselves as hardworking but vulnerable people who are being compelled stop the use of their children in cocoa farming. The cocoa farmers in the presence of the interventionists present themselves as benefactors of the interventions to eliminate child in their communities.	The solution according to the farmers is for Government to build more schools and other social amenities in communities so that their children can go to school without walking very long distances. The farmers also belief that educating children in schools should also be combined with practical knowledge is

			gotten by working on the cocoa farms.
The district officers	Child labour is a complicate and complex social issue with many aspects. Child labour is small-scale cocoa farming, inadequate schools and social amenities in all communities	The presents itself as a major stakeholders but lacks all the necessary resources to solve the problems and as such all other stakeholders would have to be brought on board to tackle child labour in the district.	The challenge of child labour can be solve through a collaborated approach involving all stakeholders in a comprehensive strategies and action plans.
National officials	Child labour is a problem which affects national cocoa trade and national reputation internationally as a civilized country	Government presents itself as a responsible government but willing go along with internationally trading and development partners to solve child labour in cocoa farming	To support many initiatives by multiple stakeholders and development partners to address child labour in cocoa

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the issues of chapter has be framed differently by the stakeholders namely, NGO officials, farmers, national government officials and district officials. It was shown in the chapter that NGO officials and farmers especially framed child labour in cocoa farming by emphasizing specific aspects of the issues concerned in order portray a certain picture of the phenomenon of child labour in cocoa farming. However, it was also noted that both NGO officials and farmers have shifted or adjusted their frames on child labour during direct interactions with each other as different aspects of the issues were highlighted in such interactions.

The issue of child labour in cocoa has been frame national government officially as a problem which threatens the international image of the country and its international cocoa trade. Public pronouncements by government officials on the child labour in cocoa have been mixed with some even contradicting the national position on the issue. The Wassa Amenfi West district has officially acknowledged the issue of child labour in cocoa farming and the interventions eliminate

child labour. Some officials interviewed believed that the focus on cocoa farmers as the perpetrators of child labour is misplaced while other officials who are working with NGOs on the interventions eliminating child labour in cocoa farming is attainable in the district. Having revealed how the various stakeholders interpret and perceive child labor in cocoa farming, the next chapter will delve into the specific interventions been implemented to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

Chapter 6: Interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the interventions been implemented to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming and cocoa farmers response to the interventions as well as the impacts of the interventions in cocoa growing communities. To achieve the above state aim, the chapter starts with a consideration of the specific interventions strategies been undertaken and stakeholder views on them. The chapter follows with cocoa farmers' level of compliance to the interventions as well as the general impact of the interventions in cocoa farming communities in terms of what is changing or not as a result of the interventions. The chapter ends with a conclusion of the major points raised in the chapter. This chapter therefore gives a complete understanding of interventions in the sense that it deals with what are been done, stakeholders views on the interventions, farmers' compliance and the entire cocoa farming communities are changing as a result of the interventions.

6.2 The interventions strategies to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming

The research revealed that the interventions been undertaken to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming fall under three main categories. These categories are a) sensitization of cocoa farmers on child labour, b) rewarding compliance to interventions and c) strengthening law enforcement against non-compliant farmers. The activities that fall under these strategies as well s stakeholders' views on them are discussed in detail below.

6.2.1 Campaign activities to sensitize cocoa farmers on child labour

As stated above, sensitization of stakeholders especially farmer in the district has been one of the major intervention strategies adopted by NGOs to eliminate child labour in the district. According to NGOs informants, this strategy was informed by their realization that cocoa farmers and other stakeholders are ignorant about the issues of child labour. The NGO informant explained that

“Most of the famers and even officials did not know that child labour was wrong and so we have had to educate them first of all before anything else could take place”.

This comment tended to support the problem frame of child labour put forward the NGOs as was indicated in the previous chapter. Several activities have been undertaken to educate stakeholders on issues of child labour right from the beginning of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district.

6.2.1.1 The initial sensitization activities

According to NGOs and district officials interviewed the intervention activities to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming started with conferences, and training workshops for selected district officers from relevant departments such the district education office, labour department and selected opinion leaders across the district. These initial trainees according to NGO officials were supposed to support the district wide sensitization activities which were expected to take place subsequently throughout the district. The initial training or education activities were conducted by international and national NGO officials took place in Accra and Kumasi; the national capital and second largest city in Ghana. A district official who was part of the initial trainees narrated how the interventions began as

“Some officers of the then Ministry of Manpower and Employment came with some international NGO officials from Accra to inform us that our district has been identified as a child labour endemic one. The district has therefore been selected for interventions to address the issue. Some of us were then selected to attend a course in Accra and Kumasi so that we can help the local NGOs to educate the other cocoa farmers to stop child labour in the district.

Some prominent cocoa farmers were also selected by local NGOs to participate in these initial trainings courses. A cocoa farmer who participated in the initial training narrated recalled his experience as follows;

“I was selected to join some district officers to attend a training course in Kumasi and Accra. At the training we were told that using children on our farms was bad and was giving the country a bad name internationally. We were therefore asked to advise our colleague farmers to desist from the use of children for farming”.

Some of the cocoa farmers who participated in the initial child labour elimination trainings continue to be part of the various intervention activities by NGOs in communities across the district. According NGO officials, these cocoa farmers who have participated in the trainings have been help in community mobilizing and dissemination information about their activities in

the NGO intervention communities. The district wide sensitizations have been taking place in communities in the form of community outreach events, school programmers, radio programs and the use of billboards.

6.2.1.2 Community outreach events

The NGOs have been undertaking several outreach activities in selected communities in the Districts to engage farmers and the general public with the issues of child labour in cocoa farming. These activities are organized either as community public events on their own or as part of regular religious gatherings and other community activities. The outreach activities make use of role plays, short sketches (drama) and even songs to emphasize the negative effects of child labour, its elimination and government laws and policies on the issue.

During these events, public speeches on the issue of child labour are also made on the issue of child labour by NGO and District Assembly officials, local politicians and opinions leaders.

These speeches portray child labour in cocoa as a bad practice which affects children's health and education. The speeches also explain relevant government policy and laws on child labour. The participation of local government officials in the events blurs cocoa farmers' views on which issues raised are government position or NGOs position. A local government official is reported to have said at a community outreach event that;

“if you(referring community members) continue to use your children on the farms then you are telling abang (the government) that your community does not need schools and you are also not ready for development”.

This comments appeared to be an attempt to link compliant to interventions to governmental developmental agenda in that non-compliance to interventions could deter government from bringing development projects such as schools, pipe borne water or electricity to such communities.

One other common feature of these community events is to get prominent community traditional leaders; the local chief (the Ordikro and or the local queen mother (the Obaahenmaa) to speak on the issues of child labour as well. According to an NGO informant, traditional leaders still wield a lot of influence over their subjects and so it is believe that when they speak on the issues people are likely to listen. These traditional leaders also usually affirm the positions of the event speakers at such events by reiterating what has have been said.

6.2.1.3 School sessions

Another form of awareness creation on the issues of child labour in cocoa farming especial among children is through school events. In doing this NGOs staff visits schools in the district to engage children with the issues of child labour in cocoa farming. According NGO officials these events enable them to educate pupils on their rights as children against child labour. That is through this events children are told what they should at home and on the farm and what they should do. An NGO official in an interview remarked that

“This is a very powerful way of getting children to know and assert their right”.

Some parents are however against the school events as they consider these activities as inciting children to be disrespectful and unsupportive at home. A parent complained about the school programme as follows,

“Now when you take your children to the farm to help you even on weekends they do not want to work claiming that ‘the children welfare people’ (interventionists) have told them that children should not be made to carry heavy loads or work for too long”.

6.2.1.4 Radio programme

Radio discussion programme is another way by which public awareness on child labour in cocoa farming is pursued in the district. There is a regular radio programme which is held on a district fm radio station is to discuss the issue of child labour. This radio programme is broad casted to listeners throughout the whole district and even beyond. The programme discusses various aspects of the issue of child labour and invites contributions and questions from the listening public on the issues discussed to enhance understanding of listeners. According to some informants the radio program has the advantage of reaching to a larger audience throughout the district. A regular panel member to the radio program in an interview stressed the effectiveness of radio in child labour education by stating that,

“This is the best way to reach people in the District. People listen to their radio a lot and carry it around with them to many places so it is like following people with the message of child labour where ever they go. It also gives listeners the opportunity to asked questions and to make their contributions to the issues”.

6.2.1.5 Use of Billboard

Another medium of educating stakeholders and raising general awareness about the issue of child labour in cocoa farming is through the use of colourful billboards. Billboards have been erected mainly on major highways and streets. One such billboard is erected on the main road towards the district capital to catch the attention of people especially who travel to the district capital, Asankragua. These billboards, which are very large, have inscriptions “*stop child labour in cocoa production*” accompanied by different pictures to emphasize the message. There are two different pictures on the billboards which indicate that child labour in cocoa cultivation is bad and having children in school is good.

Figure 6.1 picture of colourful intervention billboard



A billboard to raise awareness about child labour in cocoa farming in Asankragua, Ghana

6.2.1.6 Stakeholders' views on the effectiveness of sensitization campaign

Regarding the effectiveness of the sensitization campaign activities, NGO officials assert that such activities have been successful. The NGO officials cite the high public interests and discussions on the issues of child labour in cocoa farming as an indicator. According to the NGO official, the fact that child labour which used not to be an issue anybody paid attention to had now become such a topical issue of great interests for a whole range of people in the district itself is an important mile stone in eliminating child labour in cocoa farming.

In interviews and interactions NGO officials also tell stories of instances where community members have taken some steps as significant signs of success of the sensitization campaigns. In a FGD held with staff members of a local NGO in the District, a staff member narrated that,

“last year we had a field outreach event at Aboi-Nkwanta (a community in the district) to sensitize the people on child labour and child trafficking. Right after the event, a man who had brought two children from Lawra (a town in the Upper West region of Ghana) for work on his cocoa farms run away and left the children. The children were brought to us and we arranged for them to be taken back to Lawra a couple of days later”.

This story was followed by another from a colleague participating in the FGD, he also recalled that,

“ just two months ago people from another community where we have been working for some time now came to report a suspected child trafficking case involving a couple who had brought a nine year old girl to come and baby-seat their child for them be able to work on their farm and the poor girl was denied education. We intervened after the report reached us and now the girl is in school”.

Concerning people's general awareness of child labour in cocoa farming elimination activities, interviews and informal interactions with people revealed that many people had heard about the interventions activities. People expressed varied views on what they understood child labour to be. For instance, some of the views people expressed on what they knew child labour to be mean included,

“Not working with children on cocoa farms”, “treating children well with respect” “not giving one's children to live with other person”, “allowing children to attend school” and “not being strict on children”.

These clearly indicated the variety of views that people held about child labour.

Another very interesting observation made during the data collection was the defensive attitude of farmers who were seen working with their children on days and times when the children were supposed to be in school. Parents who were seen working with their children were very quick to explain the reason for their use of children and also indicate that their use of children is not a regular practice. In a particular encounter with a lady farmer who was seen with her three children going to farm on a Wednesday morning (when children were supposed to be in school). In reply to the question, how far is your farm from here? She replied

“our farm is not too far from here and so we will be there soon, work for a while and then return home because I will be travelling later today. These are my own children who are all in school but I have just had the news that my mother is very sick in my hometown and I will have to go today. I have asked my children to go to the farm with me to help carry my dried cocoa beans home for sale so that I can get some money for my trip and something (money) to leave with them since I do not know for how long I will be staying with my sick mother”.

Instances where farmers went out of their way to explain their use of children on farms was encountered in a couple of places during the data collection period in the district.

The high level of awareness of the people on the issues of child labour however does not reflect in the practices of cocoa farmers in the district as farmers continue to work with their children on their cocoa farms. It is fairly common to see children accompanying their parents to or from farm carrying loads of cocoa. NGO officials interviewed about the apparent low compliance with interventions argued that elimination of child labour in cocoa farming is an attitudinal change process which could take a long time to take complete effect. Interactions with farmers and other stakeholders in the district however revealed that the non-compliance of farmers is the result of many more factors than just the attitudinal change argument put forward by interventionists as lack of clarity of the child labour message.

6.2.1.7 The multiple meanings of child labour

Majority of farmers interviewed about the child labour and its elimination as already stated above have expressed some level of awareness. However farmers' knowledge on what child labour is varied so widely. Farmers interviewed raises questions about the messages of child labour and some even questioned its contextual relevance. Farmers raise issues concerning the

actual meaning and logic of the child labour campaign. From interactions with stakeholders it became apparent that there is no local word or phrase which means exactly as child labour in English language. Some of the local phrases use by NGO officials in their campaign to mean child labour included; ***mmbofra yieediee*** which translates “ ***children’s welfare***; ***edwuma a mmbofra ennye*** which also translates ‘ ***work that children are not allowed to do***’ ; and ***edwuma ebroo abofra ahordin nso*** which translates ‘ ***work that does not exceed a child’s strength***’.

It appeared that NGO officials use these phrases as it suits them in communication text without been mindful of the meanings farmers assigned to such them. Interactions with farmers revealed some of the issues farmers have with the logic of these phrases. For instant a farmer in an interview questioned the logic of the phrase ***mmbofra yieediee*** which means children’s welfare used to refer to child labour in the intervention. The farmer remarked,

“they talked to us about protecting children’s welfare but how can the farmer whose welfare is terrible be asked to protect the welfare of their children more than he is capable of doing. How can I give what I do not have?”

Another also commented on the same phrase as follows;

“How can anybody claim to care more for my own children than I do and therefore be telling me how I should raise my children. The trouble is that everybody thinks farmers are weak and poor so everything can be thrown on us. This is one of the things which will pass soon like the many other programmes which came and passed” .

Comments like the ones above may not be heard by NGO officials as farmers may not want to upset the ‘big men’ (officials) for fear of the unknown. However these comments may reflect the mindset of farmers and give some explanations to their non-compliance with the interventions.

6.2.1.8 What can farmers do or cannot do with their children on their cocoa farms?

A related issue to the multiple meanings of the child labour in the local language is the questions of; what can cocoa farmers do or cannot do with their children on cocoa farms? This is an issue that views are split even among NGO officials. On one hand, some are of the view that cocoa farming is in itself a very dangerous enterprise and as such children must not play any active role in cocoa farming at all(Mull & co). On the other hand, other officials also assert

that children can support their parents on their cocoa farms as long as it does not interfere with their education and health.

Officials who support the former view cite studies to indicate that cocoa farming expose children to several health hazards and so beyond interference with education children must not participate in cocoa farming until they are matured (adulthood) enough to deal with such hazards (Mull). Those who endorse the latter view say that it is the moral responsibility of parents to pass on their heritage (cocoa farming) to their children which is effectively done by engaging children on the farms. They however maintain that this should deny the children education as education will make the children better farmers if they so decide in the future. Most framers interviewed agree with the later view on child labour. A farmers expressed this view, *“though I hope my children will do well in school so that they do no remain cocoa farmers, I will also like them to support me on the farm so that they can learn about cocoa farming so that if they are not able to go further in education at least they can fall on farming”*.

Some farmers who use their children on cocoa farms also attempt to make to some to fact the officials said children could be used cocoa farms.

In summary, extensive public education on child labour has been a core strategy of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district. The message has been child labour in cooca farming is a bad practice which farmers stopped. The awareness creation campaign has been carried out through multiple medium and activities such as community outreach events, through social gathering, schools, radio broad cast and the use of billboards. There are indications that farmers’ awareness on the issues of child labour has been raised but yet there exist some challenges. There are difficulties in communicating the concept of child labour into the local languages in a way that most people could understand and appreciate. There is also a lack of clarity even among officials on what cocoa farmers are allowed under the interventions to do with their children or not on their cocoa farms. Though many people in the district have some knowledge on child labour this is not reflecting in practices. This notwithstanding, interventionists in the district maintain that sensitization campaigns have gone far but more still need to done. They also emphasized the need to incentivize farmers to comply with the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

6.2.2 Rewarding and encouraging compliance

Another strategy of interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming as mentioned earlier is through the use of NGO projects to incentivize or induce to stop the use of child labour on their cocoa farms. NGOs have supported communities that were considered to have shown good signs of stopping child labour to build school buildings, Teachers Bungalows, organizing cocoa farm management trainings programmes for farms and many others. An NGO official explained the essence of this strategy as follows;

“when farmers have shown good signs that they are prepared to stop using their children on their cocoa farms and we are satisfied with their effort we support them accomplish projects which they may want to see happen for the good of their communities”.

According an NGO informant, a number of communities in the district have benefitted from these projects as a component of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

Communities which have benefitted from these projects mention the projects as the major benefits they have had from the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. A farmer narrated importance of one such school building project as follows;

“Before we had this school our children had to walk for two hour to school in the other community. Most children were not happy about going to school; some even preferred to go to the farm than to school because the farm was closer than the school. Now it is different we have our own school here and the children do not have to walk that far again”.

From interviews and interactions with cocoa farmers, it appears that their compliance with the interventions to eliminate child labour in their farming is motivated more about attracting NGOs’ support for themselves and their communities in terms projects rather than the realization that using children on their farms is wrong and must stopped. This position was emphasized clearly by the concerns expressed by a cocoa farmer expressed over his perceived declining compliance with interventions in his community. He lamented that

“When we (farmers) started these activities with the NGOs everybody was serious and they (NGO officials) were happy with our effort that was the reason they supported us with this school and the farm management training course. But now people are not serious about the program (interventions) anymore, and so if care is not taken very soon the NGOs will stop supporting us”.

Cocoa farmers and communities members obviously found this project very helpful and would want more of such projects but an NGO official interviewed indicated that their funding sources have been declining and as such could only support just a few of such projects in the communities in the district.

To conclude on this, the component of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming through provision of NGO projects seemed to have motivated farmers in some communities to comply to cocoa farming with child labour. NGOs have however indicated that inadequate funding is limiting their ability to undertake more such project as much they would like.

6.2.2.1 Stakeholders' views on the effectiveness of the strategy of rewarding compliance

According to NGO officials this intervention strategy is effective in getting farmers to comply with cultivating their farms without child labour as it gives them greater reason to comply. The difficulty officials have with this strategy is the fact that they do not seem to have enough funds for more projects in the future. One official expressed his concern in an interview, he said

"We know that the communities need so many infrastructure and technical support but our limited and dwindling funds mean we can only meet a fraction of the demands from our communities".

Although cocoa farmer are thankful for and speak well of these projects as stated above, some farmers also complain that working on their cocoa farms without help from their children is very difficult. According farmers, one main challenge in complying with the intervention is the unavailability of casual labourers (*by day labourers*) usually during peak cocoa seasons and related high cost of labour. A lady farmer summed it up this way when she said

"The problem is the unavailability of labour in this community; it is very difficult to hire casual labourers to work for you even when you have money to pay whatever they want because of galamsey. They want to go to galamsey since they can make more money in galamsey than working for us".

Similar complains about the difficulty in getting labourers and cost of labour to work on cocoa farms emerged several times from several farmers in many communities in the district. The interventions to eliminate child labour do not seem to find practical ways of solving this major

challenge for cocoa farmers in the district. In response to cocoa farmers' complaint about their challenge with labour, an NGO official said

“These are mere excuses by unrepentant farmers who are hanging on to their old ways of using children as economic assets for gain”.

This complete dismissal of farmers' concerns over labour challenges appears quite strange considering the numbers of times this issue came throughout this research.

To sum it all up, the intervention strategy of rewarding and encouraging compliance with cocoa farming without child labour through the use of NGO projects appears to be getting farmers to comply. The projects provided to compliant communities are very essential projects and thus could induce compliance among cocoa farmers even in other communities. NGOs have however indicated that dwindling funding could mean that inability to undertake more of such projects in the future. What remains to be seen will be the sustainability of this strategy in the long term in helping to eliminate child labour. Again this intervention strategy does not seem to be addressing the farmers' need for labour to replace child labour on their cocoa farms in the ultimate quest of eliminating child labour in cocoa farming.

6.2.3 Supporting Law enforcement to deter non-compliance

Having sensitized farmers on child labour and encouraged them through project to comply, the third intervention strategy is to support law enforcement against non-compliant farmers who would be cultivating their cocoa farms with child labour. An NGO official stated the rationale behind this intervention as follows;

“Law enforcement is a powerful way of making people to do things even when they do not want to do them. This approach will help to address those who are using children as cheap labour and those who are hiding behind customs and other reasons so that the issue of child labour can be addressed once and for all”.

This intervention strategy to eliminate child labour had two limbs. The first was to get the district assembly members to pass child protection bye-laws to address specific challenges that were identified relative to child labour in cocoa farming in the district. The second was to strengthen the capacity of law enforcement agencies and the judiciary to enforce existing national laws and district by-laws on child labour.

According to an NGO official, they (the NGO officials) lobbied assembly members and district officials to pass bye- laws prohibiting child labour on cocoa farms in the district on school days. The district assembly also supported the formation of the District Child Protection Committee (DCPC) and Community Child Protection Committee (CCPC). The main task of these two bodies was to support enforcement of child labour and child protection laws at the district and community levels respectively. An NGO official who was involved in lobbying the district assembly to pass the bye-law explained that,

“Since we are now in democratic dispensation, there was the need to get a legal backing for all activities and actions as much as possible. To facilitate our work and we managed to get these laws passed through the district assembly and the assembly members”.

The second limb as stated above involves supporting the enforcement of child labour and child protection laws and bye-laws in the district to deter farmers from using children on cocoa farms. This is because it is believed that law enforcements agencies and judges do not have the require capacity to enforce relevant laws (situation report). The support given to law enforce were in the form of training programmes on child labours laws among others. The DCPC and CCPC members were given empowered to support laws enforcement agencies to sure that offenders are punished especially in the rural communities. The CCPC have only been formed in communities in which NGOs have project in already. The CCPC committee members in the various communities were to help enforcement of child labour laws through cautioning and arresting of offenders where necessary. The DCPC members were to perform similar function at the district level.

6.2.3.1 Stakeholders’ views on the law enforcement strategy to eliminating child labour

According to NGOs officials, although the activities mentioned under this strategy have been on-going for about three years now, it has not contributed much to effort at eliminating of child labour in cocoa farming in the district. Records at the district assembly has it that well over three years of activities only one person has been referred to the DCPC for cautioning for flouting the bye-laws on child labour. However, it was observations during the research collection that several infractions of the bye-laws take place on daily basis. These infractions included parents working with their children on cocoa farms during schools hours, children could also be seen hawking in the evenings and many others.

Concerning the activities of CCPCs at community level, checks with in some communities revealed that the CCPC membership has depleted drastically in many communities. Many CCPCs have more than half of their members resigned. Discussions with some former CCPC members indicated that they resigned due attacks insults and threat made on their lives by offending farmers who were cautioned for using child labour on their farms. In an FGD, a CCPC member narrated that

“when we started we knew it would be difficult to take anybody to the police because we are all relatives here in this community so we decided to only caution offenders, but even with this, we have had to endure insults and attacks from offenders whom we cautioned. The insults continued for so long that those who could no longer endure any more resigned from the CCPC”.

NGOs officials however indicate that there are plans to retrain DCCPC and CCPC members with the hope to get them to function better.

Another area of some deficiency in this intervention strategy which was observed was its selective application. From interactions with people from the various communities it was realized that these bye laws were only known in the communities in which the NGOs have been implementing their projects. From interviews conducted it was realized that people in communities not yet reached with NGO programs did not know much about these bye-laws and also did have CCPC in them.

An interview with a basic school teacher in one such yet to be reached community revealed this better. In replying to the question of whether or not he knew of the bye-law prohibiting the use of children on farm during school hours in the district, he answered

“I do not know about any such law. But even it is true; I do not think anybody can enforce such bye-laws in this town. This is because if they try to enforce these bye-laws here then they will have to arrest everybody in this community since everybody at one point or the other would have been guilty. As a teacher I know that child labour ideally is not the best for the children’s education but I guess the parent do not have any options since they cannot work all by themselves”.

This interview excerpt did not just reveal the selective application of the bye laws but also the scale of infraction in the particular community.

In conclusion, the intervention strategy to strengthen law enforcement to deter non-compliance entailed NGO officials lobbying for the passage of district bye-laws, training of law enforcement agents and the setting up of the DCPC and CCPCs to support. This intervention strategy seemed not to have much towards the elimination of child labour in cocoa farming in the district. This was evident in the many infractions of the bye laws and lack of activity on the part of the DCPC and CCPCs. This intervention strategy's application has also been limited communities where NGO programmes are run.

6.3 Farmers' general response to the interventions

Having described how the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district have been implemented in the district so far, this section considers farmers' response to the interventions. In response to the interventions to cultivate cocoa without child labour, cocoa farmers in the district are adopting several strategies. Some of these strategies include use of household adult labour, hiring of care takers, hiring of casual labourers and formation communal labour support groups (nnoboa groups). These strategies are discussed in details below.

Cocoa farmers interviewed in the district indicated that one of the means they were trying comply with cocoa framing with child labour was to rely on adult household labour as much as possible for all farm tasks. The adult household labour for most people could include the father of a house, the wife or wives, adult children possibly adult relatives who may be living in the house. This implies that the more adult members a household have the better their chance of maintaining their cocoa farms with child labour. According to farmers, they have had to work hard for longer hours to be able to cultivate their farms now that they do not enough support on their farms from their children. A farmer narrated how his work schedule has change over the period as follows;

"Now I leave home very early sometimes before 6:00am with my wife and return at around 5:30 pm or 6:00pm very tired. When I come home I take my bath, eat and then straight to bed. It is difficult because our children are all in school and do not help us again on our farm so we have to do our best".

Cocoa farmers also mentioned the engagement of care taker to maintain their farms for them as a strategy to maintain their farms without the active participation of their children. As mentioned in chapter four, engagement of care takers entail where a cocoa farmer hand over the daily maintenance of the cocoa farm to another person with whom the farmer share the cocoa

harvest. Observation made and interactions with some farmers during this research revealed many of the care takers who were been engaged to manage the cocoa farmers are mostly settlers who are less resource financially than the farmers owners. These care takers engaged to manage the cocoa farms use their own children to work on the cocoa farms. This simply implies replace the children of farm owners by children of care takers.

Some farmers interviewed also indicated that they hire casual labourers to support their work on the cocoa farmers in order comply with the interventions. Hiring of daily casual labourer has always been part of farmers' source of labourer to work on cocoa farms, but what is interesting is how farmers are now getting ahead of others in the competition for casual labourers in the district. Interview with farmers and labourer revealed that farmers who own home in the district are using their privilege position as landlords to get their tenants who work as labourers to work for them. A farmer who is also a landlord narrated his strategy at raising labourers as

“When the young men come to rent my houses, I develop very good and respectful relationships with them. They eventual come regards me as their father and so whenever I need help with my farming activities and I request to hire them it is difficult for them to resist. When they go to work for me also they try to do a good job because of the respect between us”.

This comment was collaborated by that of an casual labourer who also work as an illegal miners (galamsey miner), he said that

“I now prefer to work in the galamsey mine because I get a lot more money quickly than working the farm cocoa but sometimes I work for my landlord when on breaking days (days on which galamsey miners do not work)”.

These comments further emphasize farmers' need for casual labourers which was mentioned in the last chapter but also show how farmers are coping with the labour scarcity.

The formation communal labour support groups (nnoboa groups) is another strategy that farmers are employing to cultivate cocoa without child labour. This as stated in chapter four entails farmers forming groups to work each other on their farms on rotational basis. This nnoboa groups which are usually between six to twelve farmers has always been a source of labour for farming activities in the district. NGOs are now however encouraging farmers to form nnoboa groups not necessarily to address the labour concerns of farmers but are as a way of

getting compliant farmers to apply social pressure on colleague farmers to cultivate their farms without child labour. An NGO official explained it as follows;

“Usually when they are working in groups they talked to each other and some farmers are better able to influence themselves to stop using child labour than outsiders like us talk to them about it”.

Though farmers are been encouraged to form these nnoboa groups and some farmers mentioned some benefits of nnoboa groups as promoting unity and communal spirit, some farmers also mentioned some challenges with nnoboa groups. Some the challenges farmers include the fact that nnoboa group are not as flexible as one’s own household labour, also that farmers prefer to form such groups with others they feels more comfortable with and the fact that sometimes farm activities demand immediate action such that one cannot wait for his term in the rotation.

The details consideration of the strategies which coco farmers in the district have been employing to cultivate their cocoa farming without child labour indicates that almost all of them pose their own. These difficulties with these strategies mean that some farmers are more able than other to adopt these strategies effectively. This also implies as was realized in the research that there are several levels of compliance amount farmers to cultivating farm without child labour. This research categorized farmers’ compliance into three categories namely full compliance, partial compliance and non-compliance.

6.3.1 Full compliance to the interventions

Cocoa farmers who fall in this category are those farmers are relying on the mix of the strategies mentioned above to be able to cultivate their farms without active involvement of their children or child labour. Some of the strategies employed by farmers in this category include use of adult household labour, engagement of care takers and hiring daily casual labourers.

Interviews, observations and interactions revealed certain characteristics of farmers who fall in the full compliant category larger household of many adults’ relatives, multiple sources of income, own a house or houses and other. In other words, farmers in this category have bigger farm sizes, married with at least one wife. They usually live with some adult relatives living them in their homes. Some these farmers also own shops and stall for selling food items (provisions)

or commercial vehicles for generation of income. In an interview with one such farmer he said that

“I agreed with the NGO a person that working on cocoa farm is a difficult work even for adults. I have stopped my children from working on the farm and I have given it to a care taker who maintains it now for me. My children help their mother after school to sell in my small village supermarket”.

The comment from this farmer reveals some of the characteristics of farmers in the compliant category. It also demonstrates the fact not many farmers in the district fall in the compliant category.

6.3.2 Partial compliance to interventions

There is also the group of farmers in the District whose compliance with the interventions has been classified as partial compliance. These farmers used children to work on cocoa farms on weekends, when school vacates or sometimes on week days when they are overburdened with work especially during cocoa peak seasons. According to farmers identified to in this category, they plan their work such that simple and repetitive tasks such gathering and breakings of cocoa pods fall on weekends or when children are available. These arrangements and plans do not work out well every time and so children are sometimes taken from schools support with work occasionally even on school days. Farmers identified to be in this category indicated that children’s involvement in cocoa farming is fine as long as it not significantly disturb their education. This group of farmers bases their action on the assertion by some officials that children of cocoa farmers can support on cocoa farms in ways that does not interrupt with education which was mentioned in the earlier in this chapter.

Although there are no official statistics on the level of compliance to the intervention in the district, 76% of pupils surveyed during this study indicated that they support their parents on their farms on weekends and when school vacates. It was also observed that some parents even go and ask permission from Head-Teachers and class Teachers for their children to be permitted to join him on the farm when they are pressed with work. This indicates that many farmers in the district fall under this category. Permissions for release of children by parents are usually requested on Thursdays and Fridays when academic work is considered to be less effective in public schools in the district. A Head-Teacher interviewed confirmed the practice and gave his justification as follows;

“Usually on Thursdays and Fridays we do not do much academic work in schools because most teachers travel on these days to their families since most Teachers do not hail from these rural communities. Therefore I think it is reasonable to release children occasionally to parents who take the trouble to come and explain matters to you the Head-Teacher. I understand the difficulty some parents go through to take care of their children and one can only be reasonable in such situations”.

This comment indicates the prevalence and acceptance of the practice of partial compliant farmers even by people in officialdom.

6.3.3 Non-compliant farmers to child labour elimination interventions

The final category of farmers is those who openly disregard the interventions to stop child labour in cocoa farming. These farmers work with children on their farms whenever they find the need without asking any permission from Head-Teachers or class Teachers although most of these children are all in schools. Observations and interaction with some farmers identified in this category showed that most farmers in this category are either settlers who have just come to start their cocoa farms in the district. Others also were found to be single parents who usually have more than three children to cater for. These parents usually complain that they cannot work alone to take care of their children without some of the children helping on the farms.

It was also realized that farmers usually attack members of the community who try get them to comply with the cultivating their farms without child labour. A former CCPC member of a community recalled his experience with one such parents in his community, he narrated that

“As a CCPC member I went to tell her to stop working with her children but rather allow them to go to school. She got angry and started insulting. She shouted so loudly that many people came around to restrain me from beating her. She insulted me, my wife and my entire family in the process. In fact she continued to insult each time she saw me around for so long that my wife begged me to resign from the committee”.

According farmers, there are only few people in this category of farmers in the district and many people in the value education and want their children to go further in formal education. This claim by the farmers interviewed was supported by observations made during this research. Especially by the fact that many farmers have been identified to be in the partial compliant category and that many farmers who were seen working with their children quickly explained

that they were doing so exceptionally rather than normal practice. It was revealed through interviews and interactions with farmers that most parents in the district cherished the education of their children even if to the basic certificate level.

To conclude on farmers' response and compliance to the interventions, most farmers have been employing many diverse strategies to cultivate their cocoa farms with child labour. Some of the strategies employed farmers included use of household adult labour, hiring of care takers, hiring of casual labourers and formation nnoboa groups. The reliance on these strategies by farmers has been met with many challenges and degrees of successes or compliance in cocoa farming with child labour. The research identified three categories of compliance been full compliance, partial compliance and non-compliance with most farmers identified to be within partial compliance. It is however important to note that the NGOs programme aimed at eliminating child labour has so far only been extended to an estimated 40% of communities in the district. This clearly means that the greater parts of the district still remain effectively uncovered by these interventions.

6.4 Perceived Impact of the interventions

Having considered farmers' response and compliance levels to the interventions, this part of the thesis focuses on what stakeholders perceive to be changing or the perceive impacts of the interventions in the district. Observations and interviews with stakeholders revealed that there have been some perceived positive and negative consequences of the interventions.

6.4.1 Perceived positive impacts of the interventions

The positive consequences mentioned included perceived improved respect for children's rights and welfare, declining number of children working on cocoa farms and rising basic school enrolment. These are discussed in greater details below.

6.4.1.1 Respect for children's rights and welfare

As indicated earlier the issue of child labour has become a very topical issue in the district. According to NGO officials, this high level of interest in the child labour issue has brought respect to children's rights and welfare issues. This is because now when district officials meet to deliberate on any issue they considers the children's angle of things also in that the capacity of official have been raised to appreciate children's issues better. An NGO official said in an interview that;

“if for nothing at all, officials and people in this district now know that children just like adults also have rights which must be respected. Now in official meetings children’s issues are considered”

6.4.1.2 Declining number of children actively working on cocoa farms

Closely related to the above point is the fact that stakeholders have noticed a reduction in the number of children who are actively engaged on cocoa farms. NGO officials and district officials interviewed indicated that there was significant evidence to support the fact the incidents of child labour on cocoa farms are declining in the district. This claim is also supported by a report on the interventions (report) July 2012)

6.4.1.3 Basic School Enrollment

Another significant positive impact of the interventions which NGO officially mentioned was the fact basic school enrolment rate has increase over the period of the interventions. The basic school enrolment stood at 97% according district education directorate statistics as at 2011. This is actually higher that the national enrolment average of 95% (MDG report). It is however doubtful if this improvement in enrolment could be attributed to the child labour in cocoa interventions as other government programmes such as the national school feeding and capital grants are all aimed at improving basic school enrolment.

Despite the increasing enrolment, problems such as Teacher lateness and absenteeism continue to worry parents in many communities. It is common to see Teachers report to school after 10:00am while Teachers who live in the communities also usually leave for weekend on Thursdays or Fridays without teaching on these days. Teacher supervision from the district Education office (GES) is ineffective in most cases as education officers as education officials themselves have alluded to earlier in the thesis. Again, the district continues to record mass failure among students who seats the National Basic Examination called Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) for some year now. For instance, in 2011 as many as tens schools could not have a single candidate qualify to enter Senior high School with about 50% obtaining grades which do not permit them to further their education to senior secondary schools. Interviews revealed that the mass student failure was appeared to be a great concern to parents and other stakeholders in the district.

6.4.2 Perceived unintended negative consequences of interventions

Although the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming as indicated above is yielding some positive consequences in some areas of child welfare, according to other stakeholders there are equally some negative unintended consequences as well. Some stakeholders in discussions reveal the unintended consequences of the interventions to include perceived declining of parental control and supervision, and the displacement of child labourers from cocoa farming to other economic activities in the district.

6.4.2.1 Perceived declining of parental supervision and control

Some stakeholders especially farmers interviewed indicated that cultivating their farms without the support of the children has resulted in farmers working for so long on their farms hence limiting ability to supervise their children. Farmers believe that the perceived declining parental supervision is responsible for their children becoming wayward leading to rising school dropout and teenage pregnancy among schools in the district. A parent in a FGD narrated an incident involving her and her daughter as follows;

“We are working so hard to take care of our children in school but it is difficult to them now. My daughter became pregnant about two years ago in JHS one (Junior High Secondary School form 1) before I realized. Because I wanted her to complete her education after delivery I took the baby and asked her to go back to school. I was recently told that when we leave for the farm my daughter goes to the galamsey man who impregnated her earlier. When I confronted her on the issue and threaten to have galamsey man arrested if she does not stop seeing him, she told me that if I did, she will be a witness against me in court in favour of the galamsey man”

This story was followed by another one by another participant in the FGD, he said that

“Just last Friday I was tired from the farm so when I got home I went to bed right after meals. Realizing that we were asleep my two children ages 8 and 10 left home about 9:00pm to attend a wake-keeping in the nearby communities about 3 kilometers away. I would not have known if it had not been a friend from that community who saw them at the wake-keeping and drove them away”.

These stories seek to make the point that farmers spend a lot of much time on the farms without their children and this is creating parental supervision problem for farmers. Interviews with teachers indicated when parents leave their children early to their farms children delay in the

performance of their chore hence children's late attendance to school. Teachers indeed mentioned that pupils' lateness is increasingly becoming a major impediment to teaching and learning. According to teachers some pupils come to school as late as 10:00am, when academic work is expected to start at 8:00am.

On the issue of children engaging in sexual relationship and teenage pregnancy, a district education directorate (GES) report on the poor students' performance in the 2011 Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) has identified pregnancy and galamsey activities in the district as the two major contributors to students' dropout rate among final BECE registered candidates. The report stated that the number of pregnant candidates who sat for BECE in the district increased from ten in 2010 to twenty-six in 2011. About fifteen most boys who refused to take the examinations after registration were also said to have joined galamsey gangs and therefore did not consider their education important. A further check with the District health directorate also revealed that teenage mothers who had delivered in hospitals in the District increased from 355 in 2010 to 447 in 2011. According to an officer at the district education directorate, all the problems mentioned above are happening because parents are spending too much time on their farms to the neglect of the wellbeing of their children.

6.4.2.2 Reported displacement of child labourers to other economic activities

According to some stakeholders interviewed in the district, there is evidence to believe that child labourers are being displaced from cocoa farming to other activities such as illegal gold mining (galamsey), hawking by roadsides, trapping crabs, fishing and hunting. It was observed during the data collection that children as young as 7 years were selling wares on their heads around the communities even at night. Though this phenomenon is also common in many places in Ghana, some stakeholders interviewed mentioned that the trend is fast rising in the district. About 40% of children surveyed in galamsey communities also indicated that they have been involved in activities such as illegal mining (dig and wash galamsey), hawking, fishing or hunting. The girls dominate selling while the boys dominate the other activities mentioned above.

District education officials interviewed acknowledged that the incidence of child labour in galamsey is posing more dangers to children's welfare than even child labour in cocoa farming. A district official lamented that

“That children’s participating in galamsey is a worst form of child labour. It is far worse than working on cocoa farms because the children pick very bad attitudes from these gangsters (galamsey operators) such smoking ‘wee’ fighting , stealing and sexual immorality”.

The Queen mother of Hiawa Bekwai (a traditional area) in the district was reported to have said at public gathering recently that” many children in her community are engaging in galamsey (illegal mining) activities to the neglect of their education. GNA (Ghana News agency) report, August 11, 2011. The issue of galamsey is indeed emerging as a major developmental challenge to many in the district which must be tackled urgently before it degenerates.

6.5 Conclusion

The interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming were undertaken in three strategies namely sensitization campaigns, rewarding compliance and supporting law enforcement to deter non-compliance. These strategies have been yielding varying degrees of successes while others have faced some challenges as well. In responding to the interventions, farmers have had to draw on different resources and strategies at their disposal. Farmers’ level of compliance has therefore ranged from full compliance, partial compliance and non-compliance to the interventions. The interventions have succeeded in helping to put the issue of child labour, children’s right and welfare on a higher platform of public discourse as well as marked increase in basic school enrolment in some communities in the district. However some stakeholders’ have also indicated some perceived negative unintended consequences attributable to the intervention to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. The reported negative unintended consequences are declining parental control and supervision as well as the displacement of child labourers to other economic activities in the district. It also emerged strongly from this chapter as well as the others that illegal mining (galamsey) has a significant influence on child labour in cocoa farming as well as the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. The subsequent chapter will thus focus on galamsey and child labour in the district.

Chapter 7: Galamsey and child labour in cocoa farming

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned several times in the previous chapter in this thesis, illegal mining (galamsey) have been identified by stakeholders to have an influence on child labour in cocoa farming as well as the intervention to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. Stakeholders have mentioned that galamsey attracts casual labourers from cocoa farms and thus increasing cocoa farmers' reliance on domestic labour including children in cultivating their farms. It was also indicated in the last chapter by some stakeholders there is a possible displacement of children from cocoa farming to galamsey operations as well as the perception that galamsey miners are responsible for many problems including teenage pregnancy in district. This chapter therefore seeks to understand the issues of galamsey operations and how relate to child labour in cocoa farming in the district. In doing this the chapter will start with a brief introduction to the galamsey operations and then focus on opportunities and problems of the galamsey operations in the district. The chapter continues with an investigation into how stakeholders frame issues of galamsey operation and then ends with conclusion of the chapter.

7.2 Galamsey operation in the district

The activities of illegal miners commonly referred as galamsey have reportedly witness a dramatic upsurge in many communities around the district in recent years. According to district officials, the upsurge has been attributed mainly to recent global hype in gold prices. The galamsey boom in the district can easily be seen from the conspicuous presence of the galamsey miners and their tools in communities in the district and the presence of earth moving machines.

Although galamsey operations can be registered and be classified as a artisanal small scale operations which is recognized by laws which can be regulate by the national mines commission the overwhelming majority of miner operate illegally as galamsey miners. According to the district officials only about 3% of mining operations in the district operation are registered with the commission in the district. According to galamsey operators, though they would like to be register their operations, the slow and complex nature of the registration process discourages them. A galamsey operator narrated his unpleasant experience as follows;

“ about two years ago I tried to register a mining sites in this district, the officers kept tossing up and down, every time I went there it was the same story go and come; go and come . So after three months without any success I stop going there. Up until today that I have finished mining and left that site but nobody knows when my certificate would be ready”.

According to galamsey operators, galamsey operations in the district are in two main categories namely chinvan galamsey and ‘dig and wash’ galamsey operations. These two categories of galamsey operations are described below.

7.2.1 Chinvan Galamsey operations

Chinvan galamsey operation derived its name from one of the machines used in crashing the soil (sand and stones) before gold nuggets are extracted. Chinvan galamsey operation involves comparatively huge startup capital. Galamsey operators interviewed mentioned that an amount of between GHc 20,000 – GHc 30,000 (\$ 14,000 -\$ 18,000) is required to start a chinvan galamsey operations in the district. This initial capital is used to purchase the Chinvan machine (clasher) and other equipment, pay for the land, hiring of excavator to dig and heap soil and other initial costs. The amount involved means that only very rich people could finance galamsey operations. This fact fuels the suspicion among many stakeholders that very prominent people such as chiefs, established business people, gold dealers and gold refiners are those behind the flourishing galamsey activities in the district.

Interviews and interactions with miners and galamsey operators revealed that financiers of galamsey are well kept secrets hardly known not even by the miners except for the galamsey operators. The financiers work with and through experienced galamsey operators to manage the business on their behalf. These operators manage the activities of the miners in the pits and sell the gold to the financier usually at the end of every week at reduced price. The financiers reserve the right to change the operator when the person is not performing as desired but this does not happened very often. The operators recruits and supervise miners, usually boys and men between ages 17 – 40 years. The operators also take care of machines, tools, equipment and the entire process in the mines. The workers usually in gangs of about ten to fifteen people operate on a three hour shift basis. They work day and night continuously for a week and break for two days. The galamsey workers are paid an average hourly rate of GHc 10 (\$7).

Although miners who are engaged in chinvan galamsey operations are usually above 17years due to the nature of the job, some children and women are sometimes engage to run errand for

the gang during day times. Other women and children also sell all manner of cooked food and consumables in the mines. The Chinvan galamsey operation is considered as the main stake of galamsey in the district. The term galamsey is thus most often than not refers to chinvan galamsey operations. According to miners, the 'dig and wash' galamsey which is also practiced in the district is not usually as a viable galamsey venture. It is usually described by miners with phrases such as "try your luck galamsey" and "playing ground galamsey operations". This is because 'dig and wash' does not guarantee substantial earns and usually undertaken by children and women who are not considered strong or experienced enough to be recruited into galamsey gangs.

7.2.2 Dig and Wash galamsey

This is method of galamsey basically involves separating gold nuggets from other soil particles with water. It is usually done in or near water bodies or in abandoned chinvan galamsey sites. In the absence of water a basket like sieve is used to sift gold nuggets from other soil particles. This category of galamsey operation requires minimal startup capital to buy or hire the simple basket like implement for washing the dug soil and digging tools. According to galamsey miners, dig and wash galamsey an operation depends entirely on one's luck to find any gold nugget. In dig and wash galamsey operation, a miner within hours could find substantial gold nuggets which could more than several days of chinvan galamsey miner's wages. It is also possible to work for weeks without finding any gold nuggets.

Galamsey miners interviewed mentined that this category of galamsey operation which is dominated by women and children particularly settlers and single parents is seen as an inferior income earning strategy fit for the uninitiated and the lazy person. Dig and wash galamsey is also considered a coping mechanism for the newly arrival migrants who may need some galamsey experience before joining any galamsey gang. Adults who engage in dig and wash galamsey do not openly identify themselves and so was difficult to even own up to be interviewed as compared the chinvan galamsey miners. Some chinvan galamsey miners however mentioned that they once did dig and wash galamsey mining before joining a galamsey gang. Dig and Wash galamsey operators sell their gold nuggets to local buyers for instant cash.

7.3 The opportunities and problems of the galamsey boom

It was also observed that galamsey communities in the District are more populated and have many commercial and social activities taking place in them non-galamsey communities. It was

very common to see many people particularly young men standing in street corners and walking about in groups in galamsey communities at night or earlier in the morning. Generally there were visible signs of brisk economic activities in these communities. There were also a lot buying and selling of many different items ranging from clothing to mobile phones. Drinking bars; local restaurants (chop bars) and video centers are common to find in galamsey communities. These places are usually scenes of intense activity at nights and on 'breaking days' (days on which all miner workers do not go to work at all). Transportation and taxis services to and from the district capital and other major towns in the region is also much frequent in the galamsey communities than they are in non-galamsey communities. An of example of two communities (Ammoaman and Sika-Nti) in which data was collected demonstrate this point. Whiles it took between 15 to 30 minutes to get a taxis to the district capital from Ammoaman (a galamsey community), it took a average of 2 hours to finds a taxi from Sika nti(a non-galamsey community of the same distance) to the district capital.

Another set of major observations made was that galamsey communities were characterized by higher noise levels. There was constant 'piercing' noise from emanating from the 'chinvan' machines used in clashing soil (sand and stones) in the process of extracting the gold nuggets. Some of these machines operate very close (about 50 meters) to homes and are operated day and night. Besides the noise from the 'chinvan' machines, galamsey miners also make a lot of noise by shouting among themselves when hanging out at night. When hanging out at night, galamsey miners frequently engaged loud arguments which sometimes degenerate into fierce fighting among themselves. They argued over issues relating to football, politics, and music and musicians cars models and among others. One major source of conflict and fighting is the contested claim over girl lovers in the communities.

Concerning water pollution, water bodies and rivers in galamsey communities appeared greenish in colour with some trees on rivers banks having brown leaves; a visible sign of dying trees along river banks. Rivers and streams which were used as sources of drinking water have obviously been polluted making such rivers longer safe drinking. Farmers in such communities carry gallons of drinking water with them to farms; a practice which farmers indicated was not the case some before galamsey activities started in those communities.

In sum, there has been a visible boom in galamsey activities in the district which is providing employment for especially young men and many other business opportunities in communities across the district. However, galamsey activities have also been blamed for many problems in

the district. The nature of galamsey operations such that it provides opportunities for some people and problems for other have made it an issue over which views are sharply divided among stakeholders. With galamsey being such as a contested issue, the concept of framing would be relied on to investigate the issues of galamsey and how they affect child labour and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

7.4 Contested frames of galamsey by stakeholders

Stakeholders in the WAWD hold and express sharply conflicting views on galamsey operations. Some stakeholders hold and express positive views about galamsey while others perceive and portray galamsey in a negative light. There are yet those who hold and articulate mixed opinions about galamsey. To gain insight into the galamsey operation and its relationship to child labour in cocoa farming, the concepts of frames and framing have once again been relied upon. In other words in seeking to understand the framing of the issues of galamsey, focus has been given to; a) how galamsey is defined or interpreted by stakeholders, b) how stakeholders identify themselves and the others in relations to galamsey, c) what narratives or propositions are put forward by stakeholders on the issues so as to justify particular positions or again support for their preferred positions on the issues and d) linkages that are made between galamsey and child labour in cocoa production. The issues will be discussed as they pertain to the various by the various stakeholders.

7.4.1 Framing of galamsey by NGO officials as a threat to children's safety

NGO officials in the district presented a negative picture of galamsey operations as an illegal activity and the involvement of children in galamsey is a worst form of child labour. According to NGO officials the district local government is too weak to address the challenges posed by galamsey operations in the district. This interview excerpt reveals NGOs perception of galamsey in the district.

“ Galamsey is an illegal activity which should not be allowed to flourish the way it has been flourishing in this district. It poses a lot of difficulties for many people and the involvement of children in galamsey is even a worst form of children. We have evidence to believe that there is a growing incident of child labour in galamsey in some communities unfortunately we do not have sufficient mandate under our current programme to undertake any interventions to address child labour in galamsey”.

From the excerpt above, apart from the framing of galamsey as an illegal activity, NGO officials also frame the character of the miners as criminals whose activities which have been stopped. This is evident from the statement “Galamsey is an illegal activity which should be allowed to flourish the way it has”. NGO official from the excerpt also both the local government and the national have all failed to act on the issues as well as giving the impression that with sufficient support they can intervene to address child labour in galamsey.

7.4.2 Framing of galamsey by farmers as the source of all problems

Cocoa farmers just like the NGO officials above also have a very negative perception of galamsey activities and galamsey miners. Cocoa farmers interviewed associated galamsey activities with problems such as labour shortage, water pollutions and destruction to farms, and teenage pregnancy and recruitment of their boys into galamsey gangs. An interview with a cocoa farm reveals farmers perception of galamsey operations in the district. In response to the questions of what his views on galamsey were, he replied that;

“Every bad thing in our community today was brought about by galamsey activities. All the labourers who worked for us have now joined galamsey gang for big money; they (galamsey operators) are polluting our rivers and destroying our farms. Now they are also recruiting our boys into their gangs and teaching them bad behaviours and impregnating our school girls”.

The above interview captured most of the things the other farmers have said about galamsey in interviews and interactions with farmers in other communities in the district.

Farmers also portray themselves as helpless people whose land and communities are been invaded by galamsey operators with the backing very prominent people in the district capital. Farmers refer to galamsey operators as unreasonable and wasteful people who spend all their earnings on alcohol, drugs and women. In a FGD a farmer commented his perception that galamsey operations are supported by prominent by asserting that;

“Everybody including the DCE (District Chief Executive) knows that galamsey operators are creating problems for us (farmers) but yet nothing is been done to stop them. Now if any of us dares to question them (galamsey operators) about their activities, they will beat you up knowing that nothing will happened to them. They have taken over our communities and farms and they are doing everything they want”.

Another farmer in supporting this comment added that

“They (galamsey miners) spend all their money on wee (Indian hemp), cocaine, drinks and women. They even wash their hands and mouths with beer as if they do not have family members to take care of and to support with their money”.

The farmers tend to exonerate themselves from any blame and even justify the given of farm lands to galamsey operators for mining activities. They explained that even if one refuses to give them the lands that would not stop them as they can even mine it without the farmer’s consent. One farmer explained that;

“Some farmers give their land for galamsey mining because whether they agree or not if they (galamsey miners) want to do it they will do it. You are better off giving it to them and getting some money than disagreeing with them and getting nothing”.

Some farmers interviewed sought to use child labour in galamsey as an excuse to justify child labour in cocoa farming. According to these farmers children are joining galamsey operations because they had too much time on their hands doing nothing so the best way to prevent child labour in galamsey is engage children on their farms. A farmer commented that

“They asked us to stop using our children on cocoa farms but now the children go to galamsey pits and are not even attending school anymore. Are they not better off helping me on my farm since this will prevent them from learning bad habits?”

From the above interview excerpts, farmers frame galamsey operations as the source of problem for them. They frame themselves as weak people whose communities have been taken over by galamsey operators with the support prominent people leaving them with no option do the wish of the galamsey operators. They frame the galamsey miners are unreasonable wasteful people. From the excerpts farmers’ seem to hold the view that district officials were refusing to address the galamsey menace if they wanted to do so. Some also sought to use child labour in galamsey to justify child labour in cocoa farming.

7.4.3 Galamsey framed by district education officers as problem for basic educations

Galamsey operations have been framed by district education officials as a major challenge facing basic education in district. In an interview, an official of the district education office referred to a district report (cited earlier) which revealed that galamsey is responsible for rising dropout rates among students in the junior secondary schools in the district. The official remarked that

“galamsey is affecting our students negatively both boys and girls. The girls are been enticed with money by galamsey miners while the boys are enticed with money to stop school and join galamsey gangs. But in all these parents are also to be blamed for not supervising and controlling their children enough”.

The interview above reveals that apart from the framing of galamsey as problem affecting the education of children in the district, education officials also frame parents are neglecting on their parental responsibilities. The solution according education officials will therefore be to get parents to be more responsible especially in supervising their girls and regulating galamsey operation to prevent child labour in galamsey operations in the district.

7.4.4 Framing by district assembly officials; galamsey is problem but we cannot solve it alone

A Galamsey operation was framed by district assembly officials as a complex social issue which must be addressed cautiously. This is because galamsey presents both opportunities for some people and for other problems. Official also assert that the galamsey activities in the district is so huge that the district lacks the logistical endowment to solve it.

“galamsey is a very delicate issue in this district. It is providing jobs for a lot of people but we know it is also polluting our rivers and causing other problems for other people as well. Besides the galamsey operation in the district is so enormous that the district does not have the resources adequately handle it without regional or even national support.

Clearly from the above, district officials seemed to fully acknowledge the concern of many stakeholders in that it portrayed galamsey present both opportunities and challenges. The district official gave the impression that the district is not able to take any action on galamsey alone for lack of resources. Interview revealed that the district officials have however not made any formal

request either the regional administration or the national government for support to address the galamsey issues in the district. When official quoted above was asked if the district had made any formal request for support the regional administration or the national government, he replied that;

“Everybody knows about galamsey in this district so if anybody from the regional administration or the national government wants to act they can always do so”.

Altogether, district assembly official framed galamsey activities as an issue that presents benefits and challenges and must be addressed cautiously. The officials also gave the impression that they even lack the resources to address galamsey effectively in the district however they have not made any formal request for regional or national support to address the issue.

7.4.5 Framing of galamsey as a source of employment and development by galamsey operators

Contrary to the image of galamsey operations framed by farmers and other stakeholders above, galamsey operators depict galamsey as a source of employment and development in the district. The miners mentioned that galamsey brings several benefits to all stakeholders in the district and even the nation as a whole. Some other benefits of galamsey operations which they mentioned apart from employment are increased business opportunities for traders, drinking and chop bar operators and even foreign exchange for the country. In an interview with a galamsey miner, he stated that;

“Everywhere galamsey goes development follows even if the place is a remote village. When the galamsey the boys (galamsey miners) come into a place they bring money to the place to spend. People then begin to sell things, other start bars, video centers and many other things, the place changes from a dull place into a busy place where things happen”.

Galamsey operators however acknowledge some of the problems that their activities create such as the Pollution of rivers and streams. For instant galamsey miners in one of the communities researched (Ammoaman) , contributed money amount themselves to construct three bore holes to compensate the people for polluting their rivers which they used for domestic purposes. A galamsey informant narrated the rationale for their actions as follows; *“we live here and so when we realized that river from where the people fetch water for domestic*

use was polluted we agreed to contribute money with which we constructed this three bore holes”.

Regarding their identity, galamsey miners also present themselves as poor and needy people who for the lack of opportunities have resorted to galamsey as a temporary measure to raise capital for business or to further their education. This identity is featured prominently in the interactions with galamsey miners. A miner interviewed in a galamsey mine site narrated that;

“Most of us here are students or have just completed school and because our parents’ are not rich enough to support us to further, we have to support ourselves with galamsey for the time being. We all have dreams for the future and working hard to get there but people just don’t like us. They always say bad things about us all the time”.

From the above, galamsey miners frame themselves also as hardworking people who are working hard to achieve their future aspirations. They also characterize their critics as unreasonable people who just hate the miners for no apparent reason as this can be seen from the phrase *“... but people just do not like us. They always say bad things about us all the time”*. This identity clearly contradicts how the miners were frame by the farmers as unreasonable and wasteful people as was stated above.

On the issues of substance abuse, fighting and general misconduct the galamsey miners, the defended it as a coping strategy and also as a normal behavior for young men. This was explained in an by the same informant as follows;

“Our work here is very hard so some people use some drugs to be able to cope. Sometimes when we break the boys like to go and drink in the bars just like everybody does. We are boys and we cannot behave like old men but people here do not understand that; so they say all manner of bad things about us”.

The galamsey miners framed galamsey as the source of employment and development in the district. The framed themselves as children of poor parents who are working very hard to achieve their dreams but are hated by many people in the district. They characterized their critics as unreasonable people and defend their actions of drug abuse and fighting of as a coping strategy necessary for their work and a normal behavior for young people respectively.

Regarding the framing of galamsey by the stakeholders in the district, three distinctive frame of galamsey emerged. First, NGOs officials framed galamsey as an illegal activity and the miners as criminals. Second, cocoa farmers frame galamsey as the source of all problems been encountered in the district in recent years. They framed the miners as unreasonable and wasteful people supported by wealthy and influential people in the district capital. The district education officials frame galalmsey as major problem for basic education in the district for which parents bear some responsibility. The district assembly identified galamsey as social issue which present both opportunities and challenges but solving it will require more than the district alone could do. Finally, the galamsey miners framed galamsey as the source employments and business opportunities in the district. Having shown how the galamsey has been framed by the various stakeholders, the next section of this thesis covers relationship between child labour and galamsey in district as well as the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming.

7.5 Galamsey activities and child labour in cocoa farming in the district

This section of the thesis seeks establish how galamsey activities affecting child labour and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming as well as children's welfare in the district.

First, as stated above, farmers mentioned that galamsey activities take away casual labourers from cocoa farming. This can be seen in the interview excerpt quoted above "*All the labourers who worked for us have now joined galamsey gang for big money*". This implies that farmers cannot find available replacement for the support they get from their children in cultivating their cocoa farms even if they can afford the cost of engaging casual labourers.

Second, according to stakeholders interviewed, there is evidence that children are been recruited to join galamsey gangs. This as can be seen from the interviews above was confirmed by NGO officials, farmers and district education officials. The involvement of children in galamsey as indicated by stakeholders earlier in considered as a worst form of child labour which expose children to even greater harm and dangers than working on cocoa farms.

Third is that child labour in galamsey appears to be giving some farmers an excuse to continue to use children on their farms. This is highlighted in an interview excerpt by a farmer quoted above to the indicating that children are joining galamsey gangs because they had too much time. This is also closely related to the galamsey perception held by many stakeholders that galamsey is posing serious concerns for the welfare of both boys and girls in the district.

7.6 Conclusion

Galamsey operations has witness a significant rise in recent years in the district. This upsurge in galamsey activities has brought employment to galamsey miners and traders but has also brought some challenges to others especially farmers and children. A significant number of relevant stakeholders such as NGO officials, farmers, and district education officers interviewed have associated galamsey activities with problems or challenges. Galamsey operators and miners on the other hand framed galamsey as the source of employment especially the for youth and business opportunities for many other people in the district.

Officials of the district assembly (the principal local government authority) perceived galamsey as a delicate issue which presents the district with opportunities and challenges. The district is however not able to deal with the challenges pose by galamsey as yet. Galamsey has also been identified by several stakeholders to have on child labour and interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district.

Chapter 8: Findings, Discussions and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The objective of this research was to gain insight into how cocoa farmers have been responding to the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming initiated mainly as result of extensive pressure from western civil society groups and governments. Field data collection was based mainly in the district of Wassa Amenfi West District (WAWD) of Ghana. Being the final chapter of the thesis, this chapter is aimed at presenting the entire research as a comprehensive and coherent work. The chapter starts with the central research question and other sub questions. This is followed by the main research findings and a discussion section based on the findings. The chapter finally ends with recommendation and reflection on the entire research process and the product.

8.2 Research Questions

The main research question is how have farmers been responding to the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming? Other sub questions to help answer this main question are;

- a) How is cocoa farming organized in the district and how does this organization promotes or hinders child labour in cocoa farming?
- b) How has the issue of child labour been framed and counter framed by the various stakeholders?
- c) What kind of interventions are been implemented to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming and how are farmers responding to these interventions?
- d) How are the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming impacting cocoa growing communities?
- e) What are stakeholders' perceptions or frames on galamsey and how does galamsey affect child labour and children's welfare in the district?

8.3 Summary of the main research findings

The presentation of the research findings have been arranged such that each chapter (4, 5, and 7) answered sub-questions a), b), and e) respectively. Chapter 6 focused on subquestions c)

and d). Chapter (chapter 4) dealt with how cocoa farming is organized in the district and how the organization of cocoa farming encourages or hinders child labour. This was followed by Chapter 5 which addressed how the various stakeholders frame and counter frame child labour in cocoa farming. Chapter 6 then focused on the intervention strategies that are been implemented to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming, farmers' response to the interventions and the impact the interventions are making in cocoa growing communities. The final chapter examined the rising activities of illegal gold mining in the district, stakeholders framing of it, and its influence on child labour in cocoa farming in the district.

8.3.1 The organization of cocoa farming in the WAWD and child labour

The findings of this study demonstrated in chapter 4 that cocoa farming is the major economic activity in the district with over 80% of the habitants directly involved in cocoa farming. Cocoa farming in the district is mainly cultivated on small scale farms owned and operated by households. This characteristic feature of cocoa farming in the district makes it dependent on domestic or household labour including that of children who are members of households. It was also realized that about 40% of the population in the district are children with some households having adult to child ratio of one to five. Some parents found it difficult to cater for their children without the children supporting them on their farms.

Work on the cocoa farms is usually assigned based on a person's physical strength and skills. Children are usually assigned the more routine and repetitive tasks while adults undertake the more physically demanding and more dangerous tasks. Some level of harm or danger is commonly associated to any work on cocoa farms due mainly to the settings and the tools used in cocoa farming.

The chapter also revealed that cocoa farm workers especially children are exposed to many dangers mainly due to the unavailability of protective gears for all sizes of persons.

Regarding casual labour, the chapter showed that some cocoa farmers hire casual labourers to augment domestic labour. According to farmers, the cost of casual labour in the district has been rising in recent times mainly due to labour scarcity attributed to the booming illegal gold mining operations and other activities in the area which also pay higher wages to labourers than farming.

In conclusions, the findings of chapter 4 clearly demonstrated that the nature of cocoa farming practiced in the district which is based households makes the participation of children in cocoa farming essential to meeting the labour needs of the families. There is high population of children in the district. Some farmers hire casual labourers to work on their cocoa farms. The cost of casual labour is however rising in recently due to labour scarcity and this is affecting farmers' ability to hire casual labourer in the district.

8.3.2 Framing of child labour in cocoa farming

The findings in chapter 5 focused on how child labour in cocoa farming has been framed by the various stakeholders. It was realized that the framing adopted by a stakeholder indicated whether the issues are considered as a problem or not, it's perceived causes, how stakeholders characterized themselves and each other as well as proposed solutions stakeholders put forward to addressing child labour. The findings indicated that NGO officials framed child labour in cocoa farming as a problem caused by farmers' ignorance and or greed. NGO officials proposed sensitization of the perceived ignorant farmers, incentivizing child labour elimination and punishing greedy farmers who may not comply with interventions.

Cocoa farmers on the other hand framed the use of children in cocoa farming as a process of transferring relevant knowledge and skills to children which also enable children to support their parents on their farms. Farmers rather framed lapses in basic education as the main problem facing children's welfare which should be addressed in the interventions. It was also demonstrated in the chapter that NGO officials and farmers did not maintained a fixed or consistent frame at times. The framing of the issues changed depending on the audience and the setting. As shown in the chapter, NGO staff appeared to highlighted different aspects of the issues in their communications with donors and with cocoa farmers. The same was found to be the case for cocoa farmers as well.

The other stakeholders in the district framed the issues of child labour in cocoa farming in ways that seemed to fall within the framing of NGO officials and farmers. The multiple framing of the issue of child labour in cocoa farming seen among district officials and stakeholders appeared to mirror the framing of the issues even by national government officials.

In the nutshell, the findings made in chapter 5 revealed that stakeholders in the district do not share a common frame on the issues of child labour in cocoa farming differently. In framing child labour in cocoa farming, stakeholders highlighted different aspects of issue based on what is

perceived to be important. The framing of child labour by NGO officials and farmers has been fluid as these stakeholders emphasized different aspects to different audiences. National and local government officials have expressed frames on child labour which contradicts the official position on the issue at both level of governance.

8.3.3 The Intervention to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming and farmers responses and the impact of the interventions in cocoa growing communities

Chapter 6 revealed that three intervention strategies have been adopted to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming in the district. These are sensitization campaigns, on child labour and its elimination in cocoa farming, the use of NGO projects to incentivize compliance to child labour elimination and strengthening law enforcement to punishment or deter non-compliance with interventions. The chapter also indicated that stakeholders expressed varied views on the effectiveness of intervention strategies.

Concerning farmers' compliance with the interventions, the chapter revealed three categorization of compliance among farmers namely full compliance, partial compliance and non-compliance. Full compliant farmers are those who no longer use child labour on their cocoa farms. The farmers in the partial compliant category are those who still use their children on cocoa farms when necessary but such that it does not significantly interrupt with the education of children. The overwhelming majority of farmers in the district have been found to be in this category. The third and final category are those farmers who do not comply with the interventions in that, they still work on their farms in ways that significantly interrupts with their education. Another very important realization made from the findings was the fact that compliance or the lack of it appeared to be related to a farmer's access to resources including money and adults labour.

In terms of the overall impact of the interventions, stakeholders mentioned that there has been significant progress in areas of farmers' knowledge and awareness of the issues of child labour, children's rights and rising basic school enrolment in the district. Although stakeholders acknowledged these positive impacts of the interventions, some stakeholders are reporting of some perceived negative unintended consequences of the interventions such as declining parental control and supervision, displacement of child labour from cocoa farming to other activities among others.

In conclusion, findings in the chapter showed the three intervention strategies of child labour education campaigns, incentivizing compliance and punishing non-compliance. Stakeholders hold and express different views on the strengths and weaknesses of these intervention strategies. Most farmers' compliance with the interventions in the district has only been partial with a few falling within either full compliance or non-compliance. The overall impact of the interventions so far has been mixed of perceived positive and negative consequences.

8.3.4 Galamsey operations and child labour in the district

Chapter 7 revealed that galamsey is providing opportunities to some stakeholders and posing problems for some other stakeholders in the district. NGO officials framed galamsey activities as an illegality against national laws which is posing many problems especially to children in the district. Farmers framed galamsey as the sources of all problems they face in the district such as labour scarcity, water pollution, farm destructions and many social vices. Farmers framed themselves as weak people whose communities have been invaded by galamsey operators and miners with the support of influential persons in the district. Farmers also framed galamsey miners as very unreasonable and wasteful person.

District education officials framed galamsey operations as the problem of basic education manifesting through school dropouts and teenage pregnancy of school girls. According to education officials the problem can be solved through regulating galamsey and parents becoming more responsible in supervising their children. Officials of the district assembly framed galamsey as a delicate social issue in that, galamsey yields both benefits and challenges and as such it must be tackled cautiously. District assembly officials also framed galamsey as an issue which the district lacks the resources necessary to tackle it effectively.

Galamsey operators framed galamsey operations as the source of employment and business opportunities for many people in the district. Galamsey operators framed themselves as poor people struggling to achieve their dream but yet hated for no apparent reason. Galamsey also framed the other stakeholders who are against their operations as unreasonable people who hated galamsey operators with reason. The chapter also showed that galamsey activities has a negative influence on child labour in cocoa farming and posed severe challenges to children's welfare in the district.

In conclusion, the chapter on galamsey revealed that stakeholders framed galamsey differently with most stakeholders framing it negatively. The district assembly portrayed a broader frame

on galamsey but lacked the resources to address the issue of galamsey in the district. Galamsey operators framed galamsey positive light and down plays the unfavourable aspects of galamsey. There is however evidence that the rising galamsey operations in the district is negatively affecting child labour in cocoa farming and interventions to eliminate child labour as well as the general welfare of children in the district.

8.4 Discussions

The findings of this study have important implications for the formulation and implementation of policies and interventions designed. The findings have implications for how interventions can open up space for learning and improving such interventions, for how the concept of farming can be useful aid to designing better interventions and implications for narrow scoped interventions. These implications are discussed further below.

8.4.1 Improving opportunity for learning within the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming

The findings of the research have shown in chapters 5 and 6 that the interventions were based on frames of and assumptions about child labour which hardly applies to cocoa farming in the district. The interventions were however designed based solely on the NGOs perceptions of undesirable practice of child labour to get farmers to adopt practices which are foreign to them. This autopoietic tendency of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming without considering suitability or feasibility of the interventions to the context of farmer limited the space for learning within the interventions. In essence, cocoa farmers' practices were been turned into the practices of farmers from somewhere else. The seemly imposition of perceived acceptable labour practices limited farmers' level of compliance as indicated in chapter 6.

The implication of the above is that, interventions should be conceptualize and implemented as situated interventions which allows for global standards such as child labour free cocoa farming to be translated and operationalized into local context of small-scale farmers. This will open up opportunities for learning within such interventions for all stakeholders. After all, policy and project intervention is a phenomenon which depends on the correct configuration of context, mechanism and outcome(Pawson and Tilley 2006). This correct configuration of context, mechanism and outcome is context specific and can hardly be predicted or planned(Aragón 2010).

For instance, contextualizing global standards such as child labour free cocoa farming could be translated into operationalized standards which can be applicable to small-scale farmers in the rural communities such as Sika Nti or Bonsiekrom. This approach would for example shift the focus of the interventions from eliminating child labour entirely in cocoa farming to what is acceptable and feasible for farmers in these communities.

8.4.2 Building interventions which reflect broader stakeholders' interests

The concept of framing as used in chapters 5 and 7 revealed multiple stakeholders' perception of and interests in the issues of child labour in cocoa farming and galamsey respectively. This thesis reveals that the concept of framing is very useful not only in investigating and understanding issues in a conflict setting but also helpful in understanding and itemizing stakeholders' interests. The understanding and identification of stakeholders' interests can be useful in designing and implementing interventions that would be most beneficial to stakeholders.

From chapter 5 for instance, an analysis of the framing of child labour in cocoa revealed their core interests to be giving children the opportunity to attend school and prevent grievous injuries to children. An analysis of farmers' frame on child labour is opportunity for socialization and labour support on their farms. With this identification of the core interest of these stakeholders, it should be possible to design interventions which are more satisfactory to stakeholders. That is an intervention which allows children to support their parents on cocoa farm in ways that enable them to attend school whiles at the same times minimizing health hazards through the use protective gears.

From chapter 7, an analysis of the frames on galamsey also clearly reveals the main interests of the stakeholders. In chapter 7, farmers' frame of galamsey show that their concern is with the pollution, unnecessary destruction to their farms, labour shortage and the perceived rising social vices. For galamsey operators, their interests as it emerged from their framing of galamsey were employment and business opportunities coupled with their willingness to be regulated if registration process was simplified. This could be effectively addressed by an intervention that seeks to simplify galamsey registration so that galamsey operations could be better regulated. Better regulation of galamsey interventions is likely to reduce the level of pollution and law behavior which has reported characterized their operations.

The limitation of the concept of framing demonstrated in the research was the fact, it has not been very useful in identifying the position of stakeholders who appeared to be in the middle of the conflict. In other words, does acknowledging the opportunities and challenges of galamsey in the district mean that district officials are in favour of miners perceived by the farmers or not.

8.4.3 The limitations of targeted intervention: eliminating child labour in cocoa farming or improving the general wellbeing of children in the district

This thesis has demonstrated that the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming is rather too narrow and too rigid in the sense that it focused solely on child labour in cocoa farming. The interventions appeared to have designed on the linear cause and effect model in the sense that specifically pre-planned intervention strategies were implemented to result in a pre-determined outcome. The findings of this thesis challenge the assumption that social change interventions can effectively be planned and implemented to achieve pre-determined results(Aragón 2010, Dörner, Nixon, and Rosen 1990).

This emphasizes the position held by complexity theories that social change interventions or processes by their nature are emergent and can hardly be predicted or planned(Aragón 2010). As was demonstrated in chapters 6 and 7, the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming have not only resulted in partial compliance but rather reported negative unintended consequences. As indicated by stakeholders in chapter 6, though the interventions have led to high public interest in children's issues, rising basic school enrolment declining numbers, there are also reported incidents of displacement of child labour from cocoa farming to other economic activities including galamsey. Child labour in galamsey was considered a worst form of child labour is however not being address for logistical reasons. This demonstrates the limitations of the linear cause and effect model as well as the rigid nature of the interventions.

This finding has two implications for change interventions such as the one to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. First, change interventions such as the one to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming must be designed in a more flexible manner. This would enable the intervention to be responsive to changing societal needs and demands as was seen in chapter 6 and 7. This will enable such interventions to be implemented in ways that can enhance learning and better meet the needs of intended beneficiaries. It is obvious that this approach to change interventions will be more daunting and challenging but its guarantees a chance of success.

The second point is for change interventions to be designed and implemented as component of the entire society. As shown in chapter, child labour in cocoa farming in the district is influenced by the nature of farming practice which the small – scale farming and the availability of child labourers. For any interventions to address child labour in cocoa farming successfully, all aspects of the issues and their relationship with other phenomena should be well considered.

8.5 Overall Conclusion

The cultivation of cocoa in the Wassa Amenfi West District is undertaken by small-scale farmers whose farming activities depend on household labour including children. This characteristic feature of cocoa farming in the district has been found to encourage the use of children on cocoa farms. It was also found that about 40% of the population in the district is below age 18 years with some families having adult to child ratio of one to four. This also makes the use of children on cocoa farms an obvious choice for some parents. There is also the traditional means of transferring of knowledge and skills about cocoa farming and many other practices of the people through working beside adult relatives in the district.

Child labour in cocoa farming has been framed by NGOs as the abusive and exploitative use of children which deprive children of education and pose severe health hazards to children. Farmers framed child labour as the means of socializing children into the cocoa farming which also allow children to support their parents. Other stakeholders project frames of child labour which fall in between these two extreme frames on the issue. Although frames abound on child labour in cocoa farming, the framing of child labour upon which the interventions were designed were rather too simplistic in that it fails to incorporate the frames of others stakeholders especially farmers. That is the interventions were based on the framing of child labour in cocoa by NGOs as the abusive and exploitative use of children by ignorant or greedy farmers which deprives children of education and pose hazardous challenges to children's health. This reveals the interventions as an autopoietic process of creating in rural cocoa growing communities practices considered acceptable by the initiators of the interventions to eliminate child labour.

Regarding the interventions been implemented, though three interventions strategies have been adopted, the interventions do not seem to be addressing the main challenges of farmers being the scarcity of labour and the subsequent rising cost of casual labour. The challenge of finding alternative source of affordable labour or technology will be crucial to farmers' ability and willingness to replace child labour on their cocoa farms. As shown in the thesis, the labour

challenge which farmers face is responsible for the fact that most farmers are only complying partially with the interventions in spite of the extensive sensitization campaign.

Though the interventions have achieved some marked progress in eliminating child labour in cocoa farming as indicated in thesis, there has also been some reported unintended negative consequences. Some of the reported negative such as the declining parental supervision of children and the displacement of child labour from cocoa farming to other activities such as galamsey and others. This reveals the narrow scope of the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming without adequately considering how child labour is influenced by other factors and conditions in the district. The reported displacement of child to other activities also reveals that social change processes can hardly indeed be predicted and planned to follow a pre-determined path as the interventions have sought to do.

Finally, the analysis on galamsey activities in the district reveals that galamsey operations negatively affect child labour in cocoa farming and the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming. The research findings revealed that galamsey just like many other activities in the district was not properly considered to have any effect on child labour. This research clearly demonstrates that galamsey poses formidable challenges to child labour in cocoa farming elimination, the interventions and children's welfare in general in the district.

8.6 Recommendations

The recommendations of this study are in two folds. The first set of recommendation are specific recommendation on the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming while the second set of recommendation relate more to social change interventions in general.

Recommendations on the interventions to eliminate child labour in cocoa farming;

- ❖ In order to address the socialization and labour needs of cocoa farmers, the interventions should consider arrangements which allows children to support their parents on the cocoa farms in ways that do not interrupt their education and safety
- ❖ To address the labour intensity of cocoa farming, interventions to promote the use of simple implements such as wheelbarrow instead of head carrying of cocoa beans. These simple implements could make farmers more efficient in their use of labour hence reduce farmers need for more labour for undertake routine work such as carting of cocoa pods and dried cocoa beans.

- ❖ In order to avoid confusion and contradiction in their communications, NGOs should consider harmonizing their message on child labour.
- ❖ To prevent the possible displacement of child labour from cocoa to other sectors, it would be helpful for NGOs to consider broadening the focus of their interventions to include all forms of child labour in the district rather than narrow focus on cocoa farming,
- ❖ To the end of improving education quality, stakeholders should support the district education directorate to take steps to improve education quality. These may include frequent supervision of teachers, building of teachers bungalows in rural communities and also to train teachers to offer guidance and counseling in schools for students especially girls on sexuality and teenage pregnancy,
- ❖ In order to regulate the activities of galamsey operators, NGOs and other stakeholders should consider supporting galamsey operators to register their operations. This will give them access to training and to operate in more sustainable ways.

General recommendation on social change interventions

- ❖ To the end of making change interventions more useful and adaptive to local context, international interventions should be less autopoietic and more open to new learning and knowledge. This new ideas could challenge the already held assumptions but could help to improve intervention,
- ❖ In order to increase the appeal of change interventions to stakeholders, such interventions should be built to cover the core interests of as many stakeholders as possible to make it implementable, and
- ❖ Social change interventions should be designed with some amount of flexibility so as to make responsive to change societal needs and concerns.

8.7 Reflections on the research

This section is covers my own reflections on the entire research project in terms the concepts and theories used, data collection and analysis tools and methodology as well as the findings. In the first place, I have started the research process at the end of the first of my MSc. Programme and this gave me to benefit from the process in terms of enough time to review literature, meetings with my supervisor, undertake field data collection among others.

Again, I find the topic very interesting in terms of its appeal many varied stakeholders both at the international, national and local/community levels. I believe I have chosen very relevant social science concepts of autopoiesis, framing and complexity theory to illuminate my investigation of the issues. These concepts gave me solid theoretical basis for the research and made it possible to tackle the issues almost all relevant angles.

Regarding data collection, as a qualitative research I used multiple methods to collect data for the research such as participant observation, observations, semi-structures and structured interviews, focus group discussions, informal conversations, and use of secondary data such as reports, meeting minutes and newspaper publications. The use these methods made it possible to collect relevant data and probe such information in ways that was not possible with quantitative methods such as surveys or questionnaires. These methods also gave me the opportunity to cross check or validate information by various informants or respondents.

Although I had collected data from all relevant stakeholders, I had great difficulties with getting appointments with district officials and this limited the amount of information I had from them. I believe my interactions with district assembly officers led me to form some prejudice against them as they did not seem to be straight forward. They knew there was a problem with child labour but did not want to attribute it to anyone. This could possibly have affected my willingness to seek more of their views on the issues I did not set out to do that

Cocoa farmers in some communities were very busy during the time of my research and so I had to stay in those communities for days to have night meetings and interviews with cocoa farmers. I also included all relevant stakeholders in the district such that almost all views were represented in data collected. I honestly found the farmers very knowledgeable in terms of their ability to assign reasons for their actions and explanations occurrence.

In term of what I could like to do differently, I believe in the process of data collection I gave too much attention to NGOs and cocoa farmers and did not give as much attention to other stakeholders especially district assembly officials. I would also try not to form early impressions on respondents in future studies this could prejudiced on interactions with them

In terms of suggestions for future research, I believe it would be very interesting to study how the interventions are affecting children's ability and willingness to take to cocoa farming in the

future. This issue is informed by the suggestion of cocoa farmers that using children on cocoa farms give the opportunity training and skills transfer.

My focus on the cocoa farmers and NGO officers because they were who usually the ones who gave contrasting positions many of the issues. Though concentration on the cocoa farmers and interventionists did not deny access to the district officials I will like to do better to given equal attention to all stakeholders as much as possible.

References

- Adger, W. N., N. W. Arnell, and E. L. Tompkins. 2005. Successful adaptation to climate change across scales. *Global Environmental Change Part A* 15:77-86.
- Aragón, A. O. 2010. A Case for Surfacing Theories of Change for Purposeful Organisational Capacity Development. *IDS Bulletin* 41:36-46.
- Basu, K. 1999. Child labor: cause, consequence, and cure, with remarks on international labor standards. *Journal of Economic literature* 37:1083-1119.
- Benford, R. D., and D. A. Snow. 2000. Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26:611-639.
- Blowfield, M. 2003. Ethical supply chains in the cocoa, coffee and tea industries. *Greener Management International*:15-24.
- Brown-Eyeson, A. 2004. Protection of Children from Exploitation in West Africa: Illusion or Reality? *LLM theses*:60.
- Burnes, B. 2005. Complexity theories and organizational change. *International Journal of Management Reviews* 7:73-90.
- Coleman, P. T. 2006. Conflict, complexity, and change: A meta-framework for addressing protracted, intractable conflicts—III. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 12:325-348.
- Dewulf, A., B. Gray, L. Putnam, R. Lewicki, N. Aarts, R. Bouwen, and C. van Woerkum. 2009. Disentangling approaches to framing in conflict and negotiation research: A meta-paradigmatic perspective. *Human relations* 62:155.
- Dormon, E., A. Van Huis, C. Leeuwis, D. Obeng-Ofori, and O. Sakyi-Dawson. 2004. Causes of low productivity of cocoa in Ghana: farmers' perspectives and insights from research and the socio-political establishment. *NJAS-Wageningen Journal of Life Sciences* 52:237-259.
- Dörner, D., P. Nixon, and S. Rosen. 1990. The Logic of Failure [and Discussion]. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological Sciences* 327:463-473.
- Entman, R. M. 1993. Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *McQuail's reader in mass communication theory*:390-397.
- Fafo. 2006. Child Labour and Cocoa Production in West Africa.
- Gray, B. 2003. Framing of Environmental disputes. In making sense of intractable Environmental Conflicts: Concepts and Cases.
- Green, J., and N. Thorogood. 2009. *Qualitative methods for health research*: Sage.
- Grier, B. 2004. Child labor and Africanist scholarship: A critical overview. *African studies review*:1-25.
- Hashim, I. 2007. Independent child migration and education in Ghana. *Development and Change* 38:911-931.
- Luhmann, N. 1986. The autopoiesis of social systems. *Sociocybernetic paradoxes: Observation, control and evolution of self-steering systems*:172-192.
- Marcus, G. E. 1995. Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24:95-117.
- Ministry of Manpower, Y. E., Ghana. June, 2008. Cocoa Labour Survey in Ghana-2007/2008.
- Ministry of Manpower, Y. E. M., Ghana. April, 2007. Labour Practices in cocoa production in Ghana (Pilot survey).
- Morgan, G., and K. I. Videotraining. 1997. *Images of organization*. Vol. 265: Wiley Online Library.
- Mull, L. D., and S. R. Kirkhorn. 2005. Child labor in Ghana cocoa production: focus upon agricultural tasks, ergonomic exposures, and associated injuries and illnesses. *Public Health Reports* 120:649.
- Pawson, R., and N. Tilley. 2006. "Realist evaluation." 2006.
- report), I. C. i. P. July 2012. Toward responsible labour standards for cocoa growing.

Van Hear, N. 1982. Child labour and the development of capitalist agriculture in Ghana. *Development & Change* 13:499-514.

Yin, R. K. 2002. Case Study Research: Design and Methods, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol 5.

Appendix: exploratory survey and interview guides

Exploratory survey

Please underline the most appropriate answer as it applies to you.

For example; Do you eat every day? (a) Yes (b) No

1. How old are you? _____
2. What is your sex? (a)Male (b) Female
3. Are you an Akan ? (a) Yes (b) No
4. Do you live with your biological parents? (a)Yes (b) No
5. Do your parents/guardians have a cocoa farm? (a) Yes (b) No
6. Have you worked on cocoa farm before either for your parents/guardians or others?
(a)Yes (b) No.

if yes answer the next question

7. How often do you work on cocoa farms? (a)After school (b)on Weekends (c) During vacation or on holidays
8. Have you worked in a galamsey site before? (a)Yes (b) No
9. Do you do any job for money after school, on weekends or during vacation? (a)Yes (b)No
10. If yes mentions some of the jobs you do for money

Interview guides

Name: District Assembly

Introduction and purpose of the research

What is your role in the district assembly?

How is it connect with cocoa farming

How important is cocoa farming to this district

What can you tell me about child labour in cocoa farming in the district?

What is the role of the NGOs in the district in addressing child labour in cocoa farming?

Do the NGOs work with the district assembly issues?

What have you done in the past together?

What can you can about the process and the product?

What can you tell me about galamsey in the district?

Do you know anybody who does galamsey?

NGO officials

Introduction and purpose of the research

Can you tell me something about your organization?

What is your core mandates in the district?

Which communities are you working?

How is it connect with cocoa farming

How important is cocoa farming to this district

What can you tell me about child labour in cocoa farming in the district?

What is the role of the district assembly in addressing child labour in cocoa farming?

Which district departments or agencies do work with the issues?

What have you done in the past together?

What can you can about the process and the product?

What can you tell me about galamsey in the district?

Do you know anybody who does galamsey?

Farmers

Introduction and purpose of research

For how long have you been farming in this district?

What crop or crops do you have on your farm?

How important is cocoa cultivation in the district?

How do you cultivate your farm?

How many children do you have?

How do they support you with work on your farm?

What can you tell me about child labour?

Galamsey miners

Introduction and purpose of the research

For how long have you been doing galamsey?

What can you tell me about galamsey in the district?

What do people usully say about galamsey that you like or do not like?

Why do people say that about galamsey?