

**Fairtrade and Child Labour in Ghana's Cocoa Sector: Challenges, Gaps and
Recommendations.**

By

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DEDICATION

This major research paper is dedicated to my father Mr. Christopher Wemuyeh Balinia Adda of blessed memory, my mother, Madam Sirina Sumaila, and my beautiful wife Loretta Baidoo for their support throughout this wonderful journey.

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ABSTRACT

In spite of the numerous interventions put in place by the Government of Ghana, international development agencies and other relevant bodies such as Fairtrade to eradicate child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector, it continues to be a significant problem in cocoa production. This research paper aims to explore the main reasons for the persistent occurrences of child labour in cocoa and the role of Fairtrade in ensuring the eradication of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. The research identifies explicitly various causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa by reviewing relevant academic and grey literature in the area. It provides a critical assessment of the role of Fairtrade in eradicating child labour. The research paper also relied on data from fifteen (15) key informant interview respondents comprising five (5) officials from Fairtrade West Africa and International Cocoa Initiative, and ten (10) Fairtrade certified cocoa farmers from three selected cocoa growing areas in the Western, Eastern and Brong Ahafo Regions of Ghana. The paper concludes that poverty, the lack of awareness among cocoa farmers and cocoa-growing communities about child labour policies, inadequate educational infrastructure in cocoa-growing communities, and other socio-cultural factors are the leading causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. It examines how Fairtrade interventions, namely technical training and support for farmers, provision of educational infrastructure in cocoa-growing areas, and the sensitization of farmers and community members about child labour policies, are helping fight child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. It concludes by recommending an increase in Fairtrade premiums and prices, technical training and support for cocoa farmers, educational infrastructure and scholarships in cocoa-growing areas and the sensitization of cocoa farmers and communities.

Key words: Child labour, cocoa, Fairtrade, poverty, education, sensitization.

TABLE OF CONTENT

| | |
|--|-----|
| DEDICATION | ii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | iii |
| <u>ABSTRACT</u> | iv |
| TABLE OF CONTENT | v |
| ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS | vii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| SECTION 1: CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA’S COCOA- MAJOR CAUSES, EFFECTS AND IMPACTS. | 7 |
| ACADEMIC LITERATURE | 7 |
| Child Labour in Context | 7 |
| Child Labour in Ghana’s Cocoa Sector | 10 |
| Causes of child labour in Ghana’s cocoa sector | 16 |
| Effects of child labour | 22 |
| Education | 23 |
| Health | 27 |
| GREY LITERATURE REVIEW | 30 |
| SECTION 2: THE ROLE OF FAIRTRADE IN COMBATTING CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA’S COCOA SECTOR | 44 |
| Measures and interventions to curb child labour in Fairtrade cocoa | 51 |
| Fairer prices and payment of premiums for cocoa | 52 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Technical trainings and support for cocoa farmers | 53 |
| Monitoring, auditing and enforcement of sanctions | 54 |
| Education and sensitization of cocoa farmers and community members | 56 |
| Provision of educational infrastructure and scholarships for cocoa growing communities | 58 |
| SECTION 3: FAIRTRADE INTERVENTION AREAS THAT NEED IMPROVEMENTS | 60 |
| Improved Fairtrade producer prices, premiums and access to markets | 60 |
| Frequent and continuous sensitization of cocoa farmers and communities on child labour | 62 |
| Provision of educational infrastructure and scholarships in cocoa growing communities | 63 |
| Technical support and trainings for cocoa farmers | 65 |
| CONCLUSION | 66 |
| REFERENCES | 68 |
| APPENDICES | 73 |
| Appendix A: Informed Consent Form | 73 |
| Appendix B - Signature of Agreement: | 80 |
| Appendix C: Verbal Consent Script | 81 |
| Appendix D: Interview Guide for Cocoa Farmers | 84 |
| Appendix E: Interview Guide For Staff of Selected Organizations/Institutions | 85 |

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|------------------------------------|
| FAO | Food and Agricultural Organization |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GLSS | Ghana Living Standard Survey |
| GSS | Ghana Statistical Service |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is the mainstay of Ghana's economy. It contributes over 40% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), absorbs a substantial labour force, and provides raw materials for industrial growth (Patrick Enu, 2014). Cocoa, a major cash crop within the agricultural sector, contributes substantially to Ghana's foreign exchange (Future Agricultures, 2021). The International Labour Organization (ILO) (2019) states that Ghana's cocoa sector ranks second in foreign exchange earnings after the minerals sector. As the second leading cocoa producer globally, Ghana's cocoa sector contributes significantly to poverty reduction through income generation and rural livelihoods (Marcella Vignera and Shashi Kolavalli 2017).

Cocoa is a significant contributor to 3% of the national gross domestic product. It also makes up about 20 to 25 per cent of total export receipts, provides about two-thirds of cocoa farmers' incomes, and supports the livelihoods of approximately four million farming households (Ghana Statistical Service, 2015). Despite the sector's contributions to the country's economic growth, the cocoa sector is not exempted from the myriad of challenges that confront the Ghanaian agricultural sector in general. Dominant among the challenges confronting the cocoa sector is the problem of child labour. Globally, it is estimated that about 160 million children are involved in child labour which translates to 1 out of every ten children (International Labour Organization 2020).

In recent times, the definition of child labour has become more complex, as it is difficult to distinguish between what is considered "normal" child work and exploitative child labour. Bernard Schlemmer (1997) argues that the term is very complex, and its definition depends on how we define two issues, 'work' and 'childhood'. Child labour is

linked to socialization through home chores within the family, which sometimes conflicts with the child's education, general upbringing and development (Schlemmer,1997). The ILO (2020) defines child labour as "any form of work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development".

Due to cultural differences and socialization, some confusion still exists in the child labour debate, especially in Africa. In other words, what may be perceived as child labour in some societies may be seen as children supporting their parents on the farms or engaging in other forms of house chores as a form of responsible upbringing and socialization in other countries. Child work may be defined as all the activities and conditions, including children partaking in age-appropriate light work and chores which are neither harmful nor impede their enjoyment of other rights, such as their schooling (Aarti Kapoor, 2017).

Al Jazeera (20th October 2020), in their report on child labour in West African cocoa, revealed that in the past decade between 2010 to 2020, there has been a rise in child labour in the cocoa sectors of Ghana and Ivory Coast, despite the various promises made by the industry to reduce it. Children often render services like weeding, applying pesticides and insecticides, breaking pods, and carrying cocoa pods. Ange Aboa and Aaron Ross (2020) also reported that about 2.1 million children in Ghana and Ivory Coast are engaged in child labour in the cocoa sector, which comprises children under twelve (12) years of age performing various tasks, as well as older children who are engaged in hazardous works.

There have been reports on an increase in child labour cases in the cocoa sector in Ghana. For instance, it is estimated that over seven hundred thousand (700,000) children are engaged in Ghana's cocoa production, often engaged in dangerous jobs such as carrying heavy loads and using sharp tools (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2019). Despite measures and efforts by the government and relevant key stakeholders to combat child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector, the menace continues to exist. Several reasons may have accounted for the persistent rise in the child labour figures. Benjamin Okpukpara and Ngozi Odurukwe (2006) identify that increasing children's participation in economic activities results from illiteracy, poverty, and other social and economic problems. Some of these social and economic problems are social norms condoning child labour, lack of educational opportunities for children, limited understanding of child labour issues and many others.

To bring the situation under control, international development agencies, governments and other stakeholders have deliberated and put some measures to help tackle the causes of the problem. For instance, Mars International, through its corporate social responsibility projects, committed about 1 billion US Dollars towards a responsible sourcing strategy and called for legislators to help address the various reasons and causes of child labour in West African cocoa farms (Al Jazeera 20th October 2020).

Although this is a great initiative, and work towards eliminating child labour from its sourcing portfolio, promoting better wages for farmers, reducing deforestation and creating financial stability network for suppliers. It is often argued that the confectionery industry, which tends to accrue huge profits from cocoa through chocolate production, are

not investing much to help curb the problem of child labour in West Africa cocoa production.

Despite cocoa's economic importance and significance, its production has continuously been threatened by the incidence of child labour. Fairtrade cocoa is no exception as far as the incidence of child labour is concerned (Fairtrade International, nd). The problem of child labour in the cocoa sector needs to be addressed since it affects the lives and development of children and their communities. It is, therefore, against this background that it is essential to find out the primary reasons that have accounted for the occurrences of child labour in cocoa despite the various interventions of Fairtrade in the sector.

Fairtrade is a certification system with laid-down specific rules to get certified. Fairtrade offers changes in how trade works by providing better prices, decent working conditions for workers on plantations and farms, and fairer trading conditions for farmers in developing countries. It also enables farmers to control their lives and decide how to invest for their future. Fairtrade further provides support such as fairer prices through a minimum floor price that covers the average cost of producing crop sustainability; premiums are additional money put into a communal fund for farmers and workers to use to improve their community economic and environmental conditions. It also ensures decent working conditions devoid of forced or child labour, provides access to advance credit ahead of harvest time and challenges businesses and governments by connecting farmers and workers with buyers (Fairtrade Canada, n.d). As one of the most prominent products of Fairtrade, cocoa has been certified since 1994. Although the world appetite for cocoa was booming, cocoa farmers were still struggling to make a decent living. The

situation has not changed significantly; the cocoa sector is still confronted with persistent, widespread poverty, deforestation, gender inequality, child and forced labour.

Cocoa farmers invest the premiums in community projects of their choice and their cocoa businesses, such as the replacement of old cocoa trees facilities for crop production, transport, storage and processing. In addition, to help cocoa farmers access more markets, Fairtrade continues to work with the confectionery industry and key industry players to purchase sustainable cocoa. The more farmers can sell their cocoa produce, the more they can generate better income (Fairtrade Canada, n.d).

One of the many mandates of Fairtrade is to help eradicate child labour on Fairtrade certified cocoa farms. In spite of the many support mechanisms instituted by Fairtrade to help achieve this vital mandate, the problem remains a significant concern (Fairtrade International, n.d), thus the need to put in place more measures to ensure it is brought to the barest minimum. It is therefore against this background that the paper seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1. To understand why some cocoa growing areas still record a significant incidence of child labour despite numerous interventions.
2. To examine the strategies employed by Fairtrade to address the phenomenon.
3. To offer recommendations to address child labour issues within Ghana's cocoa sector.

The paper relies on grey and academic literature and key in-depth informant interviews to arrive at its findings, discussions and conclusions.

Specifically, key informant interviews were carried out to gather and solicit opinions and views from Fairtrade certified cocoa farmers from the selected study areas and some

officials of the International Cocoa Initiative and Fairtrade West Africa Network to complement the findings of the literature. A total of fifteen (15) interviews were carried out to gather perspectives, opinions and assessments about the child labour situation in the Fairtrade cocoa sector and what their respective organizations are doing to reduce child labour. Fairtrade cocoa farmers and officials of the selected institutions interviewed also provided their respective independent assessments and opinions on the interventions of Fairtrade. They proposed several new interventions or areas for improvement.

The remainder of the paper is categorized into several sections. The first section delves into the primary causes, effects and impacts of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. The second section assesses Fairtrade's various steps and interventions to curb child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. The third section identifies and recommends several child labour interventions that need further improvement.

Study Area

The research study area comprises three major cocoa growing areas in Ghana: the Western, Brong Ahafo and Eastern Regions. The three study areas were selected because they account for most of the cocoa produced in Ghana. For instance, Vigneri and Kolavalli (2017) revealed that the Western Region accounted for 56% of cocoa in 2011, the Eastern Region had 9%, with the Brong Ahafo Region recording a substantial production. The Brong Ahafo Region produces a yearly estimated amount of 66,921.000 tonnes of cocoa. These three areas also have many Fairtrade certified cocoa producers in Ghana.

SECTION 1: CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA'S COCOA- MAJOR CAUSES, EFFECTS AND IMPACTS.

ACADEMIC LITERATURE

Child Labour in Context

Child labour's multifaceted and complex nature has consistently attracted research and policy attention over the decades (Admassie Assefa, 2002). Child labour is deeply engrained in the cultural, social, political, and economic structures and traditions of most societies in Africa. Child labour persists despite the universal provisions made in two major International Conventions, the International Labour Organization Convention No. 138 and the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child, which are legally binding international agreements stipulating that the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of every child, regardless of their race, religion, abilities or location. (UNICEF "National Plan of Action to eliminate all forms of child labour"). ILO convention 138 calls for the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including trafficking, forced labour and slavery. It also includes the prohibition of the use of under eighteen individuals in armed conflict, prostitution, pornography and other illicit activities. It is important to note that Ghana ratified these conventions in the early 1990s.

There are major typological, definition and terminological discrepancies in child labour, its manifestation, and its impact on children. One end of the spectrum argues that child labour is part of children's socio-cultural and economic socialization. In contrast, the others maintain that the practice is detrimental to their total well-being and general

development (Admassie, Assefa, 2000; UNICEF, 2005; Morten Boas and Anne Huser, 2006).

Some scholars argue that child labour is not very much work engaged in by children. To them, child labour involves the engagement of children in any work that deprives them of their childhood, inhibits their school attendance, or is mentally, physically, socially and morally perilous and detrimental. In highlighting the significance and value of socio-cultural socialization, some authors argue that socio-cultural socialization is meant to prepare children for the future and not to harm them (Kolavalli, Shashi, and Marcella Vigneri, 2011; Thévenon Olivier and Eric Edmonds (2019:).

As much as I agree that this socio-cultural socialization process is significant and helpful for the upbringing of children in Africa, it could also be abusive if not done properly to ensure children's welfare is prioritized. For instance, Odonkor and Admassie(2017) argue that child work in sub-Saharan Africa is sometimes abusive and exploitative due to socio-cultural practices, increasing poverty levels, and low wages. I will like to add that it is worthy to note that Child labour occurs in different ways and in various forms depending on the geographical location and society. Admassie (2000) notes that the manifestations of child labour vary in terms of space and time and, therefore, cannot be generalized. This brings to fore the argument that there is a conceptualization challenge as to what is perceived and constitute child labour.

Consequently, a universal definition of child labour should take cognizance of the socio-cultural and geographical differences. According to Grootaert Christian and Ravi Kanbur (2005), the term child labour comprises an extensive array of conditions with divergent responses to the ethical, economic and legal provisions. The challenge

with the definition is more pronounced in African societies where socio-cultural factors influence the understanding and definition of a child and work. According to Grootaert and Kanbur (2005), the question of what constitutes "bad child labour" lays credence to the notion that child labour categories. Bad child labour includes prostitution, scavenging, and construction work or long hours, which takes children out of school (Grootaert and Kanbur, 2005). By definition by Grootaert and Kanbur(2005), I will add that the age differentiation components of the children are missing, as well as the specific volume or quantity of work assigned to the child at any given time, which I think should be very important components of the categories mentioned by the authors above. In an attempt to ameliorate this conundrum and confusion, the United Nations Children and Education Fund (UNICEF) proposed differentiation of child work from child labour with interference in the health and educational development of children as the determinant indicators or variables (UNICEF, 2005 cited in Owusu Victor, and Addo Gema Kwarteye, 2008).

By assessing the various suggestions and definitions, I think it is important to draw on the distinction between child work and child labour to avoid the ongoing confusion in the child labour debate. This is because one cannot take away the socio-cultural underpinnings of the socialization and upbringing processes in the societal contexts in the child labour debate. It is, therefore, significant to incorporate these dimensions into the child labour definition with universal agreed guiding and binding principles that would be suitable for every geographical context. Child labour should be seen as any form of activities that children engage in that are deemed detrimental to their physical, social and mental well-being and prevent children from attending or being

enrolled in school. As part of the socialization process, children may participate in family activities as training and good upbringing. However, these activities should not cause physical or mental harm and prevent the child from enrolling in school or missing schooling hours.

It is also important to take cognizance by incorporating global laws and conventions of international statutory bodies like the ILO that governs and protects the child's rights during child work definitions to ensure children are not being abused during the socialization and upbringing processes. The ensuing discussion demonstrates the existing discrepancies and supports the view that child labour is a complex phenomenon. The next section of the paper takes a critical look at child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. The section covers a general overview of child labour with a historical context, the international and local acts that govern and protect the children against the phenomenon, the prevalent rates, the kinds of activities or work children in the cocoa engage in, and some geographical distribution of the phenomenon.

Child Labour in Ghana's Cocoa Sector

Since 1957, cocoa has been the most important agricultural product and the most economically lucrative crop in terms of national income generation in West Africa (Vigneri Marcella Shashi Kolavalli, 2017). Historical evidence suggests that the cocoa sector in West Africa continues to expand because of the use of family members paid and forced labour (Sutton Inez, 1983). Apart from the factors mentioned above, other important factors like the forest, climatic and soil conditions of the area, the opening up of trade between Africa and Europe, and the increasing spread of demand for chocolate in Europe and other parts of the world all contributed to the historical success of cocoa

production in West Africa. Since the 1800s, West Africa has been famous for producing and exporting cocoa to most parts of the world. It is therefore worth noting that the thriving cocoa industry in this part of the world has over the years benefited from forced labour with the use of slaves. (Sackett Marjie, 2008). For instance, the incidence of child slavery in the cocoa fields of Ghana and the Ivory Coast are clear examples (Washington Post, June 5th, 2019).

Ghana is the second-largest producer and exporter of cocoa globally and a country with cocoa plantations predominantly located in the rural parts of southern Ghana and relies on manual labour (Mull, 2004). Although Section 87 of the Children's Act 2008 of Ghana provides the prevention of children against all forms of exploitative labour, most children in Ghana start working at age 8, which is the same for both boys and girls (Ghana Child Labour Survey, 2003). In looking at the age categories of children engaged in child labour in Ghana, another study by the Ghana Statistical Service shows that 21.8 per cent of children aged between 5 to 17 years are engaged in child labour, and seven (7) in every ten (10) children in Ghana are also engaged in some economic activities that are considered child labour (Ghana Child Labour Survey, 2014).

Cocoa is produced mainly by smallholder farmers and is labour-intensive. The literature reveals that children who are not in school work full time, lasting between 6 and 7 days a week (Owusu and Kwarteye, 2008). As earlier stated in the literature, children who are not school work full time between six (6) to seven (7) days; however, there are other instances where some children who are enrolled in school skip school hours or classes to work on cocoa farms to earn money for their family upkeep. It is also

commonplace that children employed in this sector of the economy are in all forms of hazardous work (Leslie Casely-Hayford, 2004; Owusu and Kwarteye, 2008).

In terms of geographical location, the sixth round of the Ghana Living Standard Survey found that 88 per cent of children in rural areas are working (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). There is, therefore, no doubt that a significant proportion of these children are working in the cocoa sector and other agricultural-related areas. The literature also reveals the kinds of jobs or activities children engage in within the cocoa value chain. Some children working in cocoa farms perform various activities such as clearing of land, tree felling, burning, spraying and the application of agricultural chemicals, carrying heavy loads, scooping, weeding, plucking pods, pruning, gathering and heaping pods carting of fermented beans, and carting of dry beans for sale (Casely-Hayford, 2004).

At times, children engaged in cocoa farms render various services detrimental and harmful to the general well-being. These tasks include applying agricultural chemicals, carrying heavy loads, pruning and cutting of cocoa pods. Ghana's Ministry of Manpower has classified the tasks and services rendered or performed by the children, Youth and Employment in the Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector in Ghana released in June 2008 as hazardous and unsuitable for children.

In terms of the prevalence of child labour according to geographical location, a situational analysis of child labour in the Cocoa Sector of Ghana by Casely-Hayford (2004) revealed a higher prevalence of child labour in terms of numbers in the Western and Ashanti Regions which are the highest producers of cocoa compared to Volta, Central and Eastern Regions as these regions. Other factors, such as the large population size of the Ashanti and Western regions, may have accounted for the high prevalence rates of

children working in the cocoa sector. In addition, considering that the Ashanti and Western Regions are the largest producers of cocoa, they are also likely to attract more migrant child workers from other parts of the country who come to work in cocoa farms, thereby increasing the number of children who are engaged in child labour in those areas.

In terms of different levels of child engagement in cocoa farms, Mull L. Diane (2003) found different levels of child engagement in cocoa work. Whilst children of cocoa farmers are regular in school and only work on the farm after school, on weekends and vacation, children of sharecroppers and migrants work to attend school irregularly or are completely out of school and fully working on the cocoa farms and engaging in hazardous tasks. I would like to add that, in as much as this level of categorization forms a critical part of the child labour debate, it is worthy to note that not all children of cocoa farmers are enrolled in school or attend school regularly. Some cocoa farmers are also engaged and required to work full time on family cocoa farms as part of socialization and upbringing processes and as a way of nurturing them to inherit family cocoa farms.

In the origins of the migrant workers and their children, Casely-Hayford's (2004) report found that the bulk of migrant workers in cocoa farms are from the Northern and Upper East Regions of Ghana. I will add that these two regions are among the poorest areas in Ghana, thereby reinforcing the crucial role of poverty as one of the main drivers of child labour in the cocoa sector. Since the migrant workers are already coming from a poor area and background, the high level of vulnerability among migrant and sharecropper families makes their children most susceptible to being victims of child labour in the cocoa production value chain.

The literature highlights that the composition of the characteristics of the cocoa farmers' household members helps determine the kind of labour available to work on their farms at a given time. The findings from a study in Ghana stated that household characteristics such as age and number of children influence the decision of a farmer to use their children on cocoa farms. Cocoa farmers only use their children for longer hours on the farm if there is a decrease in adult family labour because cocoa farmers rely mostly on adults for cocoa production. Thus, when there is a decrease in adult household labour, farmers tend to use children for longer hours on the farm (Owusu and Kwartey, 2008:12).

Although I agree that the household characteristics of the cocoa farmer may determine the kind of labour available to work on the farm at a particular time, that may not always be the case, in that households may have an adult dominated population who may refuse to fully commit to working on family cocoa farms due to other equally important engagements. Because children do not have absolute control over themselves, parents might compel them to work on family cocoa farms, no matter how small the number of children in a household.

In terms of the various categories of children working in Ghana's cocoa sector, Casely-Hayford (2004:7) groups children working in the cocoa sector into five (5) groups based on the intensity of work they perform and the associated risk on their education, health and future development. These groups are children in school and involved in cocoa farm work only after school hours. Some of them consistently combine hazardous work on the farm with schooling, children who are in school but intermittently drop out of school to perform farming activities on the cocoa farms predominantly during the major

planting and harvesting seasons, children who are involved full time in cocoa farming with their families and sometimes hire their labour out because they have dropped out of school before the end of completing basic education due to reasons such as the lack of financial support from parents or death of parents, and other family support. Children who have never been enrolled on school or had any form of formal education and are engaged in cocoa farming and migrant children from other parts of Ghana, who are engaged in cocoa farming with kin and/or given out to an extended family member, neighbour or friend or cocoa farmer solely for farming purposes. I will add the categorization into these identified groups, making it easier for policymakers to develop pragmatic areas of interventions to help resolve the problem of child labour. Although the categorization of children in terms of the kind of work they engage in will contribute significantly to arriving at accurate and practical interventions, it is relevant to incorporate the ages of the children in these categorizations to help identify whether the kinds of work the children engage in correspond with their ages as determined by local and international child labour conventions and regulations.

The above literature provides an in-depth perspective of the discussion on child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. Although Ghana has an effective cocoa-controlled marketing system globally through the control and setting of cocoa prices by the Government of Ghana (Yahaya et al., 2015:336), it has failed to control the labour system in the cocoa sector, especially when it comes to child labour. It is important for regulatory authorities such as the Ghana Cocoa Board, Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations, and Department of Social Welfare to take child labour and farmer welfare issues seriously and come up with pragmatic and sustainable measures to curb the

situation. The next part of the paper delves into the various causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector.

Causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector

The preceding discussion clarifies that child labour has been prevalent in Ghana's cocoa sector for quite some time now. Several factors may have accounted for the practice of using children for cocoa related activities. This section of the literature highlights the common causes of child labour, diving into the reasons behind some of these causes. The literature highlights that poverty, parental neglect, lack of access to quality education and infrastructure, economic challenges and parents' inadequate knowledge on the implications of child labour on children's welfare, and the socio-cultural beliefs and socialization processes of African societies are some of the main causes of child labour. The rest of the discussions will continue to delve deep into the various arguments on the causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector.

In a study on the implications of child labour on the education and health of children in Ghana, Hamenoo Emma Seyram, Emmanuel Aprakru Dwomoh, and Mavis Dako-Gyeke (2018) identified poverty, absence of parents and poor enforcement of child-related policies as some of the causes of child labour. Similarly, Osment (2014) states that poverty appears to be the main cause of children's engagement in hazardous work at an early age; children at an early age are compelled to work to contribute to household income. Odonkor (2007) argues that poverty as a major cause of child labour has been overrated since other factors similarly significantly induce child labour. These factors include parental neglect, lack of access to quality education and others.

In identifying some of the reasons why cocoa farmers engage children to work on their farms, Yahaya Awwal Mohammed, Bahri Karli, and Mevlüt Gül (2015) found that the high cost of inputs and insufficient credit is the most highly rated problems faced by cocoa farmers in Ghana. Cocoa farmers, therefore, ameliorate these circumstances by engaging children at a lesser cost than adults (Alexandra Löwe, 2017:21). Although the Ghana Cocoa Board is the Government of Ghana agency that oversees all matters related to cocoa in Ghana, through its numerous support services, Ghana Cocoa Board provides some inputs to cocoa farmers at a subsidized price, the inputs are inadequate and do not get to all the cocoa farmers in the country especially those in rural areas because of the huge numbers of cocoa farmers and the lack of adequate logistics to reach out to all cocoa farmers in the country. It is also quite difficult for cocoa farmers to access credit from financial institutions to support their farm activities due to the exorbitant interest rates in loan acquisitions in Ghana.

From the above, it is obvious that poverty contributes to the child labour debate. However, it is also important to consider other causes of child labour. First, parental neglect and lack of adequate care for children have been identified in various sections of the academic literature as a major cause of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. The Ghana Child Labour Survey (2003) found that about 93 per cent of parents whose children engaged in child labour in the agricultural sector were aware of the labour status of their children. This is significantly tied to poverty as one of the major causes. Although parents are aware that their children engage in child labour due to family or household economic situations, they cannot stop them since the family needs the income generated by the children for their upkeep.

In supporting the claim and perceptions that parental neglect contributes significantly to the prevalence of child labour, a 2003 Ghana Child Labour Survey further discovered that in the Volta Region of Ghana, 21 per cent of parents who participated in the survey said they were not aware that their children are engaged in wage labour outside the home. They were also oblivious of the conditions under which these children were working (Ghana Child Labour Survey, 2003). This revelation indicates parents not being aware and concerned about what happens in the daily lives of their children; thus, highlighting that parental negligence could be responsible for the increase in child labour. Similarly, in larger families, it sometimes becomes very difficult for parents to effectively monitor their children. So, children born into larger families in cocoa-growing areas may be predisposed to parental negligence and engage in perilous economic activities that can negatively impact their future lives (Ghana Child Labour Survey, 2003), which could be detrimental to their general well-being. This is not to say that all children born into larger families may engage in child labour activities, as some children born into larger families may be well monitored and taken good care of by their parents or guardians.

Admassie (2002:270-271), who associated larger families with the high fertility and population growth rates in sub-Saharan Africa, also argues that larger families are predisposed to child labour. The author argues that larger families create room for families to use their children as excess and cheap labour to support and engage in economic activities in exchange for financial returns or to support family friends or relations without anything in return.

An anthropological perspective on child labour in cocoa production in Ghana by Amanda Berlan (2013) attributes the worst forms of child labour in the cocoa sector to

marital conflicts and increasing divorce rates in the cocoa producing communities. She argues that sometimes when families' break down or divorce, it becomes difficult for parents to monitor and take very good care of their children, especially when there are many children. This sometimes leads to parental negligence, which compels children to fend for themselves and other siblings. The absence of parental protection and effective monitoring coupled with their quest for survival compels them to engage in various forms of hazardous labour for survival.

The literature has also established that economic difficulties and inadequate information and knowledge about the consequences of child labour on the welfare of children are some of the underlying reasons why most households engage children in hazardous cocoa farming activities. Smallholder farmers who constitute the bulk of cocoa farmers in Ghana lack the inputs, resources and knowledge to expand their farms; since their meagre profits accrued from cocoa are low due to lower prices, they are unable to employ the services of adult labour; thus, children within and outside the household are therefore overused on the farm (Baa Francis, 2010). It is important to note that some farmers and other members of cocoa-growing communities may not be well informed about the various child protection policies and the implications of engaging the services of children to work on cocoa farms, as a result, do not even know what the implications of engaging children to work on farms instead of being enrolled in school.

Admassie (2000) reveals that shortfalls in the implementation of most of the child labour laws and conventions in many African countries have led to the high incidences of child labour. This also explains why Hamenoo et al. (2018) found poor enforcement of child-related policies as a cause of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. I support this

position that the ineffective implementation and enforcement of child labour laws is a major contributor, as perpetrators are not held accountable or punished for their actions. On the other hand, enforcement authorities do not have adequate logistics such as enough enforcement officers and transportation to cover cocoa growing areas to effectively monitor child labour activities in cocoa-growing areas.

Children who are out of school tend to migrate and start working at a tender age, which makes them prone to child labour abuse and exploitation (Adam Issah 2017). This finding validates Admassie's (2002) work that a school enrolment is an effective tool for keeping children out of the child labour space. I agree with his position because when children are enrolled in school, the likelihood of them engaging in child labour is very low, or they spend less time working on cocoa farms. Odonkor's (2007) study on "Addressing child labour through education: A study of alternative/complementary initiatives in quality education delivery and their suitability for cocoa-farming communities" found that the poor quality of education such as the non-availability of teachers in rural cocoa-growing areas, nonexistent school infrastructure is the main cause of school dropout in most rural parts of Ghana. But this does not mean that all school dropouts in cocoa-growing areas work hazardously on the cocoa farms. In as much as I agree with the author that access to education and enrolment of children in cocoa-growing areas may reduce the prevalence of child labour, it is worth noting that parents in cocoa-growing areas must also be informed about the importance of enrolling their children on school, this is because schools may be made accessible in cocoa-growing communities. However, some parents may decide not to enrol their children if they do not know the relevance of educating their children.

The literature also points to the significant role of socio-cultural and socialization factors as contributory factors to child labour prevalence. The high incidence of Child labour is linked with prevailing social and cultural beliefs and attitudes in Ghanaian society around how child labour is perceived. It can be seen as a common practice or a normal phenomenon, even if it is detrimental to the development of children, and this also reinforces the earlier assertion on the poor enforcement of child protection laws (Admassie, 2000; Admassie, 2002; Grootaert, & Kanbur, 2005). I will add that some parents view these practices as part of a socialization process during the upbringing of children. Cocoa farmers sometimes perceive the process of adequately preparing children to become responsible adults and the family inheritance of cocoa farms. This aspect of bringing up the child in the society by making children learn that it is important and a duty to work and engage in activities to help income family income or personal incomes up and socializing the child may be a significant cultural practice. However, it must be done so that children are allowed to attend school at the same work on farms during non-school hours and engage in activities that would not be harmful to their development as children.

Odonkor's findings in Ghana show that in most cocoa farming communities, farming is considered one of the best livelihood options for children compared to schooling because of the nature of the educational system in the rural part of Ghana, where some cocoa-growing communities do not have schools. However, this notion should not be an excuse for child labour (Odonkor, 2007). This is because it is important to enrol children into formal education to prepare them adequately for the future, despite the reported cases of child labour in the cocoa sector in Ghana, coupled with practices

that contravene the Children's Act, some of these studies have also found cases where children are made to perform age-appropriate tasks that meet the provisions of the Children's Act.

Morten Boas and Huser (2006) found that though some children in cocoa-growing areas work on cocoa farms during non-school hours, their assigned tasks do not deprive them of their education and do not impact their health. Children between 6 and 12 years old do light work whilst older children above 12 years perform more demanding work like weeding and opening pods. Children who are 16 years and older engage in harvesting pods from trees but do not apply pesticides because it is beyond children's abilities. Working in hazardous conditions on cocoa farms negatively affects children's health, education and future. I will add that children may be assigned to various forms of work that correspond to their ages and might not be considered child labour if there are strict adherence and compliance to the type of work these children are made to do. In the traditional Ghanaian cocoa farm setting, however, it is vital to say it is often very difficult for cocoa farmers to monitor what kind of work children do at a particular time, especially when the children do not have direct family ties of kinship with the owner of the cocoa farm.

Effects of child labour

This paper delves into the effects of child labour in cocoa on children. Generally, hazardous child labour in the cocoa sector can have detrimental effects on children's health, education, and future well-being. The engagement of children in child labour in cocoa hinders children's enjoying their childhood and encumbers their physical and psychological development. Although the discussion so far shows that child labour in

the cocoa sector of Ghana has been widespread since 2001, to be able to overcome some of the effects, Ghana adopted stringent legal initiatives and campaigns to curb or eliminate the worst forms of child labour, especially in the cocoa-growing communities where this practice is common (Bøås and Huser, 2006).

In spite of the efforts and measures such as the training of farmers on local and international child labour policies, the formation of child labour community advocacy programs and implementation of livelihood interventions for poor community households and through the ratification of ILO child labour conventions (138 & 182) and the institutionalization of legal frameworks to criminalize and prosecute offenders, little success has been recorded as far as the fight against child labour is a concern. This has attracted some reactions from non-governmental and communality-based organizations to curb or reduce the adverse effects of child labour in cocoa production on children (Lowe, 2017). Therefore, the prevalence of child labour in cocoa production has a number of effects, namely education and health, which we will delve into each of them separately.

Education

Child labour largely interplays with other social and economic factors to impact children's educational attainment. Economic difficulties have culminated in child workers in the cocoa sector combining work with schooling. Studies have shown that this practice delays children's educational attainment. For instance, Ray Ranjan (2002) found that an additional hour of wage work by children in Ghana's cocoa sector is likely to reduce the duration for completing educational attainment by more than a year. Likewise, child labour has a rippling impact on school attendance, performance, and completion. Children who engage in it are likely not attend school regularly, record poor academic

performance, and eventually drop out of school. As noted in the literature, cocoa harvesting is an activity that requires many hands in the family for a period not less than two months per year (Clarisse, 2011). So, during the harvest period, children from smallholder cocoa farming families usually go out of school continuously for almost half of a term to harvest cocoa, a clear indication that these children might miss the majority of a term's academic work.

The impact of prolonged absenteeism, delayed educational attainment and completion cannot be taken lightly. Child labour also impacts the education of children who work in the cocoa sector in other ways. For instance, Clarisse (2011) argues that time spent on farm work, fatigue, non-proximity and the existence of fewer schools in cocoa-growing communities are some of the main contributing factors to school dropout in cocoa-growing communities. Thus, performing tedious farm work and walking long distances to attend school is a great deterrent to children's education.

Studies in Ghana among children aged 9 to 18 years confirms that child labour also interrupts children's learning ability. The study shows that child labour directly impacts mathematics and reading achievement of working children due to tiredness and obstructed class participation (Sackett, Marjie, 2008; Adam, Issah 2017). These findings are supported by studies in other countries like São Paulo municipal schools in Brazil, which compared the educational performance of working and non-working children also found a strong relationship between school performance and child labour even with less hazardous forms of work (Bezerra et al., 2009).

Child labour also reduces the time available for children to study and their capacity to dedicate attention to school and homework (Emerson Patrick M., Vladimir

Ponczek, and André Portela Souza, 2017). Working children, by their nature, do not have enough time for playing, resting, and schooling. In the same vein, school life expectancy, which is the average number of years of schooling every school child is supposed to have, is also much lower in countries that have higher rates of child employment (Thévenon, & Edmonds, 2019), this is due to the desire for children to cut short their number of years spent in school to take up available employment in the short term. Baa's (2010) study on child labour in Ghanaian cocoa farms holds a divergent view. He argues that the time of the day and duration in which work is done are crucial factors in determining the effect of child labour on the total education of children. The study found that 81 per cent of the children who participated in the study were performing child-appropriate work in the cocoa sector, which never interfered with their education. While I agree that when children are involved in inappropriate work that is not harmful to their well-being, it is likely not to have any negative impacts on their education or schooling, it is also significant to point out that the time spent by children engaging in child-appropriate work in cocoa farms may still have some level of impacts on their education or schooling, since children could use the time spent working on the farm to study after school as well as perform other school-related tasks at home.

Boas & Huser (2006:47) believe that school absenteeism or dropout may not necessarily be a result of child labour on the cocoa farms in Ghana. A study in the Western Region of Ghana, an area that produces about 63 per cent of Ghana's cocoa volume, ascertains that most children in the area are schooling rather than working on cocoa farms (Francis Baa, 2010). The revelation above also confirms the assessment of Boas and Huser (2006) that child labour may not always serve as a barrier to children's

education. I agree with the position of the authors; this is because, in some instances, parents of children who do not work in the cocoa sector may still fail to send their children to school because of various other reasons such as the inability to fund their education or inadequate knowledge on the relevance of educating their children.

Boas and Huser (2006) add that children's relationship to the owners of cocoa farms influences how prone they are to the adverse effects of child labour. Children who have no kin ties with the cocoa farmers but work for salary are susceptible to child labour related abuses in Ghana and do not go to school. These groups of children are mostly migrants from the northern parts of Ghana (Boas and Huser,2006). Migrant children and children of the sharecroppers who are fourteen (14) years and older engage in intensive work of the cocoa farms regardless of their age and the conceivable adverse effects associated with the task (Mull and Kirkhorn, 2005). Exposure to these conditions inclines children to the negative effects of child labour, including effects on the child's education.

A Child Labour survey shows that 64 per cent of children in Ghana who are as young as 10 and 14 years combine schooling with working outside the home (Ghana Child Labour Survey, 2003). Some studies, however, show that it is not always the case that children's work conflicts with their school attendance. In some contexts, children may work to attend school. De Hoop, Friedman, Kandpal, and Rosati (2019) in the Philippines document several ways where limited financial support for children's schooling is associated with increases in schooling and child labour. They implicitly argue that when home resources do not fully cover the cost of schooling, children will have no option other than to combine schooling with paid work to supplement the cost of their education. They also believe that some children work to attend school does not

suggest that work does not adversely impact children's development and education (De Hoop et al., 2019).

Some commonly held views are that children in rural areas of Ghana are not sent to school due to poverty, lack of awareness about the value of education, and selfish interest or desperation of parents to use their children as a labour force at the expense of their education. Martina Odonkor's (2019) study addressing child labour through education in cocoa-growing communities suggests that poor educational quality in many rural areas is one of the biggest deterrents to children being enrolled in school (Odonkor, 2007:9). From the literature, it is fair to conclude that the engagement of children in child labour has huge and significant negative impacts on the education and general well-being of the child.

Health

During the formative years of every child and adolescent, good health is a significant determining factor for good health in adulthood and a predisposition to future development (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2018). In terms of health, Porter, Blaufuss and Acheampong (2011) argue that all the trades that require children to carry loads have adverse effects on their health. Porter et al. identified the negative health effects of carrying heavy loads as the energy cost of head-loading, long-term biomechanical impacts, risk of acute injury, and physical deficiencies. It is also established that the impacts of working as a child sometimes leads to ill health (Omokhodion et al., 2005).

The cocoa sector is not different, as the worst forms of child labour in the cocoa sector are linked with the health risks of child workers.

Studies in the cocoa sector of Ghana have identified the most hazardous work done by children as clearing of virgin forests with chainsaw machines, climbing trees to prune branches, mixing and applying pesticides without protective equipment, harvesting and opening pods with knives, carrying heavy loads of cocoa beans which exposes them to health threats such as acetylcholinesterase, inhibitor, organochlorine poisoning, acute major and minor injuries, and musculoskeletal disorder lingering musculoskeletal stress due to carrying of heavy loads. All these pose substantial hazards to the future development of the children (Casely-Hayford, 2004; Mull, L. Diane, and Steven R. Kirkhorn, 2005). A study in Ghana by Buono, Clarisse (2011) unravelled the health hazards of children working in the cocoa sector. The study found carrying heavy loads and use of cutlass as common tasks performed among children. A few children are also involved in spraying pesticides and applying fertilizers without protective equipment. The services performed by children on cocoa farms and other farming chores have resulted in various degrees of illnesses and caused injuries such as cutlass wood among children. For instance, about 60 per cent of the children in their study sample reported cuts from cutlasses, other injuries and illnesses due to hazards of farm work. Looking at child labour and slavery in the chocolate industry, the Food Empowerment Project (n.d) reports various forms of abuse of children working in the cocoa sector of West Africa cocoa, emphasizing Ghana and the Ivory Coast. The project reports that children are tasked to work for longer hours, using chain saws to clear forests and climbing trees using machetes to cut cocoa pods. Children are also tasked to load pods into sacks that weigh about 100 pounds and carry them for several kilometres through the forest. In addition to the hazards of carrying the loads and use of machetes, they are also tasked to apply

agrochemicals and pesticides that have health implications and hazards on the well-being of the children.

From the above discussions and literature, it is clear that child labour in cocoa production has numerous effects on the well-being of children, especially their education and health. It is also worth noting that, to address child labour issues in the cocoa sector, a clear distinction should be made from child work. Child labour should be redefined to incorporate socio-cultural components and socialization with stipulated rules of children's engagement during these processes. Children's health and education components have been identified as major effects of child labour on children. Access to education and good health play significant roles in child development; thus, the study's revelation provides a worrying situation. Since the effects have dire consequences on the general development of children who engage in various forms of work in the cocoa sector, it is very important to come up with a policy direction to tackle the various causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector.

GREY LITERATURE REVIEW

Child labour is a topical subject for development agents, including governments and non-governmental organizations, media, and civil society groups. The severity of the problem of child labour propels actors to attempt to mitigate or eradicate the menace. Discourses on such actions are highlighted in government reports, NGO project reports, conference proceedings, newspaper articles, graduate dissertations, and other sources of material that are not formally published in sources such as books and journal articles, and fits the definition of grey literature as is described in the Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions (Julian Higgins et al., 2019).

The inclusion of grey literature as part of this review is designed to increase the paper's comprehensiveness and timeliness and foster a holistic picture of available evidence (Arsenio Paez, 2017). The review highlights the various causes of child labour and strategies by different institutions to curb it, discusses the various themes, and establishes an assessment based on the literature reviewed.

Christina Asare-Konadu's (2018), in her Master's thesis study, explores parents' conception of child labour in the Ghanaian context and how children as well experience it, highlighting their lived experiences. Child labour, she argues, is a foreign concept of what is termed child work, and that is entrenched and reproduced in the African context through socialization. Thus her engagement with two primary actors in the child labour discourse, i.e., parents and children, synergizes these perceptions with existing literature. By this, one sees a clash between the already existing cultural upbringing and socialization processes of children supporting household chores and other farm activities. She argues that most people attribute the prevalence of child labour in Ghana to culture,

morals, socialization and religious beliefs. I will add that, historically, the child's general welfare and the implications of these activities on the development of the child were not taken critically in the African cultural and socialization contexts.

Mainstream literature on child labour, as indicated in the academic review in the previous section, identifies poverty as one of the leading causes, if not the primary determinant of child labour in Ghana. However, Asare-Konadu (2018), drawing from Loretta Bass (2004), points to other social structures such as religion, education, and culture. Their varied orientation is one of the primary causes of child labour. She argues that though higher rates of poverty are associated with higher child labour rates, poverty is not the primary and only cause of child labour, especially in African countries (Bass 2004) cited in (Asare Konadu, 2018). She argues that religion influences and affects child work ethics during the primary socialization. Religious beliefs have reshaped the concept of education, cultural values and what society teaches young people. In this sense, they highlight poverty as a secondary contributor or cause and not necessarily the leading cause. In addition, she indicates that these structures portray a child's work as a platform for "informal training and socialization as children learn their adult roles as they mature" (p. 21).

Therefore, it is essential to subsequently distinguish the two concepts, child labour and child work, and based on the distinction, assesses the position of Asare Konadu and other like-minded writers. Socialization and upbringing in the socio-cultural perspectives of other societies are significant. Therefore, I think it is relevant to incorporate the socialization and upbringing dimensions into the child labour discourses while being mindful not to exclude the various external elements like ILO child labour

conventions and other acts that seek to protect children's rights. So in other words, in socializing children through child work, it is relevant to carefully examine the kind of work the child is engaged in, the timing of the work, so the child does not miss school or learning hours, and lastly, the implications of the work on the health of the child.

Asare Konadu (2018) further concludes that child labour is conceptualized differently even among respondents based on socio-cultural backgrounds. Stemming from that construct, the meaning of child labour varies among class and religion determines people's understanding and meaning of the concept, and thus rules out the common causative factor, indicating "poverty does not necessarily have a positive relationship with child labour in the Ghanaian community" (p. 52). She pointed to studies by Boozer & Suri (2001), a research study on child labour and schooling; they found little evidence of poverty playing a massive role in the effects of child labour in Ghana. I agree with this argument to some extent. This could be attributed to the fact that children may be engaged in activities deemed child labour. However, it could be considered part of the training process during upbringing and socialization in a relatively another context. It may not be working because of household poverty.

This suggests that socio-cultural reasons such as the culture of children assisting parents to perform specific tasks have accounted for the prevalence of child labour, as is indicated in the findings as part of the societal reality and socialization process. By this, she argues that instituting just economic-driven programs to curb the situation may fail to eradicate child labour, as the problem is holistic and transcends beyond just economic problems. To achieve this, Asare Konadu (2018) argues that a holistic, sustainable approach should commence with a socio-cultural lens, critically understand the problem

at its core, and put in place a bottom-up participatory approach to formulate and implement contextualized policies on child labour. I will include that her argument reveals how it is essential to look beyond just the economic drivers of child labour. Adding that is relevant to admit that the culture and socialization processes of seeing children taking up specific engagements like helping on family farms, cooking and other family-related tasks are critical when coming up with policies to curb child labour.

Incoherence with a participatory approach to exploring child labour, as recommended by Asare-Konadu, Aarti Kapoor (2017), in a report commissioned by Mondelez International's Cocoa Life Program, "Children at the Heart" assesses child labour and child slavery in Ghana's cocoa sector (Kapoor, 2017). Child labour, according to this report, is conceptualized by differentiating from child work; which is considered "as a broad spectrum of activities and conditions including children partaking in age-appropriate light work and chores which are neither harmful nor impede their enjoyment of other rights, such as their schooling" (p. 9).

Kapoor (2017), outlining the causes of child labour, indicates various drivers and push factors such as gender inequalities, child vulnerabilities, youth labour migrations, and cultural practices as some of the leading causes of child labour. In addition to pointing out the causes, the report acknowledges the role of economic and structural lack of access to essential services such as education, health, sanitation, and justice in heightening child labour, as is the case of some mainstream literature. The findings attribute socio-cultural factors, i.e. children supporting their parents with household chores etc., as some of the drivers or fertile conditions that entrench the problem of child labour. In this case, causes such as economic and lack of essential services directly

correlate with the absence of child labour. As such, these causes are instead directly responsible for the occurrence of child labour, with socio-cultural factors only breeding fertile grounds for its continuity. In elaborating the reasons, Kapoor (2017) acknowledges the need to understand and approach child labour issues in a specific manner or contexts and along with certain trends since the canker does not exist in isolation.

Similar to the approach suggested by Asare-Konadu, Kapoor (2017) recommends a participatory approach in addressing child labour by integrating the viewpoint of the child, family and community to ensure a more sustainable child-centred approach to tackling the problem. In doing so, calling for an approach that systemically responds to and finds a sustainable solution to some of the root exposures and drivers of child labour such as cultural practices etc. The author also adds that efforts excluding the identified causes and drivers instead provide very temporal and not sustainable solutions. In this case, the mere tackling of child labour by penalizing parents in cocoa-growing areas may instead compel children to engage in other child labour related activities apart from working on the cocoa farm. Prevention and mitigation programs that do not tackle and delve into the comprehensive root causes of the problem may sometimes end up replicating child labour issues in different contexts.

Advocating for a holistic approach to tackling the problem, Kapoor (2017) calls for strengthening essential support services such as education, health, justice, and water and sanitation by relevant stakeholders. In addition, she recommends the strengthening and building of existing national support systems and mechanisms by both the State and other non-state actors as some of the significant steps to help eradicate child labour. In addition, the findings reemphasize the significance of community participation and

engagement through direct work with community members to achieve the desired outcome of sustaining the prevention of child labour. In essence, she argues that "Every child has the right to grow up in an environment, conducive to safety from harm and with access to education and care", and thus a participatory approach which is more transformational ensures the sustainability of non-child labour or exploitative community. This argument reinforces the significance of the bottom-up or participatory approach and the engagement of communities, families, and children when coming up with comprehensive approaches in tackling child labour, as earlier suggested by Asare Konadu (2017).

Focusing on a community-centred approach, Mondelez International (2020), an American multinational confectionery food, holding, beverage and snack food company based in Chicago, provides an overview of how the risk of child labour in the cocoa value chain is addressed. As a mandate to ensure sustainability and the protection of human rights, Mondelez International undertakes its own Cocoa Life Project, targeted at the transformation of the cocoa sector and tackling specific wrongs through the implementation of a holistic program and the involvement of relevant stakeholders such as cocoa producers, governments and other agencies. In their strategy titled, "Addressing child labour in the cocoa supply chain through cocoa life's community-based approach", child labour is indicated as the beginning of the spectrum, where child work ends, and where the 'worst forms of child labour' begin. Outlining the worst form of child labour with indicators such as "child slavery, trafficking, sexual exploitation, engagement in armed conflict or the production or trafficking of drugs". In a more encompassing

language, child labour is described as including "any work which is illicit and is harmful to a child's health, safety and morals."

However, it is essential to note that the norm for children working on family farms is circular, as each generation has worked on a family farm as a child. As such, there is little to no realization that child labour puts their children's development at risk. Most families in cocoa-growing areas, especially in Ghana, are impeded by poverty, a very slow-paced development, and lack of access to necessities such as education, health infrastructure, food security, safe drinking water, etc. In the same light, it is only rational to understand that the tendency for paying for hired labour by a person plagued with the various challenges highlighted above is very unlikely. In this sense, children are relied on as substitute labour to offset the cost of production. This nevertheless does not exclude their exposure to hazards, and exploitative situations even within the family setting, especially in situations that engage in and accept barter systems such as the supply of farmhands for future reciprocation when needed. Based on that setting, labour migrations even of children are accommodated and normalized (Mondelez, 2020).

As a circular spectrum, being a cause and consequence, child labour only presents short-term resolutions to situations where farmers lack resources, eventually resulting in the loss of child development and further reproduction beyond generations. Mondelez International (2020) has therefore put in place a number of strategies at addressing child labour problems in cocoa-growing areas by strengthening child protection systems involving cocoa producers and cocoa-growing communities with contextualized measures, and also the active collaboration with industry and State as well as non-state actors to fight the occurrences of child labour in the chocolate industry. Specifically, the

primary strategy employed by the project aims at improving incomes from farming cocoa through improved farming practices, building the community's capacity through value-added skills training in leading their development, and thus ensuring sustainability, empowering women through livelihood intensification interventions and improving access to quality education by enforcing school attendance in collaboration with community leaders and other regulatory bodies.

Fairtrade International (n.d.) also explains that the causes of child labour are multifaceted, including underlying causes such as lack of access to quality education, discrimination, forced and unplanned migration due to conflict, and natural disasters, with the main driver being poverty. The causes mentioned above stand out clear and are distinct from the view that socio-culture reasons are some of the causes of child labour. Citing the ILO, which tracks and monitors child labour around the world, Fairtrade International (2021) elucidates that almost half of child labour incidents happen in Africa (72 million children), with 70 per cent of such children found in agriculture. Then again, nearly half in occupations or situations considered hazardous for their health and wellbeing. Fairtrade International has specific standards in addressing child labour and recommends using a community-centred approach to address child labour. This approach is not different from the approach proposed by Mondelez International. Both organizations advocate for partnerships with child inclusive, community-based systems and work with other State and non-state actors to mitigate child labour challenges or problems (Mondelez International, 2020).

Highlighting systemic drivers of child labour, Fairtrade International alludes to the systemic inequalities and unfair trading conditions as entrenched precipitating factors of

child labour. I am gleaning to the comprehensive approach of addressing child labour by an all-inclusive economic and rights-based, and socially focused community strategies as elaborated by Asare Konadu (2017) on the need for a child-centred approach to combat child labour in cocoa. This would ensure the provision of decent living conditions and address social contexts as employed by Mondelez International to the efforts at increasing community ownership of introduced interventions. In comparison, both organizations agree to a common causative factor of child labour in cocoa and identify a few similar approaches to address the problem.

In addressing their perspective of the primary cause of child labour, Fairtrade International (2021) introduced Fairtrade Minimum Prices and Premium (additional money paid for patronizing Fairtrade produce that goes to support workers, farmers and their communities) about decades ago, to improve incomes for farmers, and reinvest in community development as well. The institution of certifications is another strategy to curb child labour, with an independent audit mechanism working with producer communities and Fairtrade producers, and ensures those who do not adhere to the requirements are investigated and disengaged through decertification and other sanctions. Like Mondelez International, Fairtrade offers training and capacity building focusing on "young people and adults at the heart of tackling the root causes of child labour" in the local cocoa growing community (Fairtrade International, 2021, p. nd). Fairtrade's unique trait is providing space for children and adults from the producer communities to identify where children feel safe and unsafe and design projects to enhance children's participation. Fairtrade child labour standards spell out in their rules that children under fifteen (15) years of age should not be employed, children must work with the family

under strict conditions, and no engagement of children under eighteen (18) years in exploitative work (Fairtrade International, 2019).

A feature on Cocoa Post, an online web page, questions the authenticity of child labour statistics in Ghana, suggesting a misrepresentation of its prevalence. The feature, "When Cocoa "Child Labour" In Ghana Is NOT Child Labour" (2019), highlights the picture of child labour prevalence and justifies their position with the poor resource of farmers, which compels them to rely on the children as sources of labour on their cocoa farms. They highlight drivers such as systemic failures, pointing to the lack of educational infrastructure within cocoa-growing communities or nearby communities, thus presenting a choice between exposing children "to the dangerous routine of walking several miles or kilometres through thick bushes to school, or keep children working on the farm under supervision" (When Cocoa "Child Labour" In Ghana Is NOT Child Labour, 2019, paragraph 5)

The post further argues that most children working on farms are children of cocoa farmers and, in some cases, migrant workers. Labourers and tenant farmers sometimes move along with their families, and thus children found on such farms are sometimes children of the farm labourers. The children are often under adult supervision to avoid harm in both cases. Although children are exposed early, there is a general argument that this system serves as a space for children to map out career prospects and advance in their parents' trade, i.e., farming. This eventually results in the outcome of financial security, as is targeted by education, in the case of the western culture, for example, child actors etc. Essentially, the Cocoa Post argues that most duties described as child labour are

essentially child work, and as is parallel to the western culture, most successful careers start in a long haul at their tender ages; as such, the same applies to instituting children on cocoa farms that allows them to inculcate or build interest for farming.

From the varied perspectives from the authors and literature, what keeps coming up is the blurred line between child work and child labour. It has been clearly explained, as cited in (Kapoor, 2017), that child work is all the activities and conditions including children partaking in age-appropriate light work and chores which are neither harmful nor impede their enjoyment of other rights, such as their schooling, whereas, child labour according to Mondelez (2020) is the type of children's work, which is undesirable due to its negative impact on the child, whether physical or mental... [as a result of] interference with a child's school-work, their time to play, or because they are below the minimum legal age of employment. Although it seems clear when to call work done by a child laborious or exploitative, it is essential to note that this is highly contextual and can be easily contested, as is done in the Cocoa Post article and by Asare-konadu (2018). The question is, who then draws the line between the two concepts? Also, can it be standardized since it is highly contextual and debatable.

Fairtrade International's (2021) youth inclusive community-centred approach allows community members to classify safe work for a child. However, then some certifications are standardized, so are certifications tailored to suit community-specific safe tasks? This is not clearly stated and leaves vast questioning thoughts, expanding to the community-centred approach only being suited for specific areas, such as activities within the community, but then regarding the certification of their product, requiring different tenets. The challenge about contextualization is that tasks that may be deemed

harmful and exploitative in one setting may not necessarily be labeled as such in another. This therefore justifies the allegation of the construct of child labour being Europeanized or foreign (When Cocoa "Child Labour" In Ghana Is NOT Child Labour, 2019; Asare-Konadu, 2018).

It is therefore important to synergize community-specific conceptualization of child work and child labour with the certifications of producer communities so as to ensure a clear picture of the synergies, and if this is done, it should be made clear in certification processes by certifying bodies like Fairtrade International, and also global statutory bodies like the ILO which monitors child labour incidents. Fairtrade has stated in their standards against child labour that children under fifteen (15) years of age should not be employed; children must work with the family under strict conditions, no engagement of children under eighteen (18) years in exploitative work (Fairtrade International, 2019). The ILO also clearly spells out regulations through convention 138 which came into force in 1976, and stipulates minimum age for light work at thirteen (13), and dangerous work for eighteen (18) and sixteen (16) depending on the conditions. Convention 182 was adopted in 1999, the convention prohibits all the engagement of children in the worst forms of child labour. A clear understanding will reduce the statistics in child labour, in two ways. First, being the exclusion of child work that is perceived as child labour based on international standards, and secondly, the intentional withdrawal of the actual child labour activities, through the sensitization of the cocoa producers, children and other members of the community.

The causes as highlighted in the various literature above either revolve around endemic poverty and/or socio-cultural factors. The two broad areas are easily connected,

with socio-cultural arrangements such as gender inequalities, systemic vulnerabilities, the generational practise of child labour, serving as accommodating platforms or drivers for child labour incidents caused by endemic poverty, including the lack of access to necessities such as education and income. With the reverse also true, as endemic poverty causes the need for exploiting children as sources of labour, causing the maintenance of a social status quo of the generational provision of labour as children, reproducing existing socio-cultural factors pertaining to child labour. Therefore, it is shortsighted to address one spectrum of causes, leaving the other as suggested and indicated by Asare-Konadu (2018). Their interconnectedness demands a holistic approach in addressing child labour, as recommended by Kapoor (2017) and practiced by Mondelez International (2020) and Fairtrade International (2021).

In as much as child work may be contextual, there are clear actions that cause apparent harm to the child, classified under the worst forms of child labour. These may not be exhaustive due to the contexts, but there should be a clear line approved by all stakeholders, including children and communities across diverse areas. Such an understanding will not only improve the livelihoods of both children and their families. However, it will give a clearer picture of cocoa purchasing bodies locally and internationally about the child labour dilemma. This will address the contestations about child work that even national governments introduce when their exports are threatened to be blacklisted because of the high prevalence of child labour. It also guides international regulatory boards on the distinctions to ensure clarity in cases that flout the rules regarding child labour and those that are highly contested because of cultural connotations of child work. A community-centred or participatory approach is a good

starting point to clarify the intersections on what child labour is across regions. It also serves as an excellent medium to address exploitative actions that are branded as child work due to toxic cultural functions.

SECTION 2: THE ROLE OF FAIRTRADE IN COMBATTING CHILD LABOUR IN GHANA'S COCOA SECTOR

This section of the paper explores the related findings from key informant interviews, and provides a detailed discussion on the role of Fairtrade in combatting child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. From the literature discussions, poverty has been identified as one of the leading causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector, the literature highlights a number of factors such as low incomes of cocoa farmers and households in cocoa growing areas are some of the main contributory factors. The low levels of cocoa farmers' income have made it difficult for them to afford the services of adult labourers to work on their farms but instead rely on the cheap services of labour provided by children (Osment 2014; Hamenoo et al, 2018)

I agree that poverty is and continues to be a significant contributor to the persistent occurrences of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. Children from poor households within cocoa growing areas provide services on cocoa farms to enable them to raise money to contribute to household income and upkeep. In addition, due to low prices of cocoa in the market, cocoa farmers remain poor and are unable to cover the cost of production or make enough profits, so they tend to engage the services of children during cocoa production thereby leading to high incidence of child labour in most cocoa growing areas. In addition, the high cost of inputs during cocoa production, and the lack of access to credit to finance farming activities are also some of the contributory factors (Yahaya et al., 2015).

The revelation and conclusions of the various arguments in the literature that points to poverty as a major cause of child labour is affirmed by the findings of field key

informant interviews. All fifteen respondents interviewed argued that poverty is one of the main contributors of child labour in Fairtrade cocoa growing communities. One could draw a conclusion that poverty is a predominant cause of child labour in both Fairtrade and non-Fairtrade cocoa production. Kofi Manu (not his real name) one of the Fairtrade cocoa farmers had this to say when asked about some of the main causes of child labour in Fairtrade cocoa in Ghana.

“It is all about poverty and finances. When your pocket is dried, it is difficult not to allow your child or children not to work to bring you some money to support the family. You may find a school that may ask the child to bring money to pay for something else, and the parents might not be in any position to pay for it, and if there is some kind of job to pay for it, maybe by carrying some logs or do some kind of work on the cocoa farm, yes the parent sneak out and allow the children to work to bring in some monies” (Kofi Manu, Farmer)

Throughout out the literature, the lack of access to education and educational infrastructure in Ghana’s cocoa growing communities have also been identified as major causes of child labour in Ghana’s cocoa sector. As a result of this, children walk several kilometers to access education in neighboring communities, a situation that does not motivate families to allow their children walk such long distances to access formal education. In other instances, where cocoa growing communities have a few schools, the school infrastructure is either in a deplorable state, not adequate or does not have enough teachers (Admassie, 2002; Odonkor, 2007; Osment, 2014).

This is confirmed by key informant interviews with Fairtrade cocoa farmers and officials. They stated that the lack of educational infrastructure is a major contributory factor to child labour in Fairtrade cocoa. Kwabena Owusu (not his real name) a Fairtrade cocoa farmer, had this say about how inadequate educational infrastructure has contributed to child labour in cocoa growing communities.

“It might happen in one way or the other, there are times that, when it rains heavily, the roads from one of the villages to nearest communities that have a school is far, and when it rains the children are unable to walk to school, and that has affected their schooling. So While the child is at home, it might reach the time for the father to go to the farm, so he can ask the child to accompany him to the farm simply because the child has not gone to school or he is not enrolled in school, and the parent too cannot leave the child at home alone, so the parent might ask the child to come to the farm with him, so if you are not a native but a foreigner and you visit the community and see that, you will assume the child is being engaged in child labour, even though that may not be the intention but because of one thing or the other”. (Kwabena Owusu, Farmer)

The literature also identifies sociocultural factors and the socialization of families that has complicated the child labour debate in cocoa production. The complex nature of the issue has been clouded with cultural underpinnings thereby making it difficult to distinguish between child work and child labour. The literature highlights how families perceive children working on cocoa farms as a process of training, good upbringing and socialization within the society and culture. (Admassie,2000; Boas and Huser, 2006; Kolavalli and Vigneri 2011; Olivier and Edmonds 2019; UNICEF, 2005).

I agree with the revelation of the literature that sociocultural factors have impacted the definitions of child labour thus culture and socialization play a critical role in the causes of child labour in cocoa, and makes it more complicated in handling issues of child labour in cocoa growing areas in Ghana. This is because children are made to work on cocoa farms as part of their cultural upbringing and socialization processes where children accompany parents to cocoa farms and contribute by performing some assigned tasks, and to also imbibe in them the sense of responsibility during their childhood, as well as prepare them adequately to inherit family cocoa farms. As the major causes of child labour in Ghana's cocoa have been identified per the literature discussions and key informant interviews, the subsequent part of this section will delve into the detailed activities of Fairtrade and if Fairtrade has contributed to remedy the situation of child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector.

Fairtrade is a system of certification that aims to ensure a set of standards are met in the production and supply of a product or ingredient. For farmers and workers, Fairtrade means workers' rights, safer working conditions and fairer pay. For shoppers it means high quality, ethically produced products. Fairtrade works with producer cooperatives, businesses and governments to make sure trade is fair to everybody. In collaboration and partnership with Fairtrade producers and workers they thrive for a world in which trade is based on fairness so that producers earn secure and sustainable livelihoods. Fairtrade has over 1.7 million farmers and workers in 1,707 producer organizations globally with 322,000 cocoa producers (Fairtrade International, 2018).

To achieve fairness and promote the welfare of producers and workers, Fairtrade has put in place a set of standards and benchmarks to guide and regulate the operations of

farmer cooperatives and buyers under the certification regime. To ensure effective implementation of the standards, Fairtrade has allocated specific standard requirements to the various categories of its members, what this means is that, there are different sets of standards for each category such as small producer organizations, hired labour organizations, contract production, climate, trader standard, textile, gold and associated precious metals (Fairtrade International, 2019)

For the purposes of this paper, we will limit our discussion to only the standards requirements of small producer organizations with emphasis on cocoa and child labour. The standards for small scale producers highlight various areas that small producer organizations in the cocoa production must adhere to and comply with. In the area of certification, small scale producers must demonstrate its status as an established producer organization with all the needed legal registration documentation by law. The organization must also appoint a contact person to handle all matters related to certification, and must accept audits and unannounced visits by officers of Fairtrade and other relevant stakeholders (Fairtrade International, 2019)

In addition, the organization's decision to join Fairtrade should be a collective one and must not be taken by a few selected and influential individuals. Two thirds of membership of the small producer organization must comprise small producers, of which members must have legal and legitimate right to their land. In terms of traceability, small producer organizations must have effective records and documentation of all Fairtrade related matters such as sales, product flows, records of inputs and outputs etc. Sourcing and contract standards must be met by all small producer organizations, by this, sourcing must be properly done with the signing of binding purchasing contract agreements. SPOs

must also not sign contracts when they are suspended or decertified as members of Fairtrade (Fairtrade International, 2019).

The small producer organization's standards further call for prudent management and production practices to inform members about Fairtrade standards, and also identify areas of risks of noncompliance. In areas of environmental management, biodiversity protection and climate change, small producer organizations must receive adequate training on integrated pest management, and safe handling of hazardous training material, the wearing of personal protective equipment, awareness on hazardous material and the attributed risks, and also implement mitigation and adaptation measures in climate change (Fairtrade International, 2019).

In terms of labour, the freedom from compulsory labour and nondiscrimination aspect of the standards advocates for non-discriminations during recruitments, and prohibits gender-based violence and issues of harassment in the day-to-day operations of producer organizations. In terms of child labour, as one of the core certification requirements the standards advocate that, small producer organizations should not engage the services of children under the age of fifteen (15), children who work with family members should work under strict conditions and monitoring, no dangerous or exploitative work for children under eighteen (18) years, remediation of child labour and that small producer organizations that identify any form of risks of child labour must take the necessary preventive measures. Fairtrade is committed to fighting the root causes of child labour by preventing the abuse and exploitation of children. To prevent the prevalence of child labour in Fairtrade cocoa, Fairtrade certified producers are trained on the certification's core principles of child labour which are connected and defined by the

International Labour Organization through minimum wage and worst forms of child labour conventions. In terms of business and development, small producer organizations must incorporate all the activities they intend to fund every year with their premiums into the Fairtrade development plan. The plan must be well placed to distribute Fairtrade income among different members of the organization (Fairtrade International, 2019). Fairtrade certification of cocoa was introduced to help overcome some of the challenges that confronted cocoa production. The first certification of cocoa was arranged in 1994 by a foundation known as the Max Havelaar in the Netherlands, and the product was Green and Blacks Maya chocolate made with cocoa from Belize in Central America (Wikipedia, n.d).

Cocoa all over the world is continuously grown on small family farms with 70% of producers coming from West Africa, specifically Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Farmers in cocoa production put in a lot of hard work during the period of production by carrying out activities such as protecting their crops from wind, pest, sun and other diseases, and ensuring their cocoa is properly cared for. Cocoa trees usually begin to yield pods by the fifth year and continue to do so at the same level for the next ten (10) years. It is however important to note that, with all the hard work, cost and other investment in the production of cocoa, cocoa farmers tend to earn and gain very little from global cocoa trade (Fairtrade International, 2021). With over 322,000 small producer cocoa farmers globally, Fairtrade standards on fair and premium prices ensures cocoa farmers are paid specific premium prices which are guaranteed and stable irrespective of the market fluctuation of cocoa prices. In addition, cocoa farmers receive an extra sum of money known as Fairtrade premiums, which is meant to invest into their businesses and community

projects of their choice. It is estimated that Fairtrade cocoa farmers receive \$68 million dollars annually as premiums (Fairtrade Canada, n.d)

Child labour is among the many challenges confronting Fairtrade cocoa farmers, and continues to be prevalent in the sector. Child labour in Fairtrade cocoa is a very complex issue that is rooted in poverty, and other related factors as highlighted in the literature. One the core mandates of the Fairtrade standards is to ensure child protection and the prohibition of child labour in the Fairtrade cocoa production value chain. Although Fairtrade through its applications of the standards has implemented numerous interventions to ensure cocoa is produced devoid of the labour services of children, it has not successfully brought the menace to its barest minimum. The remainder of the section dives deep into some of the measures that Fairtrade has put in place to help eradicate child labour prevalence in Ghana's cocoa sector.

Measures and interventions to curb child labour in Fairtrade cocoa

In Fairtrade's quest to promote a cocoa sector value chain devoid of child labour related challenges, the certification body has put in place a number of long term sustainable measures to help stop the occurrences of child labour in Fairtrade cocoa in Ghana. In doing so, Fairtrade provides premiums and fairer prices for cocoa to support cocoa farmers, provides technical training and support to build the capacity of cocoa farmers, educational support through infrastructure and scholarships and regular monitoring and enforcement of sanctions for producers who flout Fairtrade standards. The rest of the section will reflect deeply on the above-mentioned interventions that have been put in place by Fairtrade to stop or eradicate child labour.

Fairer prices and payment of premiums for cocoa

The payment of fairer prices and Fairtrade premiums to cocoa farmers is one of the many strategies of Fairtrade to eradicate child labour on Ghana's cocoa farms. The grey and academic literature, as well as key informant interviews identified poverty as one of the leading causes of child labour in cocoa growing communities in Ghana. To help over this, Fairtrade cocoa farmers are paid an additional \$240 USD as premium for every ton of cocoa being sold to help support the cocoa farmers and their communities. Fairtrade Canada reports that cocoa farmers receive about 68 million US dollars yearly as premiums. (Fairtrade Canada,n.d). Fairtrade prices and premiums help increase cocoa farmers' income and gives them the opportunity to invest in their cocoa farms, and also hire the services of an active adult labour population to work on their farms. It also puts them in a proper position to engage the needed farm hands to work on their farms rather than rely on cheap farm labour from children in cocoa growing and neighboring communities. For instance, as of October 2021, Fairtrade cocoa is sold at 2400USD per ton, which is higher than the price of non-Fairtrade cocoa of 1712 USD per ton in the global markets.

Although many cocoa farmers and other stakeholders in the cocoa sector are of the view that the Fairtrade premiums and prices are not good enough and need to be increased, which I strongly agree with, the current prices still contribute to increasing farmers' income to be able to cover the cost of production as well as afford adult labour to work on their farms. During key informant interviews, Kwabena Mensa (not his real name), one of the respondents who is an official with one of the agencies, testifies to this

by stating how Fairtrade premiums and prices have supported cocoa farmers over the years.

“Since poverty is one of the major causes of child labour, Fairtrade ensures that Fairtrade certified farmers receive fairer prices and additional premiums from the sale of their cocoa, which goes a long way to improve farmer incomes to be able to afford the services of adult labour to work on their farms and also cover the cost of production”

Technical trainings and support for cocoa farmers

Fairtrade builds the capacity of farmers in various areas such as technical trainings on sustainable cocoa production, child labour policies and responsible farming practices to boost their cocoa production. The training is meant to help improve quality cocoa production and increase volumes while ensuring environmental protection and sustainability. Fairtrade provides training in areas such as fertilizer applications, pest management, weeding and planting techniques, climate change adaptation and coping strategies, crop diversity and rotation. The technical training has successfully supported in building the capacity of the cocoa farmers to improve their production, increase their crop yields to generate more revenue to be able to afford the services of lawful farm labour for their farming activities. Although Fairtrade has been able to improve farmers’ income through several trainings, there is still the need to continuously improve upon the existing support by ensuring farmers are constantly abreast with new farming and other agronomy techniques and provided with adequate agricultural extension workers especially in rural cocoa growing areas to constantly assist and train cocoa farmers.

A recent evaluation on the outcomes of Fairtrade's West Africa Cocoa programme, which was launched in 2016 to build a strong and viable Fairtrade small producer organization made several revelations on how impactful Fairtrade training has been to cocoa farmers. The program successfully provided trainings for 230 Fairtrade producers in areas such as strong resilience to climate, business coaching skills, child labour, climate smart agriculture practices and many others. The beneficiary farmers admitted to an improvement in their internal management systems, stronger finance and bookkeeping, and access to banking services. They also indicated that the training in good agricultural practices has led to an improvement in cocoa quality and higher yields which also leads to an increase in their income (Confectionery News.com, October 1, 2021).

Monitoring, auditing and enforcement of sanctions

The application of sanctions and revocation of Fairtrade certifications of cocoa cooperatives whose farmers engage the services of children on their cocoa farms is one of the sanctions undertaken by the Fairtrade audit team. The team of Fairtrade audit officials embarks on unannounced audit visits to cocoa farms to ensure farmers are not engaging in any activities that are in contravention with Fairtrade standards. In addition, through the Fairtrade child labour remediation systems program, an intervention that seeks to fight the occurrences of child labour in Fairtrade cocoa, project intervention team carries out frequent monitoring and auditing of cocoa farms and communities to ensure farmers adhere to the stipulated child labour standards of not engaging the services of children to work on their cocoa farms.

In addition to the above, the Fairtrade child labour remediation team ensures that these monitoring and auditing activities are carried out on a regular basis to keep farmers

and their communities in check throughout the cocoa farming season. In some instances, Fairtrade certified cocoa cooperatives that are found to violate these standards and regulations are issued with proper sanctions such as the revocation of certification. To ensure and guarantee stronger enforcements, Fairtrade also builds stronger collaborations with key opinion leaders and law enforcement agencies within cocoa growing communities to arrest and prosecute perpetrators of child labour if any cocoa farmer or community member is found to engage in the practice. During the key informant interviews, Kwabena Mensa (not his real name) had this to say about the various child labour remediation measures put in place by Fairtrade;

“For us as at Fairtrade, we have stringent audit measures put in place. In fact, the auditor, you may never know how he will twist a question or come with a question in that way, trying to find out whether indeed there is child labour incidence. Now we have understood there is not supposed to be any child labour. Child labour for that matter means school time the child should not be loitering about or doing some other work while he is indeed needed in the classroom, these things should not happen, but when it happens once in a while, we beat drums and we discuss it. There have been two occasions that we have to threaten these women that if they keep on market days to allow the children to stay out of school to help them on their farms the police will come around, even though we do not have any legitimate means to allow police to come and arrest them. So, we sensitize the farmers. Apart from the auditing issues if you are found, it becomes a major noncompliance issue, and you are not going to get your premium.”.

(Kwabena Mensa, Farmer)

This approach is considered an effective means of putting Fairtrade cocoa farmers on check to prevent the persistent causes of child labour as revealed in the field data. Some of the farmers are compelled to abide by the standards since they are unable to tell when Fairtrade audit officials will be visiting their cocoa farms. Some farmers alluded to this during key informant interviews by revealing that due to the fear of losing their Fairtrade certification status and premiums, they do not engage the services of children to work on their farms at all. As cocoa farmers are aware that Fairtrade standards on certification permits unannounced visits by the Fairtrade audit team, Fairtrade certified producers ensure that they abide by the standards as stipulated by Fairtrade, so they do not find themselves facing sanctions and punishment for breaching any of the standards on child labour and protection.

Education and sensitization of cocoa farmers and community members

In the quest to ensure children and other actors within the cocoa value chain are well informed about child labour policies and the implications of child labour in the cocoa sector, Fairtrade embarks on a number of sensitization activities and trainings in schools and cocoa growing communities. Fairtrade through the child labour monitoring and remediation system has facilitated the formation of child labour school clubs and community committees in cocoa growing communities to help sensitize school children and community members on the negative impacts and implications of child labour on children and their communities. This approach encompasses sensitization workshops and trainings on various child labour policies as well as the impacts of child labour on children's welfare, community, national and global development. Through these programmes, cocoa farmers are well sensitized on the various global and national child

welfare policies as well as the various Fairtrade certification standards on child labour and protection. In addition, cocoa farmers are also educated on the various global and national children's protection acts as well as other international conventions and regulations that govern child welfare and wellbeing. Kojo Asante (not his real name), shared his opinion on the impacts of the sensitization interventions on the farmers and how beneficial the sensitization has been to cocoa farmers.

“We have the dignity for all program, that is the education program that sends messages to the farmers in the villages, and the farmers or caretakers are being advised on the safety or proper way to use their children. It is also supporting the organization with some funds so that these programs continue to reach the farmers directly, and these are some of the programs Fairtrade is doing, and we have also been organizing education for the leaders, and also establishing some clubs and committees on child labour to support the activities in the community, so if a committee member sees a child in this act, he prompts the parent, advice the parent and draws the parent's attention to whatever the person is doing. When it gets worst, it comes to the board, the board of the Union will meet and deliberate, the person can be dismissed from the group and can be reported to the Municipal Assembly's section responsible for child labour for further sanctions to be

taken on the person. This is what we have trained and asked our people to do”.

Provision of educational infrastructure and scholarships for cocoa growing communities

As one of the core strategies to eliminate child labour in the cocoa growing communities, Fairtrade together with the producer organizations use Fairtrade premiums to provide educational infrastructure, scholarships and learning materials in some cocoa communities. For instance, Fairtrade over the years has invested hugely in child education and infrastructure. The lack of access to educational facilities and scholarship opportunities for children in cocoa growing areas has posed a huge road block in remediating child labour. As part of the Fairtrade development plans, producer organizations allocate parts of the premiums accrued to support the provision of educational facilities in their communities. In the 2015/16 year, Fairtrade producers invested 3% out of their total 316.6 million euros annual premium total earnings into education globally (Fairtrade International, 2018).

The provision and expansion of education infrastructure is one of the effective ways of giving educational access to children in cocoa growing communities, and encourages families to enroll their children into schools without huge financial implications, and prevents children from walking several kilometers to access formal education in neighboring communities. During field interviews, an official from one of the organizations had this to say about their educational interventions towards curbing child labour in cocoa growing communities in Ghana.

“As part of the intervention approaches, one of them is to increase investment in preventive measures as in, investments in the educational sector by these producer organizations. So they usually invest in educational infrastructure, so you will see most of

our producer organizations investing in classroom blocks, teacher quarters, water and other sanitation issues, they look at the risks indicators that predisposes children to child labour, there is also an increase in investments in students scholarships, there were mostly investing in secondary school because the basic school was free for the public sector, and right now that the secondary school is also free because the free senior high school policy, they are now even supporting tertiary students. So these are all measures to enhance access to quality education and reduce child labour. They are also helping to provide back packs and other school supplies for children as a way of investing in education to control child labour". (KPI, Official)

In conclusion, Fairtrade has provided various forms of support to help curb and reduce child labour in Ghana's cocoa's sector. From the interviews with respondents, although these contributions remain significant, there is the need to improve a number of areas. The next section of the paper delves into the areas of Fairtrade interventions that need some improvements.

SECTION 3: FAIRTRADE INTERVENTION AREAS THAT NEED IMPROVEMENTS

This section identifies the various areas of Fairtrade interventions that cocoa farmers and officials of the institutions within the cocoa value chain who were interviewed during fieldwork propose for improvement. The section of the discussion is mainly based on the recommendations and opinions of Fairtrade certified farmers and officials of the institutions who were interviewed during fieldwork. The core areas that were recommended for improvements are Fairtrade premiums and prices, investments in education infrastructure and scholarships, technical support and training for cocoa farmers.

Improved Fairtrade producer prices, premiums and access to markets

Cocoa farmers who were interviewed during key informant interviews advocated and recommended an increase in the prices for cocoa in the global markets, as well as an increase in Fairtrade premiums for producer organizations. The current Fairtrade price for a ton of cocoa is \$2400USD, with a premium contribution of \$240 USD per ton. The global politics of pricing and regulations has made it difficult for cocoa farmers to determine their own prices. The use of price mechanism regimes by local and international regulatory bodies like Ghana Cocoa Board have not given producers the opportunity to determine their prices. A general improvement in Fairtrade premium prices will help improve cocoa farmers' household incomes, improve their general household welfare, and also help fund the education of their children. It will also give Fairtrade Certified cocoa farmers the financial strength to be able to engage the services of adult labour to work on their cocoa farms instead of children.

Fairtrade cocoa farmers also want Fairtrade to broaden their market horizons globally to help generate more income, and also give them the opportunity to create competition among buyers of their cocoa by connecting producers to more international markets and buyers. The access to international Fairtrade chocolate markets to sell their cocoa produce will put cocoa farmers in a very good bargaining position to be able to sell their produce to buyers who offer good trading conditions, and further gives the farmer the opportunity to generate more income from farming activities. When asked about which of the Fairtrade interventions he will recommend for improvement, this is what Adua Abuga (not his real name) said:

“The chocolate producing companies that buy cocoa have to buy it at a reasonable price, they shouldn’t collude and connive and beat down prices and decide to buy it at any price that they want. Fine, they can buy it at any price that you want then the money that you are offering cannot help us to maintain our farms and reduce cost, so what we are having cannot do all the work, so assuming that you have to employ someone to gather the cocoa for me and you see cocoa trees when they get to that stage, and you will harvest it on time, So you will need people to support you on the farm, and If you do not have money by the close of the day the cost that you incur as a result of the hands you employ will not be what you are getting, quickly you have to maybe employ your children to help you because the cocoa too is getting rotten and you do not have money to employ people to assist you, so if you have children who can support you, you engage them, and that will lead to child labour, so when we are trying to do trainings, We should look at areas that we can channel monies to support the cocoa farmer, so we should also look at living wage or living income so that the buyers will buy at a reasonable price so that

farmers will have money, and we have money there is no way we can invite our children to engage in farm work during school hours.”

Frequent and continuous sensitization of cocoa farmers and communities on child labour

Since inadequate knowledge about child labour among cocoa farmers, children and community members have accounted for the persistent causes of child labour, some key informants during field interviews advocated for sensitizations on child labour to be improved in cocoa growing communities. The respondents think that although Fairtrade currently carries out a number of sensitization interventions such as child labour workshops, formation of child labour school clubs, formation of child labour watch dog committees, there is still the need for Fairtrade to intensify its efforts towards introducing more sensitization programs on child labour in various cocoa growing communities. A lot of actors in the Fairtrade space admit that access to, and a continuous improvement of knowledge on child labour related issues of cocoa farmers, children, community members and opinion leaders will help reduce its persistent occurrence in the cocoa production value chain.

Socio cultural factors such as socialization and upbringing processes where children accompany parents and support with various tasks on cocoa farms were also identified in the literature as part of the major causes of child labour in cocoa, this problem can however be tackled through sensitization and advocacy on child labour among households in cocoa growing communities. The intensification of efforts on the education of cocoa farmers, children, parents and community members on the various international and local child labour laws, acts, policies and other regulations will help

curb the problem of child labour. This approach will help improve the knowledge of the various actors on child labour policies, and also work towards obeying them to prevent the continuous engagement of children on cocoa farms.

A Fairtrade cocoa farmer had this about the improvement of the knowledge of cocoa farmers on child labour;

“There should be continuous sensitization of cocoa farmers, school children and opinion leaders. This will help them understand the consequences of child labour in the cocoa sector and the need to stop engaging children to work on farms instead being in the classrooms to learn so they can be better people tomorrow.”

Provision of educational infrastructure and scholarships in cocoa growing communities

The lack of access to educational infrastructure and other educational opportunities in cocoa growing areas was also highlighted in the literature as one of the main drivers of child labour. In the discussions, it was revealed that the lack of educational infrastructure and access to education in cocoa growing communities is a major contributor to the high prevalence of child labour. Most cocoa growing areas do not have enough educational infrastructure or may not even have schools at all, as a result of this, children in some of these communities are unable to enroll in school while those who are enrolled are sometimes compelled to walk several kilometers to access education in other communities. To be able to address the situation, there is the need for more investment in educational infrastructure in cocoa growing communities.

Fairtrade through their community development plans and premiums should ensure the construction of more schools and classrooms in cocoa growing communities,

and also provide scholarships for children to be able access education. Some key informants during the fieldwork advocated for an improvement in investments in the educational sector to improve access to quality education and infrastructure in cocoa growing communities. education in neighboring communities. Chris Buyers (2011) argue that, to guarantee the achievement of significant outcomes, the educational system should have a considerable human and physical resources which includes community-based school management committees, Parent Teacher Associations and information and inspection systems all well harnessed and put in place to monitor child labour in cocoa growing communities.

In addition to the above, due to the high levels of poverty in some cocoa growing communities, parents are unable to fund the education of their children. Some key informants during the field interviews also asked that Ghana's School Feeding Programme, a Government of Ghana intervention that provides free food for children in the Basic and Junior High schools should be extended and expanded to cover other schools within cocoa growing areas, and that the intervention helps improve school enrolment rates in cocoa growing areas.

“In my opinion, Fairtrade Africa should advocate and advice the President of Ghana, for instance the school feeding programme is something that has come to support the farmers' wards to be in school, so when there is school feeding in that area, the child gets to school and he is fed, so there will be no question of demanding money from your parents. FTA should still bend on facilitating, educating stakeholders like our partners, the government, cocoa board and all other institutions should come on board to establish proper school feeding programs in the various schools in the cocoa communities”

Technical support and trainings for cocoa farmers

Cocoa farmers during key informant interviews also acknowledged the contributions of technical support and training to the improvement of their annual cocoa yields, and income to be able to afford the services of adult labour as well as meet the educational needs of their children. Fairtrade certified cocoa farmers receive regular training on pesticide, weedicide and fertilizer applications, climate change adaptation strategies, farming methods etc. to help boost their cocoa production. Cocoa farmers advocate that trainings on good agricultural practices should be intensified to build the capacity of farmers on new technologies of farming to help boost crop production. Cocoa farmers also advocate for continuous refresher trainings in other areas of Fairtrade standards especially on child labour. The continuous training will give farmers the requisite skills to produce quality cocoa for the international markets while abiding by the core Fairtrade principles and standards.

CONCLUSION

Cocoa production is important to the livelihoods of many households in Ghana and the national economy. The literature has strongly established that the involvement of children in cocoa production is not a novelty in Ghana. Children play vital roles in small-holder cocoa-producing families who form the majority of cocoa producers in Ghana. A significant number of studies by both local and international scholars on cocoa production in Ghana have centered on issues of child labour. However, the worst forms of child labour and child work has not been detached from each other. Therefore, cocoa producers and researchers hold different interpretations of child labour.

Whilst some researchers define child labour from the perceptive of hazards posed to children within the lens of international and national legal instruments, the Ghanaian cocoa farmer on the other hand, interprets child labour as child work from the Ghanaian socio-cultural and economic norms of socializing children into the rudiments of farming. Children, therefore, learn by working and contributing to family ventures. In many cocoa-growing communities and the larger Ghanaian society, it is believed that the rudiments of work in this case farming is traditionally transferred from generation to generation through the family hence the need to involve children in farm activities at an early age.

A critical examination of the literature on child labour in cocoa-producing communities in Ghana shows that researchers who applied their understanding of cultural norm of Ghanaians to their study report findings which contradict the findings of researchers who did otherwise. Nonetheless, the literature is consistent that children engaged in the cocoa sector perform hazardous work but there are also shreds of evidence pointing to the fact that some children in the sector also perform age-appropriate tasks

based on the capacity of their physical strength. This revelation has consequently resulted in the categorization of children in child labour into five groups. These categories are:

1. Children in school and involved in cocoa farm work only after school hours. Some of them consistently combine hazardous work on the farm with schooling.
2. Children who are in school but intermittently drop out of school to perform farming activities on the cocoa farms predominantly during the major planting and harvesting seasons.
3. Children who are involved full time in cocoa farming with their families and sometimes hire their labour out because they have dropped out of school before the end of completing basic education due to reasons such as the lack of financial support from parents or death of parents, and other family support.
4. Children who have never been enrolled into school or had any form of formal education and are engaged in cocoa farming.
5. Migrant children, from other parts of Ghana, who are engaged in cocoa farming with a kin and/or given out to an extended family member, neighbour or friend or cocoa farmer solely for farming purposes.

The causes of children working in the cocoa sector of Ghana are mixed but the outstanding causes are predominantly economic or poverty related, lack of awareness and the impact that child labour has on the development children, the inadequate educational infrastructure in cocoa growing communities, and the socio-cultural causes through socialization and upbringing of children. The study also identified that child labour has significant effects on the health and educational welfare of children.

In terms of Fairtrade's contribution to bringing child labour in Ghana's cocoa production under control, the research concludes that Fairtrade has put in place interventions such as providing fairer prices and payments of Fairtrade premiums, provision of technical trainings and support for cocoa farmers, the effective monitoring, auditing and enforcement of strong sanctions against perpetrators of child labour, the education and sensitization of farmers and community members on Fairtrade standards on child labour, and lastly the provision of educational infrastructure and scholarships for cocoa growing areas.

By these interventions, it would be fair to conclude that Fairtrade is working well and contributing significantly to reducing the prevalence of child labour in Ghana's Fairtrade cocoa sector. Cocoa farmers and officials within the sector however think there is still the need to improve a number of intervention areas. They recommended areas such as an increase in Fairtrade producer prices and premiums, provision of more technical trainings and input support for farmers, provision of more educational infrastructure, learning materials and scholarships in cocoa growing communities, and the continuous sensitization of farmers, children and community members about child labour policies.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Full Study Title: Fairtrade and child labour in Ghana's Cocoa Sector: Challenges, Gaps and Recommendations.

SMU REB # 21__-__079 _

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Introduction

My name is Edgar Balinia Adda, a Graduate Student of the Department of International Development Studies, St Mary's University, Halifax Canada. As part of my master's thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Gavin Fridell. I am a graduate student being funded by the FGSR, however as the Principal Investigator for the study, I do not have any financial interest in conducting the study. The study is for academic purposes and preparations towards the attainment of a Master of Arts Degree in International Development Studies from Saint Mary's University.

You are therefore invited to participate in a formal interview that will provide an in depth and detailed feedback on Child labour in Ghana's Fairtrade cocoa sector from your perspective. Kindly note that this is an academic research, and your willingness to participate is voluntary thus you have the right to choose whether you will want to participate or not. Kindly be assured, the research is structured in a manner that your participation and the outcome of the findings will not in any way affect your status of work and will not cause any form of harm to you.

Purpose of the Research

The study aims at identifying the persistent causes of child labour in Fairtrade Cocoa; challenges that confront agencies and stakeholders like Fairtrade West Africa Network and Ghana Cocoa Board from resolving issues of child labour; and identify and reveal some of the policy, program implementation and literature gaps in the sector; then arrive at various forms of recommendations for policy formulation. Although a lot of work has been done to curb the situation, the problem of child labour in Fairtrade Cocoa has been persistent thus the need to double up efforts to ensure a complete eradication of the problem. The situation has had significant impacts on the lives of children, their families, communities, and Ghana as a whole. It is against this background that the study will identify the various causes, program and policy gaps, and the possible recommendations through qualitative in-depth interviews with major key informants from relevant government institutions, NGOs and Fairtrade Certified Cocoa Farmers. The study will further provide an important basis for advancing knowledge in Fairtrade and Child labour issues in Ghana's Cocoa Sector. The study is also intended to inform policy and provide

various strategies and interventions to combat Child labour in Ghana's Fairtrade Cocoa Sector.

Who is eligible to take part? (Or who is being invited to participate?)

Officials of Ghana Cocoa Board, Fairtrade West Africa Network, International Cocoa Initiative, Fairtrade certified cocoa farmers from the selected cocoa growing communities.

What does participating mean? (or what will I be invited to do?)

The research will be carried out in the Eastern, Western and Greater Accra Regions of Ghana. Prior to participating, participants will be briefed about the study and taken through the consent processes to offer the needed consent to be part of the study or the research. The research will adopt in-depth interviews with key informants from government institutions, NGOs in Fairtrade Cocoa specifically working on child labour and Fairtrade Certified cocoa farmers. The principles of confidentiality will be highly considered to ensure participants are well protected against any form of harm from the study. Secondary sources of data will also be considered during the research. These sources will be journals, articles, newspaper publications, government, and NGO reports. Data obtained from secondary sources will be used to complement the findings of the primary or key informant data to support various findings and arguments in the research. In depth interview recordings or data will be transcribed and classified into various themes under the study for the discussion of findings. As participants, you will be asked to provide or express your opinions on a few issues that are related to Fairtrade and child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector. With your permission and consent, these interviews will

be recorded, and are expected to be a onetime event that will take approximately 45 minutes to complete. The field interviews are expected to take place between 1st June 2021 and 30 June 2021, depending on the availability of all the participants. Although the interview period will be a onetime event, the different groups of people will be interviewed at separate times throughout the period allocated for the data collection.

What are the potential benefits of this research?

The study will provide an important basis for advancing knowledge in Fairtrade and child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector, it will further identify new strategies to combat child labour in the Fairtrade cocoa sector, fill in some of the existing policy gaps for government and relevant stakeholder action, and make recommendations for some new policies and implementation. The study further intends to contribute to knowledge on the topic and support relevant stakeholders to make decisions that are of relevance to the study area and beyond.

What are the potential risks for participants?

There are no or minimal anticipated risks for participation in this study, and you will not be asked to participate in any activity that may result in harm or will put you to risk or a vulnerable position, legally or otherwise. If you work directly or closely with the government or other institutions, confidentiality is recommended to avoid potential risks or reservations that might be associated with expressing your opinions publicly. Your name and other relevant information about you that might make it easier for any form of identification will be concealed and well protected throughout the research. In doing so, I will use pseudo names for the attribution of direct quotations during the discussions of

findings throughout the research. To avoid any form of victimization of some Fairtrade certified cocoa farmers, their identification, and communities they belong to will be well protected and concealed during the discussion of findings. The participants will also be allowed to skip questions that they do not deem comfortable responding to and will also be allowed to opt out of the interview or research at any time during the process. Kindly note that the study is being carried out mainly for academic purposes, and there are no known conflicts of interest on the part of the principal investigator or the university. If you feel that there are additional risks, or that potential concerns or conflicts of interest might exist, do not hesitate to contact the Principal investigator to express your concerns. Also, kindly note that you may withdraw at any time before the submission of the final research paper by 31st December 2021, by informing the Principal Investigator either in person or after the interview is over through the email provided (edgarbalinia@yahoo.com) or phone number +233244870833. Your interview will be destroyed upon your request and removed from the study. If your request is made at a time after the submission of the final research paper, your information will not be included in any future publications or work of any kind. Kindly be informed that, if any additional information comes up that may influence your decision to participate in the study, I will communicate to you accord

What will be done with my information? (or who will have access to it?)

Direct quotes and summaries of the interview will be used to write a major research paper, and other future publications that may come up. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity throughout the study, pseudo names will be used during the discussions of

findings to avoid any form of identification and background information of participants that may cause harm to them.

The study will basically collect the name of participants and place of work, information and all other data will be strictly kept highly confidential and will be accessible to me and my thesis supervisor upon request during the discussion of findings.

The data will be stored safely in the possession of the principal investigator on his laptop computer and will not be shared with anyone else except the thesis supervisor upon request. Within 2 years of the initial interview, the data will be destroyed in a manner ensuring privacy and confidentiality. The recordings and other relevant information and files will be destroyed using very credible means and measures.

Once the data is collected and analyzed, I plan to share the information with the university research community through presentations and conferences. I also intend to share it with some journals for publications. The findings of the research will also be shared with the participants upon making formal requests.

Research results will be shared with participants upon completion. Soft copies will be made available upon request which would be shared with them through their emails. Participants can make a formal request by contacting the Principal Investigator through email edgarbalinia@yahoo.com or Telephone: 00233244870833

What type of compensation is available for participation?

There will be no compensation for participants

How can I withdraw from this study?

Participation in the study is mainly voluntary, thus participants can withdraw from the study at any point in time either during or after research. When a participant withdraws from the study, his or her personal data will be completely deleted from the study analysis. Participants should kindly note that they will have up till 31st December 2021 to communicate this to the Principal Investigator, however if any request is made after the said date, the participants data will not be part of subsequent publications.

How can I get more information? (or how can I find out more about this study?)

Participants can always contact the following for more information and clarifications concerning the study.

Thesis Supervisor - Dr. Gavin Fridell

International Development Studies,
Saint Mary's University, 923 Robie
Street, Halifax, NS B3H 3C3,

Phone: +1 (902) 420-5767,

Email: gavin.fridell@smu.ca

Chair of the Research Ethics Board

ethics@smu.ca

Certification:

The Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board has reviewed this research. If you have any questions or concerns about ethical matters or would like to discuss your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at ethics@smu.ca or 420-5728.

Appendix B - Signature of Agreement:

Full Title for Research Study

Fairtrade and child labour in Ghana's Cocoa Sector; Challenges, Gaps and Recommendations

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can end my participation at any time without any penalty.

I have had adequate time to think about the research study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what this study is about, and appreciate the risks and benefits involved.

By agreeing to participate in this research, I am not giving up any legal rights if I am harmed during the research.

Participant

Principal Investigator

Signature: _____

Signature: _____

Name(Printed) : _____

Name(Printed) : _____

Date : _____

Date : _____

(Day/Month/Year)

(Day/Month/Year)

Appendix C: Verbal Consent Script

The interviewee will be sent a Saint Mary's University introductory letter with the name and contact information of the principal student investigator through email.

Script:

“My name is Edgar Balinia Adda, and I am a Graduate Student of international development studies at Saint Mary's University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. I am currently conducting a study on child labour in Ghana's Fairtrade Cocoa Sector. I'm interested in exploring the challenges, and the literature and policy gaps in the child labour and Ghana's Fairtrade Cocoa Sector. My research involves interviews, like this one, as well as a reading of a range of policy documents, literature, and government documents.

I have spoken with a range of different actors such as government, union, social movement, and industry representatives all of whom are adults, aged 19-65. I'd be curious to ask you a few questions about child labour in Ghana's Fairtrade Cocoa Sector. If you have the time, the interview will not last longer than 45 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be recorded, and you have the right to decline to talk to me if you do not want to participate.

I would like to use the interview, along with others, as part of my major research paper for my Master of Arts degree in International Development Studies. This would mean that, with your consent, I could be using direct quotes or a summary of our interview for my major research paper and other variety of work I might publish in the future, including academic articles, newspapers and magazines articles, research reports, on the topic. If

you agree to the interview, I want to let you know that you can end the interview at any time and you do not have to answer any questions you do not want to. If you feel uncomfortable about the interview in any way, please let me know and you can have the interview removed from the entire study and it will not be used. Kindly note that you have up till 31st December 2021 which is the final submission date for the Major Research paper. If your request comes after the said date, your information will be removed or deleted from all future publications. You are also free to skip any questions that you are not comfortable responding to. Information attained remains confidential for the interview, which means that I can use our discussion for my work, but I will not in any way make any references to your name or identifying information (such as your position or where you work).

I should also tell you that my research is not linked to any business or political interests. Your involvement is strictly voluntary and you can choose to end the interview at any time. There are no or minimal anticipated risks for participation in this study, and you will not be asked to participate in any activity that may result in harm or will put you in a vulnerable position, legally or otherwise. If you work directly or closely with the government or industry, confidentiality is recommended to avoid potential risks or reservations that might be associated with expressing opinions publicly. It might be best to avoid an interview if you feel it puts you at risk in any way.

The interview will be stored safely on my computer, where it will be destroyed after 2 years, and it will not be shared with anyone, except maybe with my thesis supervisor or through my published work.

The project has been approved by my university and the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions or concerns about ethical matters, you may contact the Chair of the Saint Mary's University Research Ethics Board at ethics@smu.ca or 011 (902) 420-5728.

“Do you feel that you have been fully informed about the research?”

Wait for verbal agreement...

“Do you consent to being involved?”

Wait for verbal agreement...

“Would you like information obtained to remain confidential for the interview, or may I use your name in my work?”

Wait for verbal agreement...

“Would you be willing to allow the interview to be recorded, or would you prefer I did not record it?”

Wait for verbal agreement...

“May we begin the interview?”

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D: Interview Guide for Cocoa Farmers

Fairtrade and child labour in Ghana's cocoa sector; challenges, gaps and recommendations.

1. What do you understand by child Labour in the cocoa sector?
2. In your view do you still have issues of child labour on your cocoa farms?
3. In your opinion, what are the reasons and causes for the persistence of occurrences of child Labour in Fairtrade certified cocoa?
4. What are some of the services rendered by children on your cocoa farm?
5. As a Fairtrade certified cocoa farmer, what are some of the measures you have taken to eradicate child labour on your farm?
6. What are some of the measures or interventions taken by Fairtrade West African Network to eradicate child labour in the cocoa sector?
7. Do you think these measures or interventions are working effectively, if not, why?
8. What are some of the areas you think need some improvements?

Appendix E: Interview Guide For Staff of Selected Organizations/Institutions

1. In your view do you still have issues of child labour on your cocoa farms?
2. In your opinion, what are the reasons for the persistence of occurrences of child Labour in Fairtrade certified cocoa?
3. What are some of interventions or measures put in place by your organization to combat child labour in the Fairtrade cocoa Sector?
4. Are these measures or interventions working perfectly? If yes or No, why?
5. What are the areas that need more improvements?
6. What do you think should be done to eradicate child labour in the Fairtrade cocoa sector?