

Child Labor in the Cocoa Sector of West Africa

A synthesis of findings in
Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria

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I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this synthesis report is to highlight the major findings of recent investigative studies of child labor in the West African cocoa sector, conducted in Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, and Nigeria. Detailed individual country reports have been drafted and will be published once they are finalized. Both the synthesis and the country reports should serve as an invaluable foundation for both the short- and long-term strategic interventions required to address the problems that have been identified. This synthesis report gives a background for the studies, discusses the methodologies used, and lists the major findings. A glossary of terms used in the studies is attached as Annex I.

II. BACKGROUND AND JUSTIFICATION

In 2000, the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that 211 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 were economically active worldwide. Since the adoption in 1999 of ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor and the adoption in 2001 of ILO Convention 184 on safety and health in agriculture, there has been a growing awareness of the need to research the extent and nature of children's agricultural work to determine the types of activities that place children at risk. With the vast majority (70%) of the world's working children in agriculture, these two international standards provide important guidance for addressing the needs of children engaged in hazardous work in this sector.

Previous studies conducted on child labor in agriculture have all highlighted the long hours of work, meager wages, and dangerous conditions in which children work. Another major concern for many developing countries is that a child working in agriculture may be held in debt bondage by his or her employer, either to repay fees for being trafficked from another country or to serve as repayment on a family debt.

Recently, a number of reports on child labor on cocoa farms in West Africa have been issued by foreign governments, international agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and the media. These reports have increased awareness of child labor practices in the cocoa sector and have elicited significant actions by governments and the chocolate industry to address these concerns. The issue has assumed particular importance because approximately two-thirds of the world's cocoa production occurs in West Africa—produced, for the most part, on small farms contributing to several million rural livelihoods. Côte d'Ivoire is the largest cocoa producer in the world, with 40% of global cocoa production; other significant cocoa-producing countries are Cameroon, Ghana, and Nigeria.

Beginning in 1998 a partnership emerged between the chocolate industry, development agencies, and concerned governments, focusing on the issue of sustainable rural development in cocoa-producing areas. In May 2000 in Accra, Ghana, the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP) was launched to implement this partnership's activities. The goal of the STCP is to improve the well-being of smallholder farmers through the development of sustainable tree crop systems that increase productivity, raise smallholders' income, conserve biodiversity, use natural resources sustainably, and offer stable, socially responsible development prospects for farmers and their workers. Among the STCP's first activities was the conduct of baseline surveys in the major cocoa-producing regions of Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria.

When reports of child labor in the cocoa sector of Côte d'Ivoire arose, the STCP partnership incorporated the issue as a component of the surveys planned for implementation in 2001. Moreover, at the behest of the Ivoirian government, two additional studies were undertaken that are targeted to the issue of child labor abuses in Côte d'Ivoire. The results are to be used in support of interventions planned under the "Protocol for the Growing and Processing of Cocoa Beans and their Derivative Products" that was subsequently signed on 19 September 2001, by the global chocolate industry and witnessed by a broad coalition of concerned parties from the US Congress, NGOs, and foreign governments. The details are discussed in the investigation methods and procedures section of this paper.

To efficiently address STCP objectives, a pilot phase of efforts is being developed that will provide a framework for implementing technical interventions and services aimed at raising the social and economic circumstances of workers, households, and communities involved in cocoa production, as well as measuring the feasibility and impact of such interventions. The focus of the pilot phase will be a series of integrated community-based projects (three in Côte d'Ivoire and one each in Cameroon, Ghana, and Nigeria) to be implemented with a range of stakeholders, including farmer organizations, research and extension workers, marketing agents, NGOs, and child advocacy groups.

The findings from the baseline survey will be used to target and develop appropriate interventions addressing various issues of production, marketing, and—most pertinent to this report—child labor. The STCP pilot phase will work jointly with an ILO program to combat hazardous and exploitative child labor in commercial agriculture in West Africa. The goal is to implement child labor interventions and to get programs that work on migration and on the elimination of trafficking to focus on and serve the pilot project areas. Each pilot project is in the process of planning interventions aimed at (a) strengthening farmer organizations, (b) implementing technical packages to increase productivity and enhance environmental services, (c) establishing child labor programs, and (d) developing trade and information systems.

The primary strategic objectives of the present study vis-à-vis child labor were to document (1) the number of children working in the cocoa sector; (2) their status with respect to origin, mode of recruitment (if hired labor), position in farm household, and school attendance; (3) the conditions in which these children work; and (4) the reasons for child labor in the cocoa sector.

This study was funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the US Department of Labor (DOL), and the global chocolate industry. It was conducted by African national research institutes in partnership with the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA). The ILO also provided technical support in conducting the study.

To provide technical oversight for the conduct of the survey, IITA and USAID established a Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) of independent experts drawn from international research institutes, United Nations agencies (ILO, UNICEF, and the Food and Agriculture Organization, or FAO), African national research organizations, trade unions, and the NGO community. This committee has worked to ensure the credible implementation of the surveys using scientifically sound research methodologies.

The guiding framework for the surveys has been ILO Convention 182, Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The portions of the Convention pertinent to child labor practices in the cocoa sector of West Africa are Article 3 (a), which proscribes “all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor,” and Article 3(d), which focuses on “work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.”

Also relevant is Paragraph 1 of Article 4, which states that “the type of work referred to under Article 3(d) shall be determined by national laws or regulations or by the competent authority, after consultation with the organization of employers and workers concerned, taking into consideration relevant international standards, in particular Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the Worst Forms of Child Labor Recommendations 1999.”

III. THE INVESTIGATION’S METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Objectives of the child labor studies

Within the strategic objectives outlined above, the main aim of the child labor studies was to collect and analyze information related to working children and to identify the extent of unacceptable (as defined by ILO Convention 182) working practices in cocoa production in the four countries. In particular, the studies sought to:

- Determine the extent and incidence of child labor and its worst forms in cocoa production; children’s working conditions; the tasks performed and their physical effects; hours of work; child workers’ relation to the employer/family; living and pay conditions, etc.
- Establish the characteristics of the working children, their families and communities, their migration and work histories, and the reasons for working; determine what recruitment methods were used; and assess whether the working children also go to school, as well as the attitudes of children/parents toward education.
- Establish the extent of hazardous, unhealthy, morally unsound or illicit conditions faced by working children; the estimated number of children affected by such working conditions; the reasons for working; and the chances of either improving those conditions or removing the children from the conditions.

Methods of data collection and types of information generated

Three interrelated surveys were designed and implemented: (i) the Baseline Producers Surveys (BPS); (ii) the Producers/Workers Survey (PWS), and (iii) the Community Surveys (CS).

1. Baseline producer surveys,¹ which were conducted in Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria, aimed at examining the wider issues and constraints in cocoa and coffee

¹ In Guinea, the STCP is working in the cashew nut growing region of the country, and the focus of the baseline survey was cashew nut growing households. The BPS survey for Côte d’Ivoire has just been concluded and is not part of this report.

production in ways that will help guide developments in research, extension, labor supply and utilization, market systems, information systems, grower and business support services, and policy change across the tree crop commodities. Within the labor supply module, the BPS investigated the use of children in the cocoa farming process. The target respondents for the baseline investigations were randomly selected cocoa-producing households. Structured questionnaires were administered to the heads of households and generated information on the following:

- Main characteristics of the cocoa plantations (farm sizes and farming systems represented).
- Social and demographic characteristics of cocoa plantation owners.
- Information on production, credit, land holdings, tree holdings, inputs.
- Labor practices.
- Marketing and postharvest practices.

2. The producers/workers survey (PWS) was a more detailed study conducted in Côte d'Ivoire (République de Côte d'Ivoire, or RCI) arising from the request of the RCI government for an in-depth investigation of labor practices in the cocoa sector. The survey targeted all farmers and workers in all of the cocoa-growing areas, with visits to over 250 cocoa-producing localities. Using two separate structured questionnaires for farmers and workers, the survey generated information on the following:

Producers' questionnaire

- Main characteristics of the cocoa plantations (farm sizes and farming systems).
- Social and demographic characteristics of cocoa plantation owners and managers.
- Source of labor supply.
- Extent of child work and schooling.
- Characteristics of working children: age, sex, nationality, ethnic group, origin, country of birth, relationship to plantation owner/sharecropper.
- Nature of child work: activities performed by working children.

Workers' questionnaire

- Their conditions of work, including methods and amount of pay.
- How long they have been working on the cocoa plantations.
- Recruitment method for permanent or temporary workers: conditions of recruitment, conditions of transport to plantation.
- Their social characteristics: education; and, if a child worker, characteristics of the child's parents and family (except for children who are members of the owner/sharecropper's household).
- Reasons for working.
- Living conditions and freedom to leave the farm.

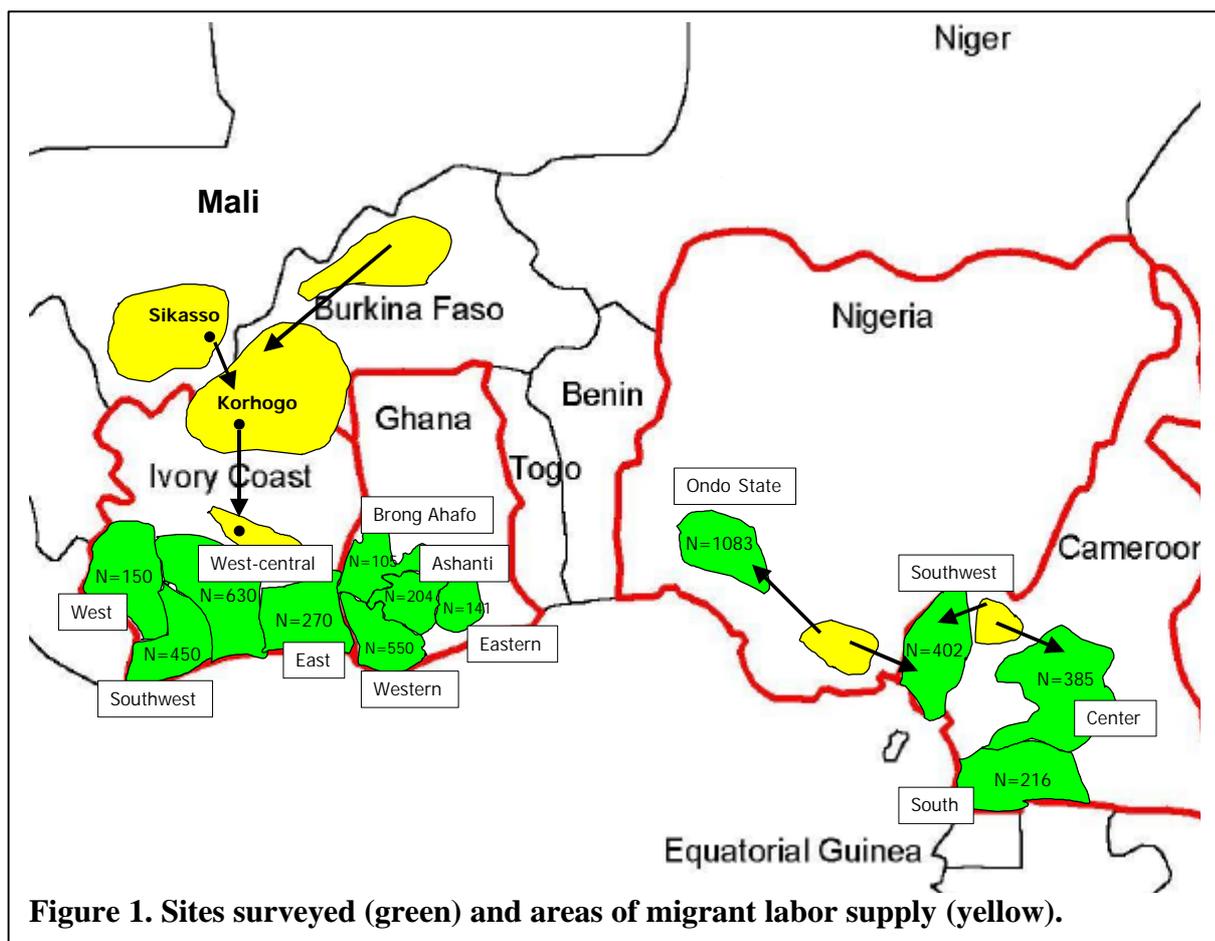
3. Community surveys (CS) were implemented in Côte d'Ivoire to collect qualitative information that would supplement the quantitative data obtained through the producers/workers survey. The aim was to get an in-depth understanding of the problem of child labor by probing into its cultural, economic, and social underpinnings through talks with chiefs, local leaders, and other knowledgeable individuals, including farmers and workers. The primary document guiding the community surveys was the *ILO/UNICEF Guidelines for Rapid Assessment: A Field Manual*. This document can be accessed through the Web at www.ilo.org/childlabor/simpoc, under "General Reports."

In addition to farmers and workers, the community surveys received testimony from chiefs and local leaders on the following issues:

- General social and population characteristics of plantation workers.
- Recruitment process and reasons for children working on cocoa plantations.
- Migration patterns in their respective areas.
- Perceptions of prevailing living and working conditions on the plantation.
- How workers are paid (amount and frequency), especially working children.
- Access to basic social services: health, drinking water.
- Types of activities (and extent of hazards or dangers) entrusted to children and to adults.
- Hazardous working conditions, and whether situation is different for children as opposed to adults.
- Community perceptions of work by children in general and by children on cocoa plantations in particular.

Scope, coverage, and timing

The targets of both the BPS and PWS were the cocoa-producing household and its workforce. As the targets to be studied were the farmers, the investigations did not include field research in the main areas of labor supply (both within the country and outside) that fall outside the cocoa-producing areas. Figure 1 gives the regional breakdown of the surveys, along with actual sample sizes.



The coverage in each of the countries was as follows:

Cameroon

The BPS covered 83 villages in the Southwest, Center, and South Provinces. Cocoa production from these sites has been accounting for over 80% of national production. The field data collection was undertaken from July to September 2001. This is an active period in the cocoa agricultural calendar—farms are being slashed in preparation for harvest in October and November, and farmers are busy applying fungicides to combat black pod disease, which is positively correlated with the high rainfall typical of September.

Côte d'Ivoire

The producers/workers survey (PWS) covered all 20 of the cocoa-producing regions, which account for almost 100% of the RCI's total cocoa production. In total, 250 villages, hamlets and cocoa “camps” across the country's cocoa belt were visited. Out of these, 14 villages were covered during the community surveys. The field data collection for PWS was undertaken from February to March 2002; for CS, from March to April 2002.

Ghana

The BPS covered 85 villages in the Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, and Western regions, which together account for approximately 90% of national production. The field data collection was undertaken from October to November 2001. This is the peak period for harvesting and is the most labor-intensive period in the cocoa-growing season.

Nigeria

The baseline covered 35 villages and towns of Ondo State, which account for between 40 and 50% of annual production in Nigeria. The field data collection was undertaken from August to September 2001. As in Cameroon and Ghana, this is a highly active period for cocoa-producing farms.

Sample design and implementation

Even though the target respondents were cocoa-producing households and their workers, not all of them could be interviewed. Therefore, in all the selected villages, clusters of households were randomly drawn using multi-stage stratified sampling techniques. Table 1 shows the planned and actual sample size for each country.

Table 1: Sample design and implementation

Table 1a: Baseline surveys

	Cameroon	Côte d'Ivoire	Ghana	Nigeria
Baseline Survey				
Villages	83	Na	85	35
Planned Sample Size	1000	Na	1000	1000
Sample Implemented	1003	Na	1000	1083

Table 1b: Producers/workers and community surveys in Côte d'Ivoire

Producers/workers survey		
Villages	250	
Producers		
Planned sample size	1500	
Sample implemented	1500	
% response	100	
Sharecroppers interviewed	67	
Workers interviewed	64	
Community surveys		
	Plan	Actual
Villages	16	15
Producers	32	22
Adult workers	32	12
Child workers	64	27
Local chiefs & leaders	16	38
Total	144	114

Na = not applicable, as that survey was not conducted in the country.

Cameroon

Using 1:200 000 scale administrative maps, a list of all villages in the targeted administrative divisions was drawn up. From this list, the required sample fraction was selected randomly. The resultant cluster size was not completely uniform, with the number of sampled households per village varying from nine to 17, with a mean of 12.2 and a mode of 12 households. Two villages, which had originally been chosen for the survey could not be reached because of impassable roads. A total of 82 villages were visited.

Côte d'Ivoire

A national census of cocoa and coffee farmers conducted in 1998 provided a complete list of farmers from which the research team could draw its sample. The producers/workers survey was administered to a sample of 1500 farm households selected from 250 villages—that is, six farmers per village were randomly selected from the list. The survey teams interviewed a sample of workers and sharecroppers for each farmer. All 1500 of the target households, together with 67 sharecroppers, were interviewed. The baseline survey in Côte d'Ivoire was completed in March 2002, and the data are still being processed. Findings for the Côte d'Ivoire in this report refer only to the producer/worker survey and the community survey.

The community surveys were conducted in 15 of the 250 villages visited, three of which were chosen based on indications of child labor from the quantitative survey team, while the other 12 villages were randomly selected. In each village, open interviews were conducted with farmers, child workers, adult workers, and local authorities. In all, 114 personal interviews with these categories of respondents were conducted.

Ghana

Using administrative maps, the team drew up a list of all villages in the targeted administrative regions. From this list, the required sample fraction was selected randomly.

The actual cluster size was not uniform, with the number of sampled households per cluster varying from eight to 16. Six villages originally identified for the survey could not be reached because of impassable roads and were replaced using a list of randomly selected replacement villages. A total of 85 villages were visited.

Nigeria

Using administrative maps, the team drew up a list of all villages in the targeted administrative divisions. From this list, the required sample fraction was selected randomly. The actual cluster size was not uniform, ranging from seven to 57 households in each cluster, with a mean of 31 households. In total, 35 villages were sampled and 1083 households visited. Of the 1083 households, 1080 were actually producing cocoa.

Limitations of the studies

As with any research work, there are limitations that readers and users of the data should be aware of and that they should take into account in drawing conclusions from the data. However, in the course of the studies, the team made concerted efforts to minimize the impact of both sampling and nonsampling errors. The major constraints the studies faced were:

- *Lack of an up-to-date statistical frame (i.e., census) for drawing the study sample.* Apart from Côte d'Ivoire, the study countries did not have lists of farmers or households in the targeted villages. This made the second-stage selection of households extremely difficult. In some cases the systematic random sampling of all households was not possible; instead, the teams relied on local village chiefs to identify and select respondents. While this was bound to introduce bias in cases where the chief would select only “known and good” farmers (i.e., farmers that the chief knows and considers competent), the teams tried to minimize such bias by explaining the objectives of the study and the need to have unbiased representation of farmers.
- *Sensitive nature of the child labor issue.* The abusive treatment of cocoa workers under the age of 18 in the study countries had been publicized in the media, which could have led to reluctance on the part of some farmers to discuss the issue openly.
- *Low coverage in the worker survey in Côte d'Ivoire.* The worker survey was able to cover only 64 workers (37 adults and 17 children in the category of salaried workers). The main reason for this small sample size is the low frequency of salaried workers in the cocoa sector as a whole.
- *Biases resulting from the timing of the surveys.* Some of the surveys were conducted outside the peak harvest season when the demand for labor is normally at its highest. There is some argument as to whether, as a result, many workers, including child workers, would have left the plantation by the time the surveys were conducted. The survey attempted to negate the seasonal effect by asking questions that covered the entire cocoa season (a year). Nonetheless, it may be useful to conduct repeat studies during such peak periods.

IV. MAJOR FINDINGS

This report presents a synthesis of the major findings from the surveys described above, with a focus on common issues. For each study, separate reports are being finalized and will be available by the end of September. The reader is referred to these reports for greater detail on the factors associated with child labor practices in the cocoa sector.

A. Children at high risk

The main focus of the investigation was understanding and describing work situations in the cocoa sector that pose particular risks for children and that can hinder their human development. One major area of concern was the reported trafficking of children and reported forced or compulsory child labor in the cocoa sector of West Africa. Pertinent categories in which children are most likely to be subjected to these risks are *salaried workers* and *children without family ties* (see Annex 1 for definitions). Another area of concern is hazardous work, which is likely to threaten the health and safety of children (Table 4).

Salaried child workers

The trafficking of children to Côte d'Ivoire (RCI) from neighboring countries by labor intermediaries to work in the cocoa sector was represented by the farmers and traditional leaders surveyed and interviewed in the community survey as less prevalent today than in the past (Box 1). The quantitative surveys revealed that

Box 1. Malian chief in southwestern RCI: “In the past, there were people who would come with child workers. They would ask farmers wishing to hire these workers to first pay between 15 000 and 20 000 FCFA for the transport of these children before they would start working. The annual salary payable at the end of the season ranged between 100 000 and 150 000 FCFA per season.”

the recruitment and employment of both children and adults from outside the family as permanent salaried workers was relatively uncommon. In RCI, an estimated 0.94% of farmers indicated that they employed children as permanent full-time workers, while in Ondo State, Nigeria, an estimated 1.1% of farmers reported doing so. In Ghana and Cameroon, none of the farmers questioned reported employing children as salaried workers. An estimated 5120 children were employed as full-time permanent workers in the RCI (versus 61 600 adults), while in Ondo State, Nigeria, 1220 children (versus 11 800 adults) were full-time permanent workers. In the RCI, an estimated 4630 farmers were employing salaried child workers.

In follow-up surveys and interviews conducted with these children in RCI and with the local farmers, it was revealed that the workers originated entirely outside the cocoa-producing zone. The majority of children (59%, or 3021) came from Burkina Faso, while the remainder were mainly Baoulé children (24%, or 1229) originating from the RCI's Yamassoukro-Bouaké area or children from northern RCI ethnic groups such as the Senoufo and Lobi.

The origins of the RCI farmers employing these workers have been the subject of much discussion. The survey revealed that 59% (2732) of the farmers using salaried child labor were Ivoirian, of whom 27% (738) were of local origin and 32% (874) were migrant settlers in the cocoa belt from other regions of RCI. The remainder, 41% (1898), were immigrant farmers from neighboring countries (mainly Burkina Faso). Overall, Burkinabe farmers accounted for an estimated 16% (78 560) of the farmer population, while those from other countries (mainly Mali) accounted for an additional 3.5% (17 185). This indicated a higher

propensity to employ salaried child workers among the immigrant cocoa-producing community. In Nigeria, the workers were mainly Ibo children from the densely populated southeast.

Twenty-nine percent (1485) of the child workers surveyed in RCI reported that they were not free to leave their place of employment should they so wish. Eighteen percent (922) indicated that they would require either the permission of either their parents or the intermediary representing their parents, while 11% (563) indicated that a lack of money for personal transportation kept them from leaving.

An intermediary was involved in the recruitment process for an estimated 41% (2100) of the 5120 child workers found in the RCI and for an estimated 29% (350) of the 1220 child workers found in Nigeria. In Nigeria, recruitment was most common through the use of sharecroppers, who, as an informal condition of employment, had helped to recruit 50% (175) of the child workers. In RCI, an estimated 29% (1485) of the child workers surveyed indicated that they personally knew the cocoa farmer for whom they were working and had sought employment on their own initiative. Another method of recruitment used by immigrant cocoa farmers and Ivoirian cocoa settlers was to return to their village of origin and negotiate directly with the parents of the child worker. This method was reported by 12% (614) of the paid child workers in RCI.

In RCI, 94% (1974) of the salaried child workers indicated that they knew the intermediary personally, while none indicated that the intermediary had made a payment to their parents before their departure. The importance of this personal knowledge in the recruitment process was emphasized by some of the people interviewed in the community survey (Box 2). Fifty-seven percent (1197) of the salaried child workers in RCI had encountered the intermediary within Ivoirian borders, while the remaining 43% (777) were recruited in Burkina Faso.

The most frequent reason given for agreeing to leave with the intermediary was the promise of a better life (reported by 57%, 1197 of the workers). None of the children reported that their parents had been paid and none reported being forced against their will to leave their home abode. One hundred percent (2100) indicated that they had been informed in advance that they were going to work on cocoa farms. When asked to indicate whether they were “*not satisfied*”, “*somewhat satisfied*”, or “*satisfied*” with their current situation on the cocoa farm where they were working, 43% (777) of those recruited by an intermediary indicated that they were satisfied, while 43% (777) were somewhat satisfied, and 14% (546) did not respond. Among all child workers, only 6% (307) indicated that they were “*not satisfied*” with the employment situation (these cited the heavy workload).

Box 2. Michel, 54 years, Burkinabé farmer: you are not from the village or with a friend from the village, no one is going to give you their child to go work in your plantation because they don't know you. It is necessary for the parents to know you or the man you are with before they will agree to let the child go. In my own case, my worker comes from the same village as myself. His father agreed, because he knows me and trusts me not to harm his child.”

Justin, 53 years, Ivoirian farmer: “I can not speak of an employer–employee relationship because I know their mother. I am helping them out, and I care for them as though they were my own children.”

Eighty-eight percent (4506) of the child workers surveyed in RCI had never attended school, and only 12% (614) had received some primary school education. These children were from

households with extremely low educational attainments: 100% (5120) indicated that their father had no formal education, while 88% (4506) reported the same for their mothers.

Wage discrimination was evident between child and adult workers. In RCI child workers reported a mean annual payment of 56 000 FCFA (\$80), versus the 94 536 FCFA (US\$135) reported by adult workers. In Nigeria, farmers reported an annual average payment to salaried children of 13 863 Naira (US\$115), versus 24 648 Naira (US\$205) to adult workers. Sixty-two percent (756) indicated that they expected to receive their salary personally, while 32% (390) reported that their earnings were paid to a family member (most often the parents) and 6% (73) indicated that payment was made to the intermediary who had brought the child to the work site.

Despite the lower pay, the reported hours worked per day by children (an average of 6 hours and 9 minutes) was statistically not different from those of adult workers in RCI. Slightly less than an average of six days per week was worked, with a 90-minute break taken at noon. In both RCI and Nigeria, farmers indicated that they generally provided lodging and meals for the child workers. In RCI, there was essentially no difference in the average number of meals taken between adults and children (2.9 for adults and 3.1 for children) or the average number of meals with animal protein. However, there was a difference in the source of provision; children were more dependent on the farmer, whereas adult workers provided more of their own meals (more information will be provided on this in the country report).

The farmers employing salaried child workers in both Nigeria and RCI had significantly larger cocoa farms and households than those not employing children (Table 2). In RCI, these farmers also had significantly higher yields, while in Nigeria they had significantly lower yields.

Table 2. Distinguishing characteristics of farmers using salaried child labor in RCI and Nigeria.

	Nigeria		RCI	
	<i>Nonusers</i>	<i>Users</i>	<i>Non-users</i>	<i>Users</i>
Yield (kg/ha)	478	263	390	755
Area of cocoa farm (ha)	4.7	9.3	4.9	12
Size of household (persons)	9.8	15	7.3	11

Sources: STCP baseline survey 2001; STCP producer-worker survey 2002 in RCI.

Children without family ties

In Côte d'Ivoire, some households included children who had no family tie to the household head. Most of these children were assisting with the production of cocoa. The survey estimates that overall there were 12 000 children assisting on at least one production task on approximately 9000 Ivoirian farms (Table 3). Information on this category of worker was not solicited in the other surveys.

Interviews were not conducted with those household members having no family tie to the household head, but information on their status within the household was gleaned from farmer

interviews and surveys. Of these children, 18% (2160) were involved in all aspects of cocoa production (compared to 21% of the child workers with family ties). In the sample, 36% (4320) were enrolled in school (versus 51% of the working sons and daughters of the farmer). However, none of the 18% involved in all aspects of production was enrolled.

Table 3. Child workers at high risk of trafficking and forced labor.

Variable	Region/Country			
	<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	<i>Cameroon</i>	<i>Ghana</i>	<i>Ondo State, Nigeria</i>
Farmers employing salaried child workers	0.94%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
Estimated salaried child workers employed	5120	0	0	1220
Estimated salaried child workers recruited by intermediaries	2100	0	0	350
Farmers employing household children with no family tie	1.84%	Na	Na	Na
Estimated child workers with no family tie	12 000	-	-	-

Na = not available

Sources: STCP baseline surveys and producer/worker survey.

Seventy-six percent of these children had migrated to their current residence, either from elsewhere in RCI (57%, or 6840) or from another country (19%, or 2280). From the analysis it was deduced that among those children who had migrated, at least 58% (5290) were living with households ethnically different from their own. The majority of the farmers (89%) employing these children were Ivoirians, either of local origin or migrants from other regions within RCI.

Table 4. Estimated employment of family children in hazardous activities.

Variable	Region/Country			
	<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	<i>Cameroon</i>	<i>Ghana</i>	<i>Ondo State, Nigeria</i>
Farmers employing children in pesticide application	Na	1.76%	0.96%	3.1%
Estimated no. of children employed in pesticide application	13 200	5500	Na	4600
Proportion of children applying pesticide under the age of 10	21%	29%	Na	13%
Proportion of children applying pesticide between age 10 and 14 years	50%	36%	Na	17%
Proportion of children applying pesticide between age 15 and 17 years	29%	35%	Na	70%
Farmers employing children in clearing/weeding cocoa farms	Na	9.96%	3.52%	6.75%
Estimated no. of children employed in clearing cocoa farms	71 100	35 200	38 700	9300
Proportion of children clearing cocoa farms under the age of 10	20%	20%	3%	8%
Proportion of children clearing cocoa farms between age 10 and 14 yrs	50%	26%	44%	17%
Proportion of children clearing cocoa farms between age 15 and 17 yrs	30%	54%	52%	75%
Estimated no. of children engaged in all production operations	129 400	Na	Na	Na
Proportion of children engaged in all tasks under the age of 10	6%	Na	Na	Na
Proportion of children engaged in all tasks between age 10 and 14 years	40%	Na	Na	Na
Proportion of children engaged in all tasks between age 15 and 17 years	54%	-	-	-

Sources: STCP baseline surveys and producer/worker survey.

Children and hazardous work

Perhaps the most dangerous task from the standpoint of the health and safety of cocoa workers is the application of noxious pesticides. Other potentially injurious tasks include clearing underbrush with a machete, transporting excessively heavy loads, and using a machete to open cocoa pods.

An estimated 152 700 child workers were employed in pesticide application in RCI and in the study areas of Nigeria and Cameroon (Table 4). The largest incidence is in RCI, for which the total figure is obtained by adding the estimated 129 400 child workers indicated as undertaking all tasks on a cocoa farm to the estimated 12 900 child workers who were employed on a reduced subset of tasks which included pesticide application.

An estimated 146 000 children under the age of 15 were clearing plantations using machetes in the surveyed areas of the four countries.

B. Cocoa income, productivity, and children as a factor of production

The number of children employed with kinship relations to the farmer far exceeded any other category of child worker (Table 5). In RCI, 604 500 of the 625 100 working children (representing 96.7%) had a kinship relation to the farmer.² The main labor force for

Table 5. The employment of family children among cocoa-producing households by age, sex, and degree of employment.

Variable	Unit	Region/Country			
		Côte d'Ivoire	Cameroon	Ghana	Ondo state Nigeria
Household composition—children	(% of total)	47.0	43.0	41.8	34.3
Mean no. of household children		3.62	4.98	3.98	3.49
Employment of family children	(% of farmers)	51.4	25.7	9.9	13.8
Mean no. of children employed per hh		1.23	2.04	0.213	0.414
Family children employed (6–17 yr)	(Total no.)	604 500	147 700	80 200	19 400
Family children (6–9 yr)	(Total no.)	140 800	25 100	8000	2700
Family children (10–14 yr)	(Total no.)	294 200	34 000	35 300	5800
Family children (15–17 yr)	(Total no.)	169 500	88 600	36 900	10 900
Male children employed (6–17 yr)	(Total no.)	344 500	100 400	43 300	9900
Female children employed (6–17 yr)	(Total no.)	260 000	47 300	36 900	9500
Children employed in all tasks	(Total no.)	127 288	Na	Na	Na

Sources: STCP Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon baseline surveys 2001, STCP producer/worker survey 2002 in RCI.

² Child workers with a permanent status to the cocoa enterprise include family children, children with no family tie, salaried child workers, and sharecroppers under the age of eighteen.

cocoa production in RCI is drawn from the family, i.e., 87% of the total household labor force, of which a significant proportion are children. Family children accounted for roughly 24% of individual household labor, while other adult family members accounted for 63% (Fig.2). Family labor was the only type of labor employed on 31% of the farms in RCI, 23% of Cameroonian farms, 17% of Ghanaian farms, and 10% of Nigerian farms, with the proportion using only family labor significantly higher on smaller farms.

The open interviews with community leaders indicated that the greater employment of family labor was a common response to the recent drop in cocoa prices and the crisis in cocoa incomes (Box 3). In addition to the substitution of family labor for paid labor, farmers have also reduced the use of purchased inputs. The net effect of both of these factors has led to lower productivity and incomes and, perhaps most importantly, to reduced household investments in children's education.

Cocoa production across the study area is the domain of numerous small family farms, typically with less than 6 hectares of cocoa (Table 6). Average annual quantities produced per household ranged from between 900 kg and 1700 kg, with a skewed distribution; one-third of the farmers typically account for over two-thirds of total production (Fig. 2). As we have already seen, farmers hiring salaried child workers had cocoa holdings which were nearly twice as large as those of nonusers. Larger farms were also found to use significantly more children from within the family in nearly all the study areas. For instance, in Côte d'Ivoire farmers with farms of less than 5 hectares employed an average of 1.0 children from within the family, while those with large farms of more than 9 hectares used on average 1.7 children from within the family (Fig. 3).

Table 6. Average production, yields, and cocoa revenues for 2000/2001 production season.

Variable	Unit	Country			
		Cote d'Ivoire	Cameroon	Ghana	Nigeria
Size of cocoa farm	Ha	4.9	5.7	6.3	4.7
Quantity sold per producer (kg)	Kg	1312	1417	940	1681
Average cocoa price	US\$/kg	0.63	0.60	0.30	0.62
Estimated average cocoa revenues	US\$	829	852	282	1037
Average share of cocoa revenues in household income	%	66	50	55	68
Average family size	Persons	7.7	11.6	9.4	10.2
Average per capita cocoa revenues	US\$ per capita	108	73	30	102
Average cocoa yield	Kg/ha	395	292	207	475
Average expenditure on pesticides per ha	US\$/ha	Na	32.24	2.58	40.73

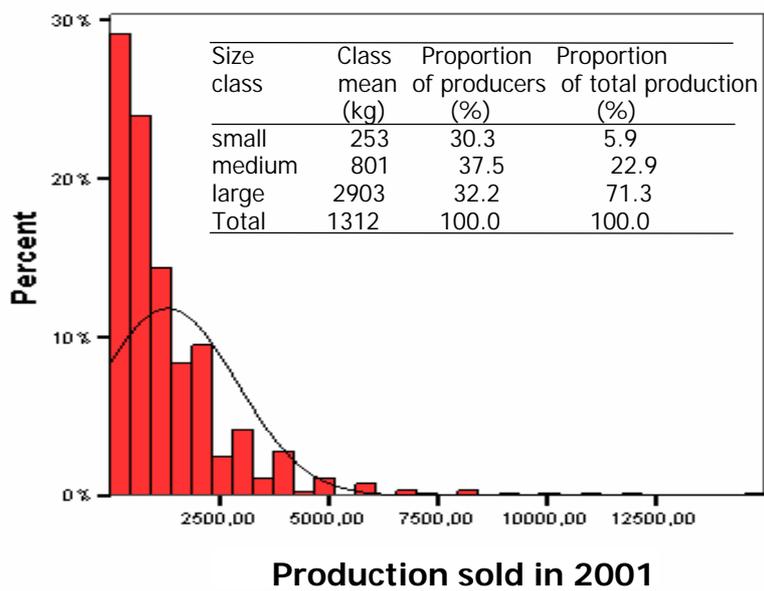
Sources: STCP Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon baseline surveys 2001, STCP producer/worker survey 2002 in RCI.

Gross cocoa revenues depend not only on the quantity produced but also on the price received. In the recently liberalized markets of Cameroon, Nigeria, and RCI, farmgate price is now determined by market forces, government taxes, and marketing margins, with the latter varying spatially as a function of distance-to-port and quality of road infrastructure. In contrast to the other three countries, Ghana sets a panterritorial price established by the COCOBOD, which is the state-run cocoa regulatory agency. In the 2000/2001-production

season, the price paid to Ghanaian farmers was only half of the price received in the liberalized markets (Table 6).

Figure 2. Distribution of quantity sold per household in RCI.

Source: *STCP child labor survey 2002*



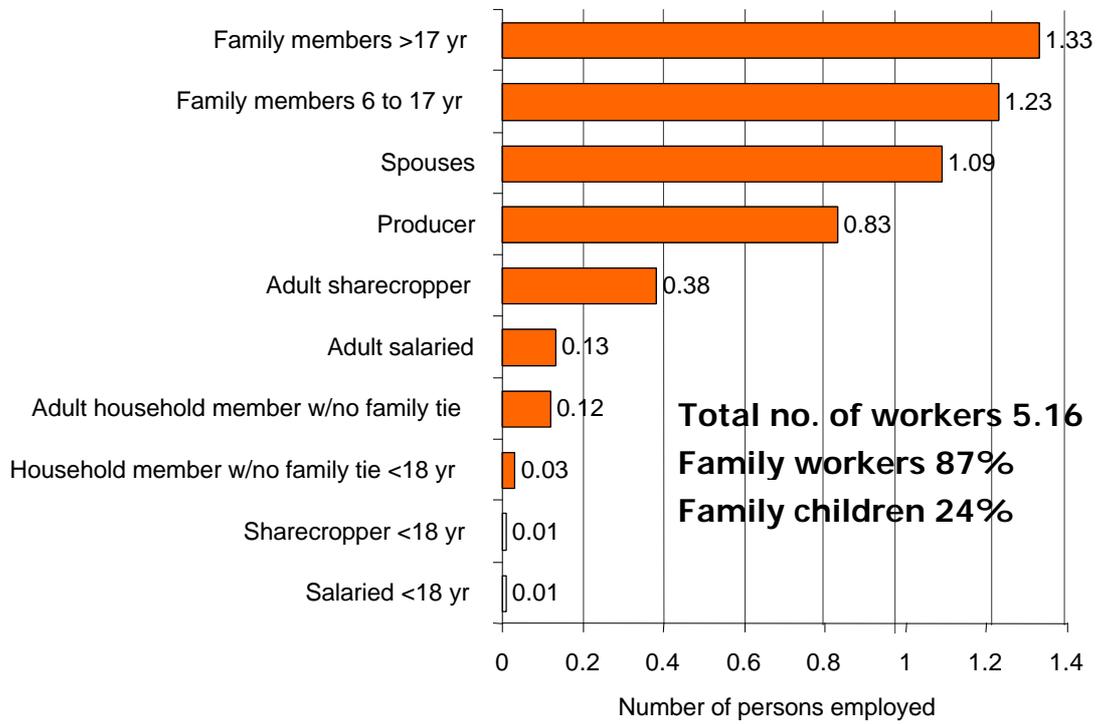


Figure 3. Mean number of persons employed in cocoa production per producing household in Côte d'Ivoire /2002-production season.
 Source: *STCP child labor survey 2002.*

Revenues from cocoa also depend on cocoa yields. Average yields per hectare ranged from 207 to 475 kg/ha (Table 6). In Cameroon and Nigeria, fungicides are particularly important for controlling cocoa black pod disease—indicated by a majority of farmers as their most serious production constraint. Production is also characterized by use of technology to clear additional land for farming, with very little use of herbicides or labor-saving capital inputs such as motorized pesticide sprayers or motorized brush-clearing machines.³ Inhibiting farmers’ use of both agrochemical and capital inputs are credit constraints, which were ranked by a majority of farmers as their most critical socioeconomic concern.

Estimated average annual per capita cocoa revenues in the study areas ranged from US\$30 to US\$108 for the 2000/2001-production season. At such low levels of income as these, farmers are forced into making difficult decision vis-à-vis their children’s schooling.

C. Child labor and education

Data on school attendance shows that in RCI, children in cocoa-producing households generally appear to have less access to education than nonworking children (Table 7). Overall, of the Ivoirian children between 6 and 17 living on cocoa farms, approximately one-

Table 7. Enrollment rates of children by age, employment, gender, origin, and filial relation to farmer.

Variable	Region/Country			
	<i>Côte d'Ivoire</i>	<i>Cameroon</i>	<i>Ghana</i>	<i>Ondo state Nigeria</i>
	<i>Percentage of children enrolled</i>			
All children includes preschoolers (<18 yr)	39.6	78.5	75.7	90.6
Working children (6–9 yr)	64.6	89.6	95.4	46.4
Working children (10–14 yr)	55.7	94.6	90.0	56.1
Working children (15–17 yr)	24.2	55.0	91.4	56.2
Working children (6–17 yr)	49.0	76.4	91.4	55.3
Male children employed (6–17 yr)	54.7	77.2	92.0	53.2
Female children employed (6–17 yr)	41.4	74.9	90.7	58.0
Children employed in all tasks (6–17 yr)	34.4	Na	Na	Na
Non-working children (6–17 yr)	63.6	Na	Na	Na
Children who have never attended school (6–17 yr)	32.8	Na	Na	Na
Children of migrant cocoa farmers (6–17 yr)	32.9	Na	Na	Na
Children of immigrant cocoa farmers (6–17 yr)	46.3	Na	Na	Na
Children of local cocoa farmers (6–17 yr)	70.7	Na	Na	Na
Sons and daughters of cocoa farmer	56.6	Na	Na	Na
Extended family relation to cocoa farmer	54.2	Na	Na	Na
No family relation with cocoa farmer	44.9	Na	Na	Na

³ Exceptions were the use of motorized sprayers in RCI and Ghana, which were reported by 43% and 10% of farmer households respectively and herbicides in RCI which were used by 17% of farmers. The use of these inputs in RCI was positively associated with the size of the farm.

Sources: *STCP Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon baseline surveys 2001, STCP producer worker survey 2002 in RCI.*

third had never attended school. The problem is particularly acute among the migrant cocoa farming community; only 33% of school-age children were enrolled, versus 71% for children of local farmers. Sharecroppers in RCI were particularly disadvantaged, with only 25% of their children enrolled and the majority never having attended. Eighty-eight percent of the sharecroppers themselves had never attended.

The degree of affiliation between the child and the head of household also impacted significantly on schooling in RCI. Only 45% of household children with no family tie to the household head were enrolled, versus 57% for the farmers' own sons and daughters.

Working on the family cocoa farm was seen to have a negative effect on school attendance in both Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire. In Nigeria, among the school-age children who worked on the family farm, school attendance was only 55%. In RCI, among school-age children who did not work on the family cocoa farm, attendance rose to 64 %, whereas for children participating in all cocoa tasks, attendance was only 34%.

D. Cocoa farmers and workers: caught in a vicious circle

The picture that emerges is of a sector with stagnant technology, low yields, and an increasing demand for unskilled workers trapped in a circle of poverty. Salaried child workers were most clearly trapped in a vicious circle. The majority of these children had never been to school and were earning subsistence wages, forced into this labor by economic circumstances. Most of these children are from the drier savanna areas of West Africa, where family livelihoods are inherently uncertain and households are forced into risk-reducing livelihood strategies, including sending adolescents to cocoa plantations to work.

Because of the weakness in commodity markets since the late 1980s, farmers have been forced to cut costs by reducing expenditures and increasing the use of household labor including children. This in turn is compromising the human development and future productivity of this rising generation of workers. One of the pillars of sustainable development and growth is investment in human resources, with investments in education foremost on the list.

Development is a dynamic process of progressive steps. In planting millions of small farms, the cocoa farmers of West Africa have taken an important step by building significant economic assets. These assets, however, need to be leveraged into a process of sustainable rural development. Industry and trade in cocoa, along with governments from the local to the national level, need to work with rural communities to see how a portion of the value/revenue generated from those assets can best be invested in the human capital development of the children working and living on those farms.

Annex 1. Glossary of terms used in the studies

Child labor: The definition of child labor is derived from ILO Convention No. 138 on minimum age for labor; and the ILO Convention 182 on the worst forms of child labor. Both of these Conventions are complementary to the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The CRC stipulates that *children should be protected from economic exploitation and any work that is hazardous, interferes with schooling, or is harmful to their health and development.*

ILO Minimum Age Convention No. 138 and Recommendation No. 146 establish the ultimate goal of the effective abolition of child labor and provide for the setting of a minimum age for employment or work as the yardstick. However, the Convention accommodates flexibility in the treatment of children, including a distinction in minimum ages for various forms of work. For instance, Article 3 states the minimum age should be 18 for work which is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children, whereas 13 or even 12 years may be an acceptable age for 'light work' which is not likely to be harmful to children's health or development and not such as to prejudice their attendance at school.

ILO Convention No. 182 and Recommendation No.190 complement Convention No. 138 and Recommendation No. 146. Convention 182 calls for immediate action to eliminate the worst forms of child labor (including slavery, bonded labor, forced recruitment for armed conflict, use of children in commercial sex or pornography, drug trafficking, and work which could harm children's health, safety or morals) for all girls and boys under 18. Recommendation 190 enumerates various elements that need to be taken into account in determining the list of hazardous work, including exposure to abuse; work that is conducted underground, under water, at heights or in confined spaces; work that involves dangerous equipment or tools, unhealthy environments or hazardous substances; or any work under particularly difficult circumstances, including excessive hours or being confined to an employer's premises. *Therefore, child labor can be described as work that is inconsistent with the principles set under the Conventions and Recommendations, namely that the child is below the minimum age for a given occupation or type of work, or work in an otherwise nonhazardous occupation under conditions that render the work hazardous for adolescents.*

Child work: This generally refers to activities that children carry out within or outside their households for income, family gain, or profit, including unpaid family work. Such children are often described as being economically active, which is a broad concept that encompasses most productive activities undertaken by children, whether for the market or not, paid and unpaid, for a few hours or full-time, on a temporary or regular basis, legal or illegal; it excludes chores undertaken in the child's own household and schooling. "Economically active" children are a statistical, rather than a legal definition. It is not equivalent to the "child labor" for abolition as defined below.

It should be clarified that economic activities include not only unpaid work by a family member in a family business of any kind, but also household chores or work of

a domestic nature performed within a household by a nonfamily member as well as activities outside or around own household by any individual (such as helping on a food plot or gardening, helping on a cattle post, fetching water or collecting firewood, wild crops, berries, or drying or pounding food grains, etc.).

Children without family ties: These are children who live in the farm owner's household but are not related to any of the immediate or extended members of the owner's family.

Family workers: These are persons who constitute the immediate and extended family members of the heads of household or farmer's household.

Farm labor: These are labor inputs supplied to undertake the various farm tasks for the production of cocoa. They can be supplied on a permanent, temporary, or seasonal basis, and may be paid or unpaid.

Farm tasks: These are the major tasks that are performed at the farm-production level before the cocoa beans are sold. They include clearing underbrush; harvesting; transporting the pods; spraying pesticides; breaking the pods; and fermentation.

Farmers: These are persons who are the registered or known owners of the cocoa farms. They are primarily responsible for managing the farm or for decision-making about how the farm should be managed, and they exercise direct control over production, marketing, and use of proceeds from the sale of the commodity.

Hazardous work: This is work which, because of the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children. The harm involved could arise from physical, chemical, biological, or environmental hazards.

Hectare: One hectare is equal to 2.471 US acres.

Household: This is defined as a person or group of persons who live together in the same house or compound, share the same housekeeping arrangements, and are catered to as one unit. Members of a household are not necessarily related (by blood or marriage).

Immigrant workers: Workers who lived away from their previous households for at least three months. The previous and current household may be either within the same country or in different countries.

Permanent workers: These are persons who are available to work and have worked on the cocoa farm for at least three months in the last season. They can be paid or unpaid (family) workers.

Salaried workers: These are persons who work for regular wages or salaries, often paid on monthly or weekly basis with a longer term (at least 3 months) contract.

Seasonal/casual workers: These are persons who work for a daily wage or on a piecemeal basis.

Sharecroppers: These are persons who enter into an agreement (mostly oral) to run a cocoa farm on behalf of its owners and in return share the output. Usually this is on a two-third/one-third basis with the owner of the farm receiving two-thirds and usually paying for purchased inputs.

Trafficking: The recently adopted United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, 2000, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, defines trafficking as:

- "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons,
- by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person,
- for the purpose of exploitation." (Art. 3.a)

This definition entails:

- that trafficking involves the removal of the person from a familiar environment, but not necessarily the crossing of international borders;
 - that the consent of the person recruited is irrelevant if there is abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, fraud or deception;
 - that the recruitment is for purposes of labor and/or sexual exploitation.
-