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**Planning Intervention Strategies for Child
Laborers in Ghana**
Final Report
Education to Combat Abusive Child Labor
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INDEX OF KEY TERMS

ACHD	African Centre For Human Development
<i>Abuna</i>	Sharecropping agreement where tenet farmer receives half of the total
<i>Abusa</i>	Sharecropping agreement where tenet farmer receives a third of the total
AED	Academy for Educational Development
CEDEP	Centre For The Development Of People
CING	Children in Need, Ghana
CMC	Cocoa Marketing Company
CRIG	Cocoa Research Institute Of Ghana
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DANIDA	Danish Agency for Development Assistance
DFID	Department for International Development
FAWE	Forum For African Women Educationalists
FCUBE	Free, Compulsory & Universal Basic Education
GNCC	Ghana National Commission On Children
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor
JSS	Junior Secondary School
<i>Kayaye</i>	Child workers who have traveled from the North to work in the southern regions.
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPRP	National Poverty Reduction Programme
P	Primary School
PDA	Participatory Development Associates
QUIPS	The Quality Improvement in Primary Schools Project
SIMPOC	Statistical Information Monitoring Programme on Child Labour
SSS	Senior Secondary School
STCP	Sustainable Tree Crops Program
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nation's Children Fund
World Bank	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	vi
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Scope and Methodology	2
1.1.1 Scope.....	2
1.1.2 Methodology.....	2
1.1.3 Outputs and Results	3
1.2 Trip Itinerary (May 6 – May 26).....	4
1.3 Country Profile	7
1.4 Development and Basic Services	8
2 EDUCATION	11
2.1.1 Regional disparities.....	12
2.1.2 Teachers	12
2.1.3 School Management and Decision Making	12
2.1.4 Reasons Children are not in school.....	13
2.1.5 Gender disparities	14
2.2 Education Development Programs	14
2.2.1 Free, Compulsory, Universal, Basic Education	14
2.2.2 Other national programs.....	15
3 AGRICULTURE.....	16
3.1.1 Cocoa Production.....	17
3.1.2 Land tenure	18
3.1.3 Labor.....	19
3.1.4 Marketing.....	20
4 CHILD LABOR POLICY.....	21
4.1 International Conventions and Programs.....	21
4.1.1 ILO Convention of the Rights of the Child.....	22
4.1.2 ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor.....	22

4.2	National Laws and Programs	24
4.2.1	National Constitution of Ghana	25
4.2.2	Children’s Act, 1998 (Act 560).....	25
4.2.3	Criminal Procedure Code of 1960.....	26
5	FINDINGS OF THE PLANNING ANALYSIS	27
5.1	The Child Labor Situation.....	27
5.1.1	Agricultural Production.....	28
5.1.2	Cocoa production	29
5.1.3	Trafficking and Forced Labor	31
5.1.4	Kayaye and petty trading	34
5.1.5	Gold Mining.....	35
5.1.6	Apprentices	37
5.1.7	Commercial sexual exploitation.....	38
5.1.8	Street children	38
5.1.9	Fishing.....	38
5.1.10	Shepherding	39
5.2	Summary of findings	40
5.2.1	Education	40
5.2.2	Housing and Basic Services	42
5.2.3	Labor Standards and Compliance	43
6	RELEVANT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS.....	44
6.1	International Programs.....	44
6.1.1	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor	44
6.1.2	United Nations Children’s Fund	45
6.1.3	The World Bank.....	45
6.2	Government Programs.....	46
6.2.1	Ghana National Commission on Children	46
6.2.2	Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs	46
6.2.3	National Child Labor Steering Committee	46
6.2.4	National Poverty Reduction Program	46
6.2.5	District Planning Offices.....	47
6.3	NGO Projects and Programs.....	47
6.3.1	Quality Improvement in Primary Schools Project	47
6.3.2	African Centre for Human Development.....	47
6.3.3	Save the Children UK	48
6.3.4	Kuapa Kokoo Union	48
6.3.5	Action Aid.....	48
6.3.6	Children in Need	49
6.3.7	Street Girls Aid	49
6.3.8	Catholic Action for Street Children	49

7	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	50
7.1	Education.....	50
7.1.1	Social Mobilization and School Enrollment	51
7.1.2	School Improvement.....	51
7.1.3	Coordinating the Scholastic Year with the Agricultural Calendar.....	51
7.1.4	Incentives	52
7.1.5	Vocational and Agricultural Training	52
7.1.6	Curriculum	52
7.1.7	Training and retaining teachers.....	52
7.2	Child Protection and Rehabilitation	53
7.2.1	Public Awareness Raising.....	53
7.2.2	Rehabilitation.....	53
7.2.3	Labor Law Enforcement	54
7.3	Agricultural Production and Marketing Programs	54

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Creative Associates conducted this Planning Analysis to identify current educational needs, conditions, resources and barriers faced by children in abusive labor situations, and to determine the condition of educational infrastructure, with a view to developing educational and other intervention strategies to alleviate their situation. The team visited seven of the ten regions in the country, including Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Eastern, Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions. Interviews were conducted with working children, farmers, fishermen, gold miners, and officials at the district-level, including the district chiefs executive, planning officers, social welfare officers and directors of agriculture and education. Visits were also made to development organizations working on the issue, including the International Labor Organization / International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC).

Education

Education services are delivered by the Ghana Education Service (GES), while the Ministry of Education (MOE) is responsible for policy and planning. Schooling is delivered according to a 6-3-3-4 system, which includes: six years primary school (P1-P6); three years of junior secondary school (JSS1-JSS3); three years of senior secondary school (SSS1-SSS3); and four years of tertiary or technical education. Since the mid-1990's, Ghana has been pursuing a policy of Free, Compulsory and Universal Basic Education (FCUBE), with a goal of making basic education universally available at the primary and secondary levels by the year 2005. The ten-year strategic plan for the approach was initiated in 1995. Since this time the GES has made significant progress in making education accessible to many traditionally underserved communities in the country, though most schools still suffer problems related to poor teacher training and motivation, lack of supplies, and high truancy and drop-out rates.

The government decentralization program has devolved more and more education decision-making and administrative responsibilities to district assemblies, who also support interventions in education, health, environment, communal labor, and the monitoring community level self-help projects. The 1996 District Assembly Act allocated decision-making responsibility to the school management committees, who manage and administer schools at the community level. While this has increased the participation in school decision making, the role of civil society in school management is still evolving and the quality of the committees varies widely across communities. While the access to education has significantly expanded in underserved areas, rural areas still suffer from problems related to poor quality instruction and a lack of resources.

Reasons Children are not in school

Up to 90 percent of rural Ghanaian children work on the family farm. They are burdened with domestic responsibilities that interfere with their ability to attend school, including the preparation of meals and taking care of younger siblings and the elderly. Though the official enrollment rate is over 80%, only about 60 percent of children regularly attend school. Families are skeptical about the real value utility of an education, since a school certificate does not guarantee work in the future. In the short-term, most poor families find it difficult to afford the direct and associated costs of schooling (i.e. uniforms, supplies, and transportation costs).

Child Labor Policy

Children constitute 12.6 percent of Ghana's total labor force, with 80 percent in rural areas. The basic minimum age for employment in Ghana is 15 years. The minimum age for employment and compulsory school laws are inconsistent, making it difficult to apply the law. The 1967 decree that prohibits employment before age 15, also allows younger children to perform light work.

The regulation of child labor has been prominent in the Ghana development agenda since the near universal ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990. Since then, Ghana has made significant progress in implementing the provisions of the convention at the policy level, though laws and enforcement mechanisms have not yet reached the community level. The National Constitution of Ghana makes direct reference to measure that should be implemented to assure the rights of children, and the Children's Act (Act 560) of 1998 contains provisions prohibiting exploitative, hazardous or night work.

In 1999, Ghana was one of the first nations to ratify Convention 182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor. It specifically prohibits and recommends immediate action for the elimination of all forms of child labor in slavery, prostitution, illicit activities or work that is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children. In compliance with the provisions of the convention, the government developed a Programme of Action to sensitize and mobilize the general public, monitor the conditions of work, support publicity, and set up a continuous data information gathering system.

The Child Labor Situation

In Ghana, children are expected to work for the family doing household chores such as sweeping, fetching water, carrying firewood, washing dishes, preparing meals, and caring for younger siblings. This is not only seen as acceptable, but an important part of the socialization of children so they may become responsible and hardworking adults. Children also work in the income generation activities of the family, including farming, fishing, cattle rearing, mining, and trading. They are expected to work after school, on weekends, and during holidays and vacations, and their domestic work responsibilities sometimes limit their ability to complete a basic education.

Agricultural Production

Ghana is an agrarian economy, with 81 percent of the population living in rural areas. Apart from a few large-scale commercial farms, most farming takes place on small family-owned farms. There is little mechanization given the small size of the holdings. The country does not rely much on irrigation, except for a few areas in the north. The variation in farmer income across zones is related to the fertility of the land, access to transportation and markets. The forest belt is most affluent given its proximity to the trading hub of Kumasi. Cocoa is the largest source of foreign exchange for the country. The main commercial production occurs in the six regions, including Western, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Central and Volta Regions. Most small-scale export farmers are also diversifying into staple crops such as palm oil, maize, and plantain

It is estimated that 90 percent of rural children work on the family farm, most are successful at balancing work and school though many are not. Out-of-school children work most of the day, either on the farm or doing domestic tasks such as fetching water. Declining conditions in the rural economy have exacerbated the problem of child labor, including declining soil fertility, population growth, decreasing size of land holdings, fluctuating commodity prices, and high rates of post harvest losses. Child workers are exposed to occupational hazards on the farm, such as lifting heavy loads and exposure to agricultural chemicals. The precise extent of abusive labor is not known and difficult to measure given the large number of farmers and the lack of an effective, impartial monitoring system to protect working children.

Labor requirements on cocoa farms are seasonal, with great demand placed on workers at the time of land clearing and harvesting. Labor comes from both within the community and from other regions of the country. Sending areas include the North, the farming areas of the Volta region, and, to a limited extent, international migrants from Togo, Benin, and Ivory Coast. Migrant farm workers, usually adult men, travel to the cocoa farms to weed and harvest, especially in the periods of February to May, and August to November. Labor is paid according to area worked.

Cocoa Production

Cocoa production has been traditionally centered in the central Ashanti region, whose capital, Kumasi, serves as the national commercial and trading hub. Production has shifted to the Western region (bordering the Ivory Coast) as a result of declining soil fertility and widespread land clearing in Ashanti. Income from cocoa production tends to be low, seasonal and irregular. Most farming is done on small family plots and most farmers are either owners or tenet farmers that work according to the traditional land tenure arrangements of *abusa* (1/3) and *abuna* (1/2), which regulate the work and inputs expected of farmers and the profits they can keep. Because of the seasonality of their income, most small farmers do not have the resources to pay wage laborers.

The harvesting of cocoa occurs at the same time as the first months of school, so it is common for a sizeable proportion of the school children to be frequently absent from school in this period. Some children stay out of school all year, because they believe that they have fallen too far behind to benefit from school. However, truancy at harvest time is also an excuse for students to be absent when they do not want to attend school, or for schools who do not want to accept them. The most hazardous agricultural activities on the farm include the clearing of weeds, because it involves swinging a machete, the transporting of pods and beans during production, harvest and sale, and the spraying of pesticides. In each case, the children are exposed to risks to their health and safety.

Trafficking and Forced Labor

Trafficking of persons refers to sale of labor without the full consent or freedom of the worker. According to a definition by the ILO, trafficking must include one or more of the following criteria: (1) there is the intervention of an intermediary, (2) some form of transaction takes place, and (3) there is exploitation or the intention or motive to exploit the individual. According to this definition, some traditional practices in Ghana can be considered trafficking. For example,

extended families move children between households if it is believed that the receiver can better provide for the basic needs of the child. This often involves sending children from the north to the urban centers of Kumasi and Accra. Respondents stressed that this was a traditional method to strengthen family bonds and help poor families to gain exposure to new environments and better economic opportunities.

However, these traditional coping mechanisms have been transformed into more insidious practices that exploit the needs of poor families and the demand for bonded labor. Recruiters and intermediaries buy and sell the bonded labor of children to markets in the country or in neighboring countries. Many then end up in the streets and get involved in exploitative and hazardous work, including prostitution, fishing (especially in Volta Lake), or unregulated gold mining activities. Trafficking is common in urban setting where children regularly migrate to find low paying jobs in domestic work and petty trading. Many trafficked children may not know where they come from or what their options were.

The team did not witness or hear of specific cases of forced labor (where children are forcibly moved and constrained to work), though forms of debt bondage and serfdom continue in both rural and urban areas. Trafficked children are typically not the victims of large scale crime syndicates, rather it is a response by individuals to exploit acute poverty present in the poorest areas of Ghana, especially the North, The East and the peri-urban squatter settlements. In most of these cases the child or his/her family willingly agree to the terms of employment, though it is clear that their bargaining position is compromised given their levels of poverty and weak social position. The team did not find trafficking in unaccompanied children to be a major problem in cocoa production, though the transport and placement of unaccompanied children to work in Kumasi and Accra, and other urban areas is an exception that requires further research.

The adolescent girls who travel from rural areas in the North to Kumasi and Accra are known collectively as *Kayaye*. These girls are often sent by their families to work as domestic helpers for wealthy urban residents. Most come to work in the informal sector, engaging in petty trading and the selling of ice water. The dangers of this work include heat exposure, the lack of play, and their vulnerability to abuse (including the withholding of food and beating) if they do not bring home enough money from their sales. Many of these girls are promised training and apprenticeship opportunities, though few of these offers materialize when they arrive. Currently, there are no laws that specifically address trafficking. In most cases, other laws are used to take action against trafficking, including those concerning child custody, health, education, slavery, prostitution, or underage labor.

Gold Mining

Many adolescents work in the informal gold mining, or *galamsey*, either digging sand from the riverbed and passing it out in buckets. Other methods of soil collection include the digging of open faced pits. Though illegal, children sometimes descend up to 30 or 40 meters to retrieve the gold enriched soil. Adolescent girls often carry the surface soil and soil from the pits on their head to be processed by men operating the grinding machines. For the most part, these children come from surrounding villages, though many have migrated from other parts of the country.

Apprenticeships

There is an extensive and well-developed apprenticeship system in auto repair, carpentry, hairdressing or other small-scale manufacturing and service activities. Most poor youth realize the advantage of learning a trade and are eager to work as an apprentice. However, traditional apprenticeship is often exploitative, since it takes at least a couple of years for the children to learn a marketable skill. In the meantime, they are expected to do menial work, such as sweeping the floor or fetching materials and supplies, and in some cases doing dangerous tasks such as handling dangerous chemicals or working on dangerous machines. Apprenticeships have the potential of providing valuable work skills, and are more responsive and cost effective than formal vocational education services in Ghana. The challenge is to make it safe, rewarding and free from exploitation.

Commercial sexual exploitation

It is common for young girls to trade sex for gifts or money, as a way to help meet financial obligations. Families often accept this practice regardless of the health risks to the child. In most cases this occurs voluntarily without the control of an intermediary, though organized prostitution is increasingly becoming a serious concern in some areas. The sale of bonded labor for domestic services is closely tied to prostitution and sexual exploitation of children.

Street Children

Massive migration from rural to urban areas and the breakdown of the traditional family are responsible for the dramatic increase in the number of street children in Accra, Kumasi and other regional capitals. It is estimated that there are 15,000 street children in Accra alone. Most people view the problem a threat to public safety, and attribute it to the rise in crime rates. In many cases the children are part of entire families that live on the streets, doing everything they can to get enough money to feed themselves. These children and families have very little access to basic services, and most do not make an effort to send their children to school.

Fishing

Many boys aged 10 to 12 years are engaged in the fishing industry in the Afram plains and in the villages along the Lake Volta. The work is exhaustive and dangerous. Children of fisher families often spend days at sea and are exposed to risks of exposure, exhaustion and drowning. Children often dive for oysters and crabs and are sometimes expected to dive underwater to untangle the fishing nets, which is very dangerous.

Shepherding

Children take the cattle out to graze at least once a day. Sometimes that can do this while they attend school, though many children do this at the exclusion of school. The children are responsible for the livestock and are vulnerable to abuse or beating if they are stolen or lost.

Table 1: Relevant Development Programs

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS	
<i>United States Agency for International Development (USAID)</i>	supports the Quality Improvement in Primary Schools (QUIPS) Project to develop 110 models schools in each administrative district in the country. The goal is to demonstrate what a school can become by implementing comprehensive capacity building programs and providing small grants for infrastructure development (a maximum of \$1,500 for painting and renovation). The project then works to coordinate interventions with local school committees and to disseminate and replicate good practices. The QUIPS model has been adapted by the government in a new grants program to improve the quality of schools in districts not served by the program.
<i>International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC)</i>	has implemented numerous, studies, discussion panels and community level projects to address the issue of child labor in Ghana. IPEC activities are implemented in context of the “National Plan of Action for the Elimination of Child Labor in Ghana”, which is designed to help the government of Ghana to come into compliance with the provisions of ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child labor.
<i>United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)</i>	supports programs that realize child rights in relation to protection, education and enrichment. Education programs have been established for fishing communities in the Afram Plains, and to help street children learn vocational skills. The families of potential migrants in the North are provided with microcredit to help families keep their children close to the family. In addition, a lawyer at a local university has been contracted to study the legal dimensions of child rights in Ghana. UNICEF is also extensively involved in modifying existing education policies based on a child rights approach.
<i>The World Bank</i>	support educational reform through the <i>Basic Education Sector Improvement Program</i> . The goals of the program include strengthening educational management systems, improving planning, monitoring and evaluation, increasing access to education training by relevant personnel and teachers, and setting up mechanisms for assessing student performance, providing instructional materials, and the continuous review and development of educational curriculum.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS	
<i>Ghana Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs</i>	was founded in February 2001 by bringing the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) and the National Commission for Women and Development (NCWD) under a single cabinet level institution. The Ministry continues the work of the GNCC to protect child rights through conducting social surveys, and providing training programs for law enforcement and judicial so they can better develop a coordinated response to child rights issues.
<i>National Child Labor Steering Committee</i>	is responsible for implementing and coordinating IPEC activities and works in close cooperation with donors and government agencies to develop project and programs that benefit working children. The committee is comprised of representatives from the government, IPEC, the Ghana Employers Association, the Trade Unions Congress, the media, international organizations and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs).
<i>National Poverty Reduction Program</i>	aims to improve the living standards of the poor through community-initiated development projects and other private sector initiatives. Other areas of the program include building management capacity skills, developing new technology and social development planning. The program is funded by United Nations Development Program (UNDP).
LOCAL PROGRAMS	
<i>African Centre for Human Development (ACHD)</i>	works in child advocacy, civil society, gender, and the decentralization and public decision-making, The organization was the first local NGO to conduct an in-depth study on child trafficking in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Togo, which was originally funded by IPEC and later picked up by Danish Agency for Development Assistance (DANIDA). ACHD has also promoted the child rights at the local level through community education projects and sensitization campaigns.
<i>Save the Children UK</i>	implements programs in reproductive health, child protection, and community work, and is the coordinating organization for the NGO Coalition on the Rights of the Child. Most of its work is in the Ashanti and Northern regions.
<i>Kuapa Kokoo Union</i>	is the largest private agricultural cooperative in the country and works with 973 village societies to help cocoa farmers market their produce, use pesticides responsibly, and use better methods for harvesting to decrease post harvest losses.
<i>Action Aid</i>	works in basic education, agriculture, food security, and the capacity building of development partners. It operates a school for shepherd children that makes education available to children who work raising livestock in the North

<i>Children in Need, Ghana (CING)</i>	assists street children and those engaged in various forms of child labour. It works to improve the living conditions and self-esteem of street children training them and by giving them the opportunity to play with their peers. The organization operates a foster home in Accra, that also serves as a training center, office and a research center.
<i>Street Girls Aid (S.Aid)</i>	cares for girls who live on the streets. It operates a center for street girls who have become pregnant, by offering them medical care and advising them on how to care for themselves and their babies.
<i>Catholic Action for Street Children (CAS)</i>	Helps children get off the street by helping them find a stable living situation and helping them to reunite with their families

Conclusions and Recommendations

Child labor is related to economic pressures on the family and the long-established practice of relying on the work of children to meet basic needs. Most respondents to our questions stressed that child labor is acceptable, and that it may even contribute to making children develop into better adults. Despite the normal expectation of work by children, the team identified serious problems of child labor and child trafficking that deserve further study and consideration in future educational programming. According to dangers posed to children, abusive work in the informal gold mines, the fishing industry and debt bondage/trafficking practices deserve priority attention. The team did not observe the organized trafficking of unaccompanied children in the cocoa industry as priority concern, though more impartial empirical research needs to be conducted on the extent of the practice and the dangers and issues surrounding it.

While benefits of education often take long to materialize and are difficult to measure, education initiatives are the first line of defense to assist children engaged in, or at serious risk of, dangerous work. These children usually come from the most socially and economically neglected groups in the country and they need a concerted effort to reach out to children and pull them into the educational system. It should be stated, however, that education is not a panacea for the problem and that it needs to be programmed in coordination with other labor enforcement and child protection measures. For this reason, the following section makes recommendation for education and child protection measures.

Education

- Social mobilization and school enrollment to spread messages of school enrollment and community participation to local communities. The approach transcends raising awareness of the issue, and entails the provision of useful and relevant education services with the input and participation of the community. Activities could include enrollment kiosks on market day, Theater for Development presentations, and door-to-door school enrollment campaigns.
- School improvement is sometimes as simple as bringing community members together and developing a framework for them to donate materials and labor necessary to improve

school services and infrastructure. However, for most child labor initiatives, it may be unwise to make this a priority given the limited program funds available. For greatest effect, infrastructure and school quality issues should be implemented in the context of other government and donors initiatives with the child labor project only providing the necessary technical assistance and feedback.

- Coordinating the Scholastic Year with the Agricultural Calendar Cocoa harvesting is labor intensive work that is very time sensitive. Families often rely on the work of their children, who find it difficult or impossible to do it all in their free time. Schools should take the labor schedule of local farmers into consideration in the development of the school calendar, so that classes are more flexible to meet the needs of these children. This can be accomplished by helping them to catch up with the missed time, or delaying the school year for a period sufficient for them to complete their work.
- Incentives make it “economically rational” for working children to attend school, through mechanisms such as by scholarships, subsidies and school feeding programs. Incentives make education affordable by making school materials and supplies available to families who cannot afford them. International experience shows that incentives are an effective way to bring children into school, though it is an expensive approach and may negatively affect scholastic achievement if schools cannot keep up with the increased demand.
- Vocational and agricultural training to suit the needs of the local labor market. Children can become a good conduit to train families on improved agricultural production methods, such as integrated pest management. Children learn quickly, are open to innovation and have the time to master new concepts and techniques. In addition, they can learn reading and writing in the context of agriculture, which will improve their learning capacity and their ability to make a living.
- Curriculum messages that enable children to realize their rights and understand what they can do to improve their lives. Such curricula should stress the age appropriateness of the tasks performed by children, labor regulations and the most common hazard and accident risks.
- Training and retaining teachers by building the capacity of district level teacher training colleges to be more responsive to the needs of child workers. It also could raise the awareness of the danger signs of abuse at work. Teacher incentives also need to be explored including the provision of adequate housing and a subsistence farming area free of charge for teacher’s and their families in the rural areas.

Child Protection and Rehabilitation

While education is pivotal to creating opportunities for working children, efforts also need to be made to protect their rights. To develop the social accountability to make a lasting impact, development partners need to interface effectively with community and governmental decision-making structures at the local level, including directorates of education, district assemblies, parent teacher associations and other community groups. Creating such linkages can be one of the most long lasting and sustainable interventions donors can support. Currently, NGOs are assisting a small percentage of the most vulnerable children, leaving the rest without adequate

support. To reach a wider audience, it is also important to support government cooperation, which proves to be crucial for the success and sustainability of any initiative

- Public Awareness Raising on child labor issues includes making information available, accessible, affordable and reader-friendly on issues such as occupational safety and health, labor laws. Media and other public and private institutions can sensitize families on the benefits of educating children and how to make it happen.
- Rehabilitation access to special rehabilitation and support programs, especially for unaccompanied children that have traveled without a parent or guardian. Safe homes can provide them with counseling, psychotherapy, skills development and job linkage services, as well as social and psychological counseling
- Law Enforcement Heavy fines should be imposed on offenders to make the employment of children risky and unattractive. An important step is to make training available for law enforcement to help them identify abusive labor situations and to respond effectively.

PLANNING INTERVENTION STRATEGIES FOR CHILD LABORERS IN GHANA

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1 INTRODUCTION

The overall purpose of the planning analysis is to develop educational and other intervention strategies for children in abusive labor situations, predominantly in cocoa, and to identify potential partners who have the capacity to implement interventions that would be designed, in cooperation with the STCP. The results of the ECACL analysis in Côte d'Ivoire, combined with the additional research being conducted, are envisioned to assist the STCP in designing its approach to address a newly emerging component within its framework.

The Education to Combat Abusive Child Labor (ECACL) Activity conducted the planning analysis. Its primary objectives are to provide technical assistance to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the area of using education to combat abusive child labor. In response to a request by the Africa Bureau, the ECACL team provided background information, a framework for designing intervention strategies, and technical considerations when dealing with child labor in agriculture. The ECACL activity financed the cost of a desk review in March 2002, as well as the present analysis conducted in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana during the months of April and May 2002. The results of these activities are offered to assist the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP) and others in the design of child labor intervention strategies in their development program.

The STCP goal is to improve the well-being of smallholder farmers through the development of sustainable tree crop systems that increase productivity, generate income, conserve biodiversity, use natural resources in a sustainable manner, and offer stable development prospects and long-term economic incentives. The STCP is a program that brings together all stakeholders and enables them to collaborate through a framework with four component areas. The components are: 1) grower and business support services, 2) research and technology transfer, 3) policy analysis and implementation, and 4) market and information system development. A newly developing fifth (5th) component will focus on child labor. The general approach taken within each component is to build on the existing efforts and activities of relevant stakeholder groups, to add value to them, and to coordinate future collaborations.

In the planning analysis, the team conducted five days of meetings with NGOs in Accra followed by nine days of visits to seven of the ten regions of the country, including Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Eastern, Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions. The team visited twenty municipalities or communities in 13 districts. At the community level, visits were made to district assembly officials (including the District Chief Executive, Planning Officers, Social Welfare Officers and Directors of Agriculture and Education), farmers, fishermen and informal gold mining sites. 19 of the 30 respondents were children between the ages of 7 and 18 years,.

The interviews were very useful in understanding the specific problems faced by children in abusive labor situations from the perspective of organizations, programs and communities that know and understand these children.

1.1 Scope and Methodology

The scope of the planning analysis includes the elimination of abusive child labor, development of child education and promotion of agricultural growth. Geographically,

1.1.1 Scope

The overall purpose of the planning analysis is to develop educational and other interventions for children in abusive labor situations and to identify potential partners who have the capacity to implement interventions that would be designed, in co-operation with the Sustainable Tree Crop Program (STCP) network. The planning analysis has the following objectives:

1. To identify current educational needs, conditions, resources and barriers faced by children in potentially abusive labor situations, and to determine the condition of educational infrastructure, including the availability of teachers, adequacy of curriculum and text books, quality of instruction, administrative structure, access and retention of children in educational programs, and gender equity.
2. To determine the feasibility and usefulness of various intervention strategies including education (i.e., non-formal, formal, vocational and transitional education programs), labor monitoring and extraction, reintegration services; psychosocial counseling, integrated pest management programs, economic incentives, and income generation activities, among others.
3. To determine the feasibility and need for a job risk analysis for children engaged in cocoa production by determining the appropriateness of tasks by age and any potential risks to the health or safety of the child.
4. To develop a strategy for education and other interventions in cooperation with the STCP network or other service providers, and to suggest appropriate support by STCP or other technical assistance providers, including technical assistance, training and financial support.
5. To identify local NGOs with relevant experience in education, child rights, or rural development, and to determine their capacity to effectively implement a child labor intervention program.

1.1.2 Methodology

The planning analysis examined the situation of child labor seven of the ten regions of Ghana, including the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Eastern, Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions. In the Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and Western regions, the planning analysis focused on cocoa farming and small-scale mining, or *galamsey*. Visits to the Central region focused on fishing, and visits to the Northern region examined animal husbandry. In Accra, visits to markets, a stone quarry and street child shelter helped the team understand the urban dimensions of the problem.

The team leader identified a local partner to assist with the data collection and analysis. The African Center for Human Development (ACHD) was chosen because it has demonstrated a proven ability to study and analyze the situation of child labor and trafficking in Ghana. This is evidenced by the report “Child Slaves of Ghana Cry Out for Help: Child Slavery and Trafficking in Ghana”. Their study was initiated under a grant from IPEC. DANIDA later provided funding to expand the project to a nine-month initiative to examine the situation of child slavery in Ghana and the neighboring countries of Mali, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire and Togo over a period of nine months. The study examined the situation of child labor in seven of the ten regions: the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Eastern, Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions. ACHD provided a consultant and a driver, who facilitated trips to fourteen villages and towns in seven of the 10 regions of the country.

The planning analysis employed primary and secondary research methods, including interviews and focus groups. It utilized informal interviews in selected villages, with an emphasis on interviews with development organizations, ministries, district officials¹. On the basis of guidance from these organizations; individuals and local school officials from local communities were interviewed in agriculture, fishing and gold mining areas in seven of the ten regions in the country. The observational technique of data collection helped to develop an overall impression of community decision-making structures, the state and condition of local schools, and the conditions of work for children. The informal approach helped to relax respondents, who readily shared their views on child labor, education and economic development at the local level.

1.1.3 Outputs and Results

1. A planning analysis in Ghana on the role of education and other interventions in alleviating abusive child labor in tree crop production and other sectors, with special attention to child trafficking and forced labor.
2. A matrix describing key development organizations, their services and activities, their geographic outreach, and their capacity and experience in serving child laborers, with a view to making recommendations to support future services in this area.
3. Formal distribution of the final report to donors and implementing agencies on the findings and recommendations of the planning analysis in order to facilitate responsive planning and service delivery for child workers.
4. Project designs for one or more pilot activities that serve children in abusive labor situations in cooperation with local development partners. The activity has the potential to be funded through an ECACL subtask order or from project funds set aside by STCP to implement seven projects in the West Africa region.

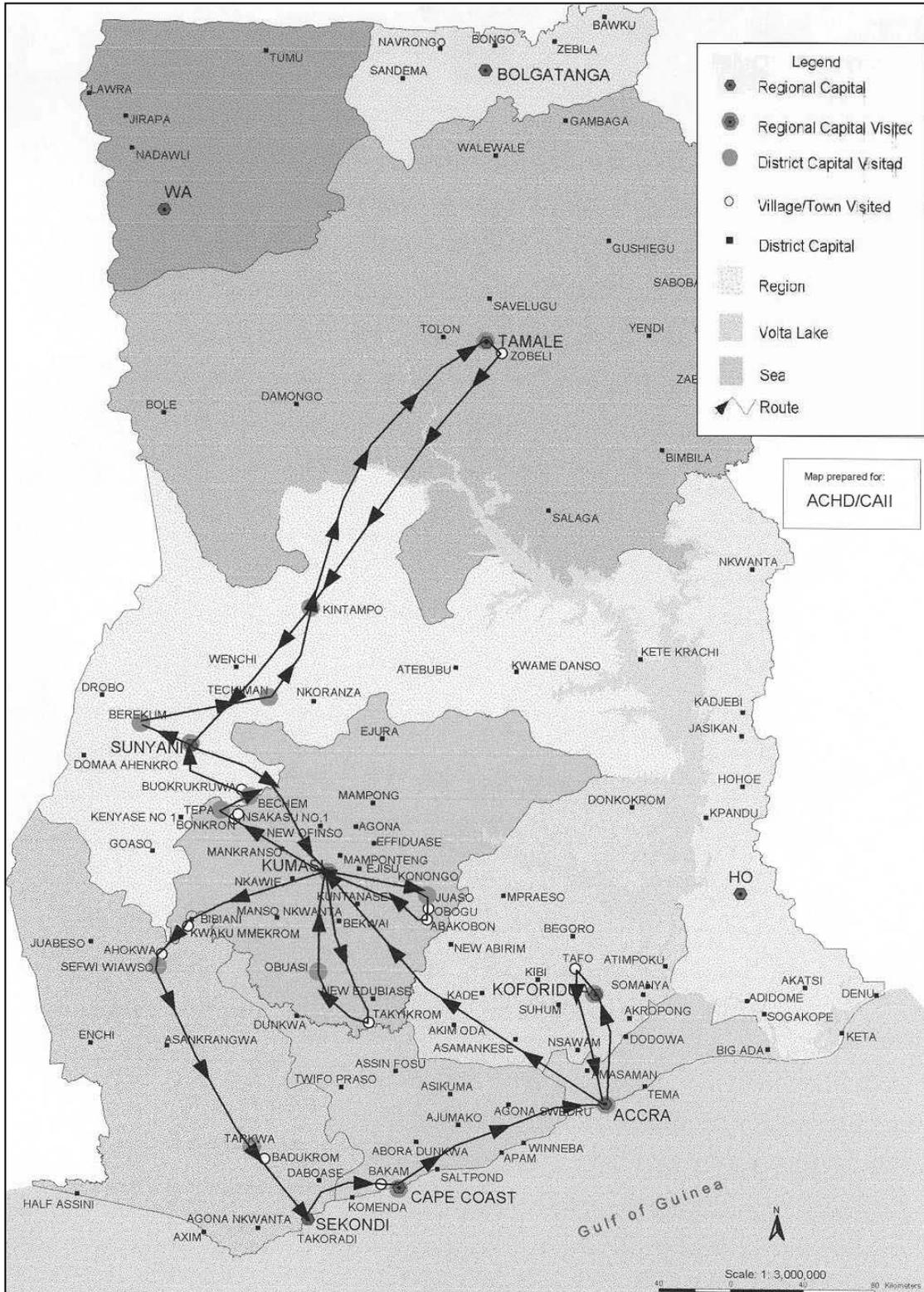
¹ Planning and Coordinating Units, the Department of Social Welfare, Department of Agriculture and members of District Assemblies

1.2 Trip Itinerary (May 6 – May 26)

Date Visited	Region	District	Municipalities and Institutions Visited
April 8	Greater Accra	Accra	USAID
			Community School Alliances Project
			Action Aid Ghana
April 9			Academy for Educational Development (AED), Quality Improvements in Primary Schools (QUIPS) Project,
			International Labor Organization / International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO/IPEC)
			Save the Children UK
			United Nation's Children's Fund (UNICEF)
April 10		Ghana Education Service (GES)	
April 11		African Centre for Human Development	
		Ministry of Education	
April 13		Children in Need	
		Street Girls Aid	
		Goodnight Shelter for Street Children	
April 15		District Labor Office, Labor Department	
April 15	Ashanti	Asante Akim South District- Juaso	District Assembly
			Obogu Presbyterian Primary School
			Obogu Town
		Abakobon village	
April 16		Kumasi	Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP)
			Participatory Devevelopment Associates (PDA)
April 17			Kuapa Kooko Co. Ltd.
			Dept. of Renewable Natural Resources of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST)
			COCOBOD
April 18		Adansi West District - Obuasi	District Assembly
	Takyikrom village		
		Galamsey Site	
April 19	Ahafo Ano North - Tepa	District Assembly	
		Bonkron village	
		Nsakasu No.1 village	

April 19	Brong Ahafo Region	Tano Berekum Techiman South Kintampo	Buokrukruwa village District Assembly District Assembly Techiman Town Market District Social Welfare Office Transit to Tamale
April 20	Northern Region	West Dagomba	Tamale Zobeli village Director of a local NGO (Friends of the Helpless)
April 22	Western Region	Bibiani Sefwi Wiawso	District Director of agriculture District Social Welfare Officer Cocoa Plantation – Ohyia mpe Anika (Poverty does not like fun) Farmstead under Kwaku Mmekrom village District Assembly – District Chief Executive and District Planning Officer Visit to a cocoa farm Ahokwa village
April 23		Tarkwa	Badukrom village – Galamsey site
April 24	Central Region	Cape Coast	Bakam village
	Greater Accra Region	Accra	Makola Market Agbogbloshie Market Nima
April 25	Eastern Region	Koforidua	Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana (CRIG)
April 26	Greater Accra Region	Accra	Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) USAID

Figure 1: Sites Visited During the Planning Analysis



1.3 Country Profile

Ghana is divided into the ten administrative regions, including Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Volta and Western Regions. Accra is the capital and seat of government. The regions are sub-divided into 110 districts, nationwide. Ghana is a secular state. Geographically, Ghana is situated on the West coast of Africa, and is bordered by Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, Côte D'Ivoire to the west, with the Atlantic Ocean to the south. The country covers an area of approximately 240,000 square kilometers and has an equatorial climate. It is hot year around; with average temperatures ranging from an average of 21°C to 35°C. The country is scenic, with a few mountain ranges and several hills. Mt Afadzato is the highest point at 1,500 meters above sea level. The Volta River is the major body of water, which dammed at Akosombo and Akuse for hydroelectric power. In the southern and middle belt of the country, Ghana has tropical vegetation of dense forest with high humidity most of the year. There are two rainy seasons, including major rains in March and June and lesser rains in the months between July and October. In the North, there are semi-arid grasslands that have but one rainy season from June to September with a prolonged dry season.

English is the official national language, though ethnic languages are mainly spoken, including the Akan, Ewe, Ga-Dangbe, Guan, Dagbani Dagare, and Kasem languages. Of the eight major tribal groupings, the Akan, Ewe Ga-Dangbe, Guan, and Mole- Dagbani account for the majority of the population. An estimated 100 ethnic groups make up these groups. About 43 percent of the adult population is Christian, 12 percent are Moslem, 40 percent practice traditional religions, and 5 percent profess no religious affiliation. The majority of Christians are concentrated in the southern and middle regions, while Muslims are found predominantly in the North. Traditional religions are found scattered throughout the country. While Christianity and Islam dominate the lives of most people, negative traditional practices still prevail in the context of these religions including female circumcision, vestal virgins, and rituals related to widowhood. These can have negative effects on the lives of children, especially girls.

Ghana gained political independence from British rule in March 1957, the first in Sub-Saharan Africa to do so. Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was the first President. Since this time there have been ten changes of government, including several military regimes. The history of political upheaval can be traced to pre-independence struggle between the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Convention Peoples Party through to the establishment of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in 1992. The longest serving president was Jerry Rawlings of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), which ruled from 1981 to 1992. His party was later transformed to the NDC, and he continued to rule from 1993 to 2000, when he was defeated in a democratic election by J. A. Kuffour of the New Patriotic Party (NPP). At the time of independence in 1957, Ghana was among the most developed countries in sub-Saharan Africa, both in terms of per capita income and infrastructure. The economy continued to develop until the early 1980's when a severe recession and famine affected the country, due to political instability, poor developmental policies and unfavorable terms of trade. The government responded by introducing the Economic Recovery and Structural Adjustment Program in 1983 to stimulate economic growth and improve economic efficiency.

1.4 Development and Basic Services

The population of Ghana is estimated at 18,840,000 persons, and the population growth rate between 2.6 percent to 3.0 percent per annum². 65 percent of the population lives in rural areas, with population density as low as 4 persons per km², while the remaining 35 percent lives in urban areas, mostly in the regional capitals³. The country suffers from high levels of poverty and a high dependency burden, with 45 percent of the population under 15 years and 4 percent over 56. The population growth has exacerbated development trends, such as landlessness in rural areas and high rates of rural to urban migration, especially from the northern regions to the southern regions.

Agriculture is the largest economic sector in Ghana, accounting for 45 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. Most foreign exchange in this sector is earned from cocoa exports. Mineral extraction (gold, bauxite and manganese) is the second largest sector, and is growing at an average rate of 10 percent per year. The manufacturing and industrial sectors have been experiencing annual declines of 2.5 percent and 4.7 percent, though have recently seen signs of improvement. The overall poor performance resulted from liberalized trade and high cost of capital from commercial banks. The export and tourism sectors are growing steadily as a result of the expansion of the informal sector, including small export farmers, artisan production and other local business enterprises. While the economy has grown by an average of 5 percent annually, it has come at the cost of increased income disparity and a declining per capita income. High external debt has prompted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to classify Ghana as a Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC), which makes the country eligible for participation in the debt reduction program.

According to government statistics, 31.4 percent of the population lives below the poverty level, which varies only slightly between rural and urban areas. Most families find it difficult to meet basic needs and almost all of their income is spent on food, housing, health and education. The Greater Accra Region is the most affluent region, while the regions in the north are the poorest. Income is highest among households that grow food crops; though poverty affects most occupational groups including export farmers, wage employees in the informal sector and the self-employed.

The environment has been negatively impacted by unplanned economic growth and haphazard development policies. Deforestation is a major problem, resulting from the practice of clear-cutting to develop farms, mostly for staple food crops like maize and rice. The practice of burning forestation to clear the land often results in uncontrolled bush fires and the loss of productive agricultural land. Land is even burned as a way of hunting driving wildlife into open areas so that hunters can find them. The consumption of trees for fuel is a concern, and programs substituting natural gas for cooking and other domestic uses have not been successful. Most families continue to rely on charcoal and firewood for fuel. Increased deforestation, around

² according to the provisional results of the 2000 Ghana Population and Housing Census

³ The regional capitals include Accra, Kumasi, Sunyani, Tamale, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, Koforidua, Ho, Bolgatanga and Wa.

rivers and lakes has caused many water bodies to evaporate and threatens access to surface water.

Access to basic health services has improved in recent decades, though the access and cost of basic health services continues to be a problem, especially in rural areas. Here, 40 percent of the population must walk more than 15 km to receive medical attention. The lack of qualified personnel, equipment and supplies in government health centers, has caused a higher dependence on informal and private sector services, which are often prohibitively expensive for most people. Under the governmental decentralization program, increased funding has been made available for some primary healthcare facilities in district capitals and other urban centers. They are managed by district assemblies and actively involve community members. A national health insurance program has been proposed which may further ease the situation. The average life expectancy has increased from 45 to 57 years over the period 1960 to 1996.

- Immunization coverage rates for children have increased since 1992. However, 17.5% of children have not received any form of immunization⁴. The under five-mortality rate is estimated at 132 per thousand⁵. Seventy percent of these deaths are due to preventable and curable diseases⁶. There are high regional disparities, with the worst rates in the Upper East, Upper West and Northern Region.
- HIV/AIDS is a persistent and growing problem, with many negative effects for children. Adult HIV prevalence is estimated at 3 percent, and the National Aids Control Program has projected that the rate will increase to between 4 and 9 percent by the year 2014. AIDS now accounts for 4 percent of all deaths in the country and may account for 22 percent by 2014. The loss of parents through AIDS reduces a family's income and can force children to drop out of school to find work. However, the country has put in place several mechanisms over the past ten years to respond to the health crisis and to its social effects.

The provision of potable water to underserved areas has become an important government objective of the since the UN Decade for Drinking Water and Sanitation Access of the 1980's. Access to potable water and sanitation remain a problem, at coverage rates of 65 and 55 percent, respectively. Most rural areas rely on public facilities, while many have no facilities at all. The lack of clean drinking water and sanitation facilities continue to pose a serious risk to public health, especially children. Rural schools often lack sanitation facilities, and those that provide them usually charge a fee. Programs, such as the Environmental Health Department and the Community Water and Sanitation Division, are working to make toilet facilities more widely available in local communities and public schools.

Poor nutrition and hygiene continue to threaten the health of children by increasing their risk of disease and stunting their growth. This is compounded by the low rate of breast-feeding. 17.5

⁴ Ghana Human Development Report, 1997

⁵ Ghana's Children 1997, Pg. 8

⁶ Ghana Human Development Report, 1997

percent of the population lack immunization and the under five-mortality rate is estimated at 13.2 percent. The risks to child health are most pronounced in the North, including the Upper East, Upper West and Northern Regions.

Solid waste management is a problem, particularly in urban areas. The government provides containers for garbage collection, though they are not regularly emptied and prone to overflow polluting the surrounding areas. The safety and availability of food is impacted by poor sanitation, chronic poverty and seasonal food shortages. In areas charging a fee for refuse collection, residents often prefer the option of dumping waste indiscriminately, which often ends up stopping-up gutters and blocking drains.

2 EDUCATION

Education in Ghana is compulsory until the ninth grade and the government is implementing the Free, Compulsory, Universal Basic Education program. The program is committed to providing universal basic education by the year 2005, though the achievement of this goal is a difficult challenge. Many poor parents cannot afford to send their children to school because schools often charge fees of up to US\$ 50 per term and students must pay for school supplies and uniforms. The lack of physical access to school and its prohibitive cost certainly contribute to the prevalence of child work, as work contributes to the decision not to attend school. In addition the education authorities do not adequately monitor school attendance, and parents also are usually not held accountable for their children's absence from school.

At the national level, education comes under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the Ghana Education Service (GES). The MOE is responsible for policy and planning, while the GES is responsible for delivering education services⁷. In each of the ten administrative regions, there is an education directorate that is responsible for administration of the public school system. At the local level, there is usually a central school for every two or three villages, depending on population size, considerably less in underserved areas in the north and the interior of the country. A new primary school is usually established for populations of 1,000 residents or more, and serves an average of 240 students divided among six classes of forty students each. The school system has reformed the system left over from colonial rule, which was considered too expensive for the average student. Currently the country has a 6-3-3-4 system, which includes:

- Six years primary school (grades P1-6);
- three years of junior secondary school (JSS1-3);
- three years of senior secondary school (SSS1-3); and
- four years of tertiary education (university or vocational education).

Over the period 1995 – 1997, government spending on basic education is equivalent to about 2.6 percent of GNP. Basic education accounts for an average of about 67 percent of the education budget in the 1990s; while 16 percent and 12 percent of recurrent expenditure was allocated to secondary and tertiary education respectively (MOE, 1998). Only 1 percent of recurrent educational expenditures are spent on vocational and technical education. Civil society, parents and donors are responsible for costs not covered by the government. Another major source of spending is the District Assembly Common Fund, set up with the 5 percent of tax revenues allocated for local government. Despite these funding streams, the high cost of education has undermined the government's efforts to provide basic education for all, and has weakened the commitment of parents and children to schooling.

⁷ GES in place as a result of the Education service act No. 506 in 1996.

2.1.1 Regional disparities

Rural areas lack the resources of their urban counterparts. Many are inaccessible by transport and do not have access to basic services, radio or electricity. The difference in education access between rural and urban areas is narrowing. As part of the governments FCUBE program, schools have been built in most rural areas, often the centerpiece of the village. However, the rural urban dichotomy is still strong in terms of school enrolment, retention and achievement. There are more private schools in the urban areas (i.e. regional capitals), which typically have retain better teachers and have better academic achievement. Throughout Ghana, it is common to see children using makeshift seats and tables.

The North is the poorest area in the country with the lowest rates of school enrolment and participation, as well as decreased gender participation in the classroom. Only 11.1 percent of pupils in the 9-14 age bracket are literate, and basic infrastructure, such as classrooms, teachers, textbooks and other teaching aids are seriously lacking. Many parents cannot afford to send their children to school. Some children in very poor areas do not have clothes to wear. In total, more than half primary school-aged children in these regions lack access to basic education.

2.1.2 Teachers

The recruitment and retention of qualified teachers is a problem. While teachers are paid better than most other public servants, they typically make no more than ¢180,000 per month (less than US \$50)⁸. A superintendent can earn ¢700,000/ per month, or about US \$100. Most of the 110 districts have a teacher training college, though schools find it difficult to fill their teaching positions with trained personnel. It is not unusual to see schools with less than 30 percent trained staff. Teachers are reluctant to work in remote areas, which lack facilities and services. The low salary of teachers also contributes to corruption and abuse by teachers and administrators, such as requiring students to attend tutoring sessions to pass exams, requiring children to work on personal farms, or the sexual abuse of students.

2.1.3 School Management and Decision Making

The government has vigorously pursued a political decentralization program over the past six years that devolves power to a four-tier Metropolitan and three-tier Rural Municipal/District Assembly structure. Under the 1993 Local Government Act, the District Assemblies are given legislative and executive responsibilities. Unit Committees form the Assembly play an important role in revenue generation, budget planning and the disbursement of funds at the community level. They also support interventions in education, health, environment, communal labor, and the monitoring community level self-help projects. The District Assemblies generate local revenue and receive financial support from the central government, through a system of common funds.

The 1996 District Assembly Act allocated decision-making responsibility to the school management committee, who is the primary organization responsible for the management and administration of schools at the community/school level. The committee of made up of 12-15

⁸ At the time of this report the exchange rate was 7,200 cedis/USD

members including representative of the local chief, a district assembly representative, the head teacher, and teachers (who are mostly men). School committees allocate the school budget, pay salaries, support parent supervision, and work to improve teacher attendance and performance. The work of the school committee is augmented by the participation of parent teacher associations, youth groups, churches, parents, and other community members. Participation in these civil society organizations varies widely between communities. By law, the committees are required to have representation by at least 30 percent women, though this is more feasible in the south than the north, where the Islamic culture places more restrictions on their participation of women in public life.

2.1.4 Reasons Children are not in school

The official enrollment rate is 85 percent, though only about 60 percent of children regularly attend school either because of truancy or drop out. Attendance is dependent on the seasonality and work schedules in the local economy, including fishing, farming, livestock, and herding. About 44 percent of dropouts interviewed in the survey by ACHD indicated that they left because they needed money, while 27 percent indicated they needed to earn money for the household. Girls are at a higher risk of dropout, because parents most often decide to continue the education of their sons, rather than their daughters. They often assume girls will become homemakers, so families do not perceive a positive return on educating them beyond the primary level. The dropout rate of girls peaks in the transition between Primary 6 (P6) to Junior Secondary School (JSS1).

Achieving a formal education is problematic for most poor families. In addition to the lack of resources, families do not perceive a net benefit from school attendance. In the short term, school disrupts work on the family farm, where up to 90 percent of rural Ghanaian children work. In the long term, families do not believe that a school certificate will enable their children to find gainful employment. In addition, domestic responsibilities interfere with the ability of children to attend school, including the preparation of meals and taking care of dependants (younger siblings and the elderly).

Rural people believe education does not have an advantage, because most children will end up working on the farm, regardless. Such negative attitudes affect school attendance as much as the ability to afford the costs. These attitudes about the value of education also make communities skeptical of non-formal education programs. Most would rather concentrate on educating the very young, rather than spending valuable resources on older students who have already missed their chance. However, there are programs that assist out of school youth, including civic participation initiatives that involve youth in governance and citizenship programs.

The attitudes toward children vary considerably at the household level. Many work hard to improve the opportunities of their children, while others neglect their children and leave them unattended. You may find children on the street late into the evening. In addition, some traditional beliefs may leave children vulnerable when the family faces hardship. According to custom, a household has the greatest duty to the income earner, followed by the wife who is “borrowed” from another family, while children have the lowest priority because they can be “replaced”. According to tradition, infants are regarded as a god in the days directly following

childbirth and there are many associated social rituals, though the status of infants quickly declines after this.

2.1.5 Gender disparities

Girls frequently drop out of school. In order to promote girls' education, in 1997, the government established a girls' education unit within the basic education division of the Ghana Educational Service. In addition the government has regular campaigns to promote school participation rate of girls. In spite of encouraging increases in enrollment rates for girls, participation is still low. In September 1999, according to government sources, girls' enrollment in primary school increased from 75 percent in 1992 to 81 percent in 1997. However male enrollment is significantly higher than female enrollment at all levels of education. A 1997 study commissioned by the Ghana National Commission on Children confirms the gender gap in terms of school enrollment. There were 22,418 boys and 14,318 girls enrolled at the high school level in 8 districts. It is believed that the reason for lower girls' enrollment rate is that many girls get married early or become pregnant. There are frequent reports of sexual harassment and assault of girls by school teachers.

2.2 Education Development Programs

Basic education has become an important national development priority, especially since the Education for All Conference in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. The government has made important advances in the expansion of school services, though quality problems persist. According to the General Education Service, educational outcomes should include: student achievement, participation, social skills, and the ability to earn a living. Schools continue to successfully socialize children, though gains in student achievement and livelihood security do not necessarily follow.

2.2.1 Free, Compulsory, Universal, Basic Education

Free and compulsory education has been a national development objective since the Education Act of 1961. At this time, attempts were made to train large numbers of teachers and make adequate provisions for textbooks and other educational inputs. It was not until the late 1980s that reforms were implemented to expand basic education at a rate sufficient meet the growth of the population.

The 1992, the new constitution outlined the FCUBE program to be implemented by the new democratically elected government. It made the way for a ten-year strategic plan initiated in 1995 by a forum of development partners including the Ministry of Education. The goal of the plan is to make district assemblies accountable for the enrolment of all school-aged children, and to assure the quality of the system. FCUBE supports initiatives to increase community involvement, improve the quality of teaching/learning, and give greater educational opportunity to girls and other disadvantaged groups. The strategic framework of FCUBE requires that it extend access to the entire education sub-sector from primary to junior secondary school. It is meant to compliment the wider Ghana Vision 2020 National Development Policy Framework, which include:

- To raise the quality of teaching and learning outcomes;
- to increase access and participation;
- to improve management efficiency and sustainability; and
- to decentralize the management of the education system.

The achievements of the FCUBE program have not met their goals, though achievements have been impressive. Currently, the enrollment rate of school age children is about 60 percent. Dropout is even higher for girls. Despite overall gains in school enrollment, it has stagnated in the past three or four years (1998-2002). The continued expansion in enrollment has stretched the normal class size of 40 to as much as 70.

2.2.2 Other national programs

The government has implemented the following programs to support the FCUBE policy:

The Girls' Education Unit	Established in 1997 by the Basic Education Division of the Ghana Education Service. Its goal is to increase the participation of girls in the formal education system, increase the number of girls who make the transition from JSS to senior secondary school (SSS), and to expose girls in junior and senior schools to science, technology and mathematics education by increasing to these subjects.
The Ghana Education Trust Fund	Created by the Government, it is a funding mechanism from the 2.5 percent Value Added Tax reform laws to establish an endowment to relieve some of the economic demand placed on families to pay for education.
Vocational and technical training institutions	Developed to better meet the requirements of the job market, these programs are geared toward providing skilled workers to the manufacturing and service sectors. The schools exist alongside the traditional apprenticeship system. Two examples include the Intermediate Technology Transfer Units (ITTU) and the Ghana Regional Appropriate Technology Industrial Services (GRATIS).
The National Functional Literacy Program	Established in 1987, this non-formal education program was developed to eradicate illiteracy by providing a feasible educational alternative, especially for women and girls.

3 AGRICULTURE

Ghana is an agrarian economy. In the 1980s it contributed 52 percent of GDP, though by the 1990s this went down to 41 percent, due to declining agricultural production and the growth in the industrial and services sectors. Most of the population works in agriculture, given that about 81 percent of the population is rural. Of economically active persons, 86.5 percent work full time and 12.1 percent work part time. Approximately 80 percent are engaged in farming and 10.5 percent work in a combination of farm and non-farm activities. 9.5 percent of the workforce works in non-farm occupations, such as civil service, services and trading.

Apart from a few large-scale commercial farms, most farming takes place on small family-owned farms. 72.6 percent of farmers cultivate food crops for consumption and for sale, 26.7 percent produce cash crops and foodstuffs, while only 0.7 percent relies exclusively on cash crops. Cereals are the number one cash and staple crop throughout the three agro-ecological zones accounting for 52.5 percent of all production. Most farmers use rudimentary production methods, including slash and burn to clear land, and hoe and machete to weed and clear undergrowth. There is little mechanization given the small size of the holdings. The country does not rely much on irrigation, except for a few areas in the north. Fertilizers and pesticides are limited for the most part to the production of cash crops. Cash crop production and income level in the three geographic regions of the country follows:

Area	Agricultural commodity	Income level
Forest belt	Cocoa, oil palm, teak and citrus	75.3 percent earn more than ₵200,000 per season.
Coastal savanna	Tomatoes, pepper, garden eggs, okra, pineapple and sugar cane and cashew.	47.2 percent earn more than ₵200,000 per season. 22 percent earn between ₵1,000,000 and ₵5,000,000.
North	Cotton, cereals, legumes and tubers. Livestock and poultry are also raised alongside crops usually for household consumption.	13.5 percent earn more than ₵200,000 per season 42.7 percent earned below ₵40,000 in the peak season.

The variation in farmer income across zones is related to the fertility of the land, access to transportation and markets. The forest belt is most affluent given its proximity to the trading hub of Kumasi, which has the best transport services between markets and producers. In this area, cocoa accounts for 39.5 percent of production. In the coastal and northern savannas, cash crops amount to only 12.6 percent. The lack of water, farming opportunities and transportation in the north contributes to high rates of poverty and a strong migratory pull to the South, with its fertile land and urban areas. The major tree crops grown in Ghana include: cocoa, coffee, palm oil, tree nuts and rubber.

Crop diversification has been prompted by uncertainty in the international agricultural commodities market, as a way for farmers to decrease dependency on the major export crops. Non-traditional export crops, such as pineapples, shea nuts, cashew, vegetables/condiments, black pepper, banana/plantain, yams, groundnuts, etc, have been introduced to as an alternative to cocoa. They are gaining popularity with the farmers given their higher income producing potential and established markets. Cotton is another important export crop, though there have been production problems in recent years. Follows are the major cash crops in the various geographic regions of the country:

Most small-scale export farmers are also diversifying into staple crops such as palm oil, maize, and plantain. Staple crops are more responsive to market demand, less seasonal, and provide farmers with food on demand and a steady source of household income. For example, farmers can pick oil palm every 2 – 3 weeks to earn pocket money. Cocoa, on the other hand, is harvested only once a year, making it necessary for the farmer to stretch this income over the rest of the year. Cocoa income is often used to buy clothing for the family or finance school expenses. Staple crops are regularly intercropped with cocoa trees during the early years, to provide shade for the cocoa trees and to support food needs during the unproductive period of maturity.

3.1.1 Cocoa Production

Cocoa is the major source of foreign exchange for the country. For many decades, Ghana was the leading global producer, though production declined in the 1980s due, in part to the recession. Cocoa production takes place within 20° latitude of the equator though most is grown within 10°. In Ghana, it is grown in the belt of tropical forest that stretches from the southwest to the center of the country. The main commercial production occurs in the six regions, including Western, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Central and Volta Regions. Cocoa can be grown in a wide variety of soil types, though it must retain adequate moisture while draining freely since cocoa trees are very sensitive to water logging.

Cocoa is a perennial crop that requires five years before it yields fruit. Hybrids of the crop have been developed that provide yields within three years. As the cocoa tree matures from a seedling, shade from other crops is needed. As the cocoa trees develop a canopy, this need for external shade is reduced. The need for shade tends to promote mixed cropping at the early stages of farm establishment. Plantain and bananas have successfully been used as temporary shade. While the life of the tree is can exceed 50 years, it only produces economically for about 15. The productivity relies on.

1. Rainfall and soil fertility.
2. The method of establishing the farm
3. The level of maintenance, including the weeding of undergrowth.
4. The extent of disease and pest attacks and the ability of the farmer to control them.

Cocoa production has been traditionally centered in the central Ashanti region, whose capital, Kumasi, serves as the national commercial and trading hub. Production has shifted to the Western region (bordering the Ivory Coast) as a result of declining soil fertility and widespread land clearing. The shift in production has caused many of the established cocoa farmers in Ashanti to buy land in the Western region and has made the Western region an important destination point for migrants from the north to settle and farm under sharecropping arrangements. Migrants make up a sizable proportion of the agricultural labor in the fertile farming of the Western, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions. They most often come according to the share cropping arrangements of *abusa* and *abuna*, as outlined above. Most tenant farmers live in acute poverty and earn as little as ₵400,000 per annual growing season while amounts to about US \$50. They usually cannot afford even the basic necessities, and the children of these farmers are most at risk of missing school or shouldering extensive workloads.

In the forest belt zone covering the Ashanti, Western, Eastern and greater part of Brong Ahafo regions, farming communities cultivate food crops like maize, yams, plantain, cocoyam and cassava. Rice is also cultivated in areas that have good amount of water in the soil. The major cash crops cultivated are cocoa and coffee. As these crops are seasonal, the income of most of these people tends to be low, seasonal and irregular. They are also highly dependant on weather and other conditions. Farmers usually have adequate resources during the harvest period, while income levels decline sharply in the lean or planting season, leaving many farmers vulnerable to economic pressures. Compared to the arid regions in the North and East of the country, cocoa producing areas are relatively affluent, though poverty is a persistent and pervasive problem, especially for sharecroppers and their families.

Currently, Ghanaian coca production is under threat from insect and fungal infestations that have already affected about 25% of producers. It is estimated that in four years pests and diseases could affect as much as 80% of the production of affected farmers, which would put the income of farmers and the national export industry at risk. For this reason, it is reasonable to expect that producers will increase the use of insecticides and pesticides to stave off this threat to production.

3.1.2 Land tenure

Much of the land in the country is communally owned, and chiefs and clan leaders traditionally distribute usufruct rights to community members. They pay for temporary use of the land for an agreed upon period, either with money or a symbolic gesture, such as the sharing of palm wine⁹. In addition to traditional methods, land can also be leased or sold in some areas at, or approaching, market costs, though this breach of customs often results in land disputes and litigation. The selling and buying of land is expanding in cash crop producing areas. Stability in the land tenure agreement is crucial given that cocoa is a labor-intensive crop that requires at least 3 to 5 years to mature. Under the communal system, chiefs and clan elders are expected to hold the land in trust for designated families. Women are customarily prohibited from owning

⁹ Palm wine is a local drink made of the juice of the palm tree, which is fermented and distilled. Production of palm wine has taken a predominant role in rural economies.

land and rely on the land of their husband or male members of her immediate family, despite the fact that women provide most of the labor on the farm.

3.1.3 Labor

Agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy employing over 80 percent of the rural labor force. The family is the primary unit of labor supply, though there is a trend towards hiring day laborers during peak seasons in cash crop growing regions. Migrant laborers more often come to live on and work the land, mainly from arid regions with low fertility, such as the north. In forest regions where tree crop are grown, land is lent, not sold, and sharecropping families usually enter into one of two farming agreements.

- The *Abusa* (meaning $\frac{1}{3}$ in the local language) system, where the landowner gives responsibility of the land to the sharecropper. The landowner provides seedlings and other inputs; while the farmer is responsible for clearing; transplanting and subsequent maintenance of the farm until maturity. The farmer also grows food crops, which are eaten or sold by the household. In return for his labor, the farmer receives one third of the proceeds of the sale of the crops, and the landowner collects two-thirds.
- The *Abunu* ($\frac{1}{2}$) system, where the landowner releases the land to a farmer to grow crops, usually staple crops. The farmer is responsible for all labor and inputs. After harvest, the farmer receives half of the proceeds.

On a seasonal basis, groups of migrant farm workers, usually adult men, travel from their areas as mentioned to the cocoa farms to weed and to harvest, especially between February - May, and August – November. They come to stay with friends and family who share in their money earned. Most usually have a running agreement with farmers to provide such services on a seasonal basis. Those already settled in the area usually involve their children to help on the farms at these times. Most cocoa farmers participate in communal labor system, or *nnoboa*, where neighboring farms donate labor with the confidence that the recipients will help them when they are in need.

Labor requirements on cocoa farms are seasonal, and intensive at the time of land clearing and harvesting. For about three weeks during harvest time, there is increased activity as farmers pluck the cocoa pods, break them, ferment them and dry them. While children of all ages participate, it is usually those about the age of 15 that do most of the intensive work. The harvesting of cocoa occurs at the same time as the first months of school, so it is common for a sizeable proportion of the school children to have a high absentee rate at this time. Some children stay out of school all year, because they believe that they have fallen too far behind to benefit from school, which also serves as a convenient excuse for students who do not want to attend or for schools that do not want to accept them. The dangers of cocoa production include mixing and applying pesticides, injuries from the use of machetes to clear weeds, and the repetitive stress injuries to joints from long hours of bending and stooping.

The traditional share cropping arrangement is the primary method for farming families to relocate and find work. It is more economically rational for the landowner, because it does not require the investment of capital, and they are assured of a return on the value of their land.

Because of the seasonality of their income, most small farmers do not have the resources to pay wage laborers. Finally, by hiring a family who settles on the land paid according to their production, the farmer is more assured that the land will be tended to and that the yield will be maximized. The use of daily laborers is relatively rare for most smallholders, since they usually do not have the cash to pay help. Those that hire daily workers, hire them to clear land or cut the undergrowth. The worker is usually paid a flat rate for the area cleared by marking the area with a rope. A farmer noted that children are not preferred for this work because they cannot clear the area as well as adults, though youth regularly engage in these activities for their families and at school.

3.1.4 Marketing

Farmers bring the dried cocoa beans they produce to community weighing stations where they are paid according to quantity. They are issued a check from the buyer, which they may cash at the local bank. The Cocoa Board buys the dried cocoa beans at the village level. It transports the produce to the quality control division, which grades and sorts the product and seals it in bags. The Cocoa board uses credit to buy the product from farmers and sell to the Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC), which is ultimately responsible for distributing it to exporters. The National Cocoa Board was established in 1947 from a factory that manufactured bags used in packaging and export. As the result of privatization of the agriculture sector, the cocoa board is now officially privately owned and traded on the national stock exchange.

The market price for production is still controlled by the Cocoa board, and the small farmers receive about half of the price paid in Cameroon and Nigeria. Years of cultivation without crop management and soil replenishment strategies have caused the fertility of many of the traditional cocoa growing to decline. A respondent noted that farmers in Côte d'Ivoire typically clear areas of land and grow cocoa with the use of inorganic fertilizers, which increases the yield, but reduces the productive life of the trees. In Ghana, it is more common that farmers intercrop their cocoa trees with forest crops, which provides for a longer productivity and lower yields. After the productivity of the land declines, Ghana farmers move to a fresh area. Many attribute the higher quality of Ghanaian production with this practice.

4 CHILD LABOR POLICY

The legislation and regulation of child labor is an issue that has been prominent on the development agenda since the near universal ratification of the CRC in 1990. Since this time important progress has been made at the policy level, both at the national and regional levels, though many of the provisions of these international conventions have not been fully implemented at the community level. Streamlining the goals of the child labor provisions into labor regulations, law enforcement and education continues to concern that is limited by economic, financial and human resource constraints.

The basic minimum age for employment in Ghana is 15 years. Children over the age of 15 may work as apprentices, provided that craftsmen and employers ensure a safe and healthy work environment, training and tools. Children under 18 are not allowed to perform certain types of hazardous labor and are prohibited from working at night. The minimum age for employment and compulsory school laws are inconsistent, making it difficult to apply the law. The 1967 decree that prohibits employment before age 15, also allows younger children to perform light work. This makes the allowable age for work overlap with the period of compulsory schooling, which makes the implementation of universal education difficult to enforce.

According to a 1997 World Bank study, children constitute 12.6 percent of Ghana's total labor force, with 80 percent in rural areas. The Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare estimates that there are 18,000 working children in Accra and 800,000 countrywide. 60 percent of working children work in agriculture, while 34 percent were involved in trade and other services. A large number of children work as domestic laborers, porters, hawkers, miners, and quarry workers, some as young as 10 years of age. . A 1996 ILO study indicated that more than 75 percent of working children between ages 5 and 14 were involved in family enterprises. The increasing migration of children from rural to urban areas due to economic difficulties and lack of economic opportunities is further worsening the situation.

4.1 International Conventions and Programs

Among all the major relevant conventions related to child labor and child rights, Ghana has ratified the following:

<u>Convention</u>	<u>Date ratified</u>
UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989	Feb 5, 1990
ILO Convention No. 182 on the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor, 1999	June, 13, 2000
ILO Convention No.105 on the Abolition of Forced Labor, 1957	Dec. 15, 1958.
ILO Convention No. 59 on Minimum Age (Industry), 1937	May 30, 1957
ILO Convention No. 29 on Forced Labor, 1932	May 20, 1957

4.1.1 ILO Convention of the Rights of the Child

Ghana has ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child of 20th November 1989 and it came into force in September 1990. The GNCC was established in 1991 and clauses on Child Rights and Protection were included in Ghana's 1992 constitution. The CRC guarantees the following rights of children:

- Right to survival
- Right to be protected against harmful influences;
- Right to physical, moral and intellectual development and,
- Right to participate actively in social and cultural life.

Following ratification of the CRC, African governments developed the African Charter on the Rights and Responsibilities of the Child as a response what they considered to be a lack of consultation and participation in the decision making process. The participating governments maintained that the issue of children's rights should be viewed within the specific cultural context of the country. It should also take into account the responsibilities of children. The regional charter affirmed the provisions of the CRC, by enhancing its applicability at the local level.

4.1.2 ILO Convention 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labor

Ghana was one of the first nations to ratify the Convention 182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor adopted in 1999, and Ghana's Minister of Employment and Social Welfare chaired the conference. The convention concerns the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, which it comprises:

- All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage, and serfdom and, forced compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict.
- The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornography performances;
- The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- 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.

In determining the types of work referred to under Article 3(d) of the Convention, and in identifying where they exist. The government of Ghana has given specific consideration to:

- work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
- work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;

- work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
- work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
- work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer.

In compliance with the provisions of the convention, Ghana developed a Programme of Action with relevant government institutions and employer and worker organizations. Following the Memorandum of Understanding signed between the government and the ILO in March 2000, The National Programme to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor was launched. The program works toward the achievement of the following goals:

- Informing, sensitizing and mobilizing the general public, including; national and local political leaders, parliamentarians and the judiciary;
- monitoring and giving publicity to best practices on the elimination of child labour;
- giving publicity to legal or other provisions on child labour in the different languages or dialects;
- taking into account the need for sensitizing parents to the problem of children working in such conditions; and
- setting up a continuous data information gathering system on the worst forms of child labor (criminal offences, and labor law violations) disaggregated by sex, age groups, occupation, branch of economic activity, status in employment, school attendance and geographical location.

In working toward these goals the program is working toward the following results:

- Identifying and denouncing the worst forms of child labour;
- preventing abusive child work or the engagement of children in or removing them from the worst forms of child labour, protecting them from reprisals and providing for their rehabilitation and social integration through measures which address their educational, physical and psychological needs;
- giving special attention to: younger children; the girl child; the problem of hidden work situations, in which girls are at special risk; other groups of children with special vulnerabilities or needs; and
- identifying, reaching out to and working public opinion and concerned groups, including children and their families.

Since the signing of the MOU, a National IPEC Programme Manager has been appointed, and the Minister of Employment and Social Welfare has inaugurated a National Steering Committee on August 15, 2000. The Ghana Statistical Service also conducted a study according to the framework of the Statistical Information Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) of the ILO.

4.2 National Laws and Programs

The government of Ghana has had a history of support for child labor issues. On the national level, there have been numerous policy efforts to protect and promote the development and survival of children. These include:

Initiative	Year	Description
The Children's Act (Act 560)	1998	Contains provisions on child labor, provides a framework to assist children in abusive labor. It also legislates the basic rights of the child, judicial and quasi-judicial adjudication, parentage, custody, fosterage and adoption, and institutional care.
Child Labour Unit.	1999	Established as part of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare to better respond to the needs of children in difficult circumstances, including abusive labor situations.
Bill to ratify Convention No. 138 on the Minimum Age For Work.	2002	Currently before parliament, obliging ratifying countries to ensure children are not employed full-time, for remuneration or not, until the end of compulsory primary school, between the ages of 12 and 14.
Labour Decree. NLCD, Act. 157	1967	Prohibits the employment of children below age 15 and prescribes sanctions for offenders.
Criminal Procedure Code	1960	Gives rights to the police and the courts to protect children in difficult circumstances (e.g orphans, destitutes and the maltreated) by sending them to programs to learn a trade.
The Court Act, Act. 459	1993	Mandates the courts to ensure the welfare of children 18 and below as well as children in difficult circumstances.
Women and Juvenile Unit of the Ghana Police Service	1998	The Ghana Criminal Code was amended to establish a unit of the police department to respond specifically to complaints of crimes against juveniles and women, especially those related to sexual abuse.

District assembly act 462	1998	session on education provide teachers and salaries infrastructure is the responsibility of the district assemblies
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4.2.1 National Constitution of Ghana

The Constitution makes direct reference to measure that should be implemented to assure the rights of children. Specifically in Chapter 5, Section 28 states the Parliament shall enact such laws as are necessary to ensure that:

- Every child¹⁰ has the right to the same measure of special care, assistance and maintenance as is necessary for its development from its natural parents, except where those parents have effectively surrendered their rights and responsibilities in respect of the children in accordance with law.
- Every child whether or not born in wedlock, shall be entitled to reasonable provision out of the estate of its parents.
- Parents undertake their natural right and obligations of care, maintenance and upbringing of their children in co-operation with such institutions as Parliament may, by law, prescribe in such manner that in all cases the interests of the children are paramount.
- Children and young persons receive special protection against exposure to physical and moral hazards,
- The protection and advancement of the family as the unit of society are safeguarded in promotion of the interest of children.
- Every child has the right to be protected from engaging in work that constitutes a threat to his health, education or development.
- A child shall not be subjected to torture or other cruel, in human or degrading treatment or punishment.
- No child shall be deprived of medical treatment, education or any other social or economic benefit by any other person by reason of religious or other beliefs.

4.2.2 Children’s Act, 1998 (Act 560)

The Children’s Act (Act 560) of 1998 contains provisions on child labor directed providing a realistic framework assisting children who are compelled to work based on their specific needs. According to the law, the minimum age for formal and informal employment is 15 years, though children permitted to engage in “light work” from the age of 13, provided it does not harm the health or development, or school attendance and the capacity to benefit from schoolwork. The Children’s Act specifically prohibits the following types of work:

¹⁰ For this purpose " Child" means a person below the age of eighteen years.

- Exploitative labor, which is defined as any form of work, which deprives children of their health, education or development.
- Hazardous work, which refers to work that threatens the health, safety or morals of children; specifically going to sea, mining, and quarrying, portering heavy loads and working in places that expose them to immoral behavior (i.e. bars, hotels and other places of entertainment).
- Night work, which is carried out between the hours of eight o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning.

4.2.3 Criminal Procedure Code of 1960

In 1998, the government amended the 1960 Criminal Code to provide more comprehensive protection to women and children. It contains includes new definitions of sexual offenses and has provisions for stronger sentences to the offenders. Sentences for sexual offenses such as rape are doubled. There are also provisions against forced marriage and the recruitment of children into prostitution. The age of accountability for the commission of a crime has been raised from the age of 7 to the age of 12.

5 FINDINGS OF THE PLANNING ANALYSIS

The team conducted five days of meetings with NGOs in Accra followed by nine days of visits to seven of the ten regions of the country, including Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Eastern, Western, Central and Greater Accra Regions. The team visited twenty municipalities or communities in 13 districts. At the community level, visits were made to district assembly officials (including the District Chief Executive, Planning Officers, Social Welfare Officers and Directors of Agriculture and Education), farmers, fishermen and informal gold mining sites. 19 of the 30 respondents were children between the ages of 7 and 18 years. The interviews were very useful in understanding the specific problems faced by children in abusive labor situations from the perspective of organizations, programs and communities that know and understand these children.

5.1 The Child Labor Situation

Within the Ghanaian context, children are expected to work for the family doing household chores such as sweeping, fetching water, carrying firewood, washing dishes, preparing meals, and caring for younger siblings. This is not only seen as acceptable, but an important part of the socialization of children so they may become responsible and hardworking adults. Children also work in the income generation activities of the family, including farming, fishing, cattle rearing, mining, and trading. On market days, children sell foodstuffs, engage in petty trading, and work as porters. Children are expected to carry cocoa or firewood from the age of 10. From the age of four, they can work in the home, look after younger siblings, or perform simple tasks on the farm. For the most part, such “normal” work is not viewed as being detrimental to the health or safety of children. However, these children are exposed to the general work hazards of accidents, drowning and snakebites.



Boy working in the forest belt

From a historical perspective, child work is integral to the social fabric of Ghana. Children are considered an investment, with the expectation that they will contribute to the family income and look after their parents in old age. The expectation of work by children does, however, pose a significant obstacle to their ability to complete their basic education. They work after school and on weekends, holidays and vacations. Those working full time usually drop out of school. Children regularly miss school on market days, though most rural communities consider market day an unofficial holiday. Many children decide not to attend school because of the neglect of the parents and the feeling that they must fend for themselves. Social problems also contribute to the neglect and exploitation of children. Large family size make it difficult to control and supervise children, and some parents simply neglect them leaving them to wander in the streets until late in the evening.

Children are often sent to live with relatives, such as grandparents and cousins, because of strong family and kinship ties. Unfortunately, social change and economic hardship have altered traditional practices, leaving tens of thousands of children vulnerable to danger and exploitation. A case in point concerns trafficking of children from the north of the country through intermediaries, under the guise of traditional sponsorship. The children often end up working in informal restaurants, as porters or selling goods (especially ice water). There is also a problem of trafficked children working with fishermen along the Volta Lake.

Employers, understanding the moral implications of child labor, usually deny the practice. Even where it is admitted, the explanation given was that it was a favor done to a poor child, at the child's request. When child work is performed for the household, it is rarely paid. In cases where children work as wage laborers; it is difficult to measure their income, since it is most often given at the discretion of the employer.

5.1.1 Agricultural Production

It is estimated that some 90 percent of rural children work on the family farm. They are exposed to occupational hazards on the farm, such as lifting heavy loads or exposure to agricultural chemicals, though the precise extent of the problem is not known. In some of the rural communities visited the truancy rate approached 40 percent, and virtually all most of these out of school children worked most of the day, either working directly on the farm or assisting in the fetching of water. They perform tasks such as plucking cocoa pods, carrying firewood or carrying produce to and from the market. All of the interviewees stressed that it is a normal part of childhood and an integral part to the family economy.

Declining conditions in the rural economy have exacerbated the problem of child labor, including declining soil fertility, smaller land holdings, population growth, fluctuating commodity prices, and high rates of post harvest losses. High rates of poverty of most rural inhabitants make many incapable of meeting their responsibilities. This often interferes with their ability to look after the best long-term interest of the child, and has compelled many to withdraw children from school at a young age. Many of the rural children interviewed said that they dropped out of school because they were not bright enough to succeed.



Isaac Apraku, 15 years old,

Works according to a sharecropper arrangement. He quite school at the JSS1 level. He works on the two acre farm his father gave him raising maize. He mentions that the 2 bags of maize he raises during the year will earn him ₵200,000 (\$29). When asked why he didn't spend the money on school, he said he bought a bicycle instead. He enjoyed attending school but could not manage the farm and school work. He would like to return to his village in N. Togo to reunite with his father.
Tano District, Brong Ahafo Region

Labor comes both from within the community and from other regions of the country. Labor on the cocoa farms comes primarily from the north, the farming areas (coastal savanna) of the Volta region, Togo and Benin. They account for a sizable proportion of residents in the cocoa producing regions. In at least three villages visited, it was noted that more than half of the residents are settled farmers from other regions. According to traditional practices, some settlers are considered “native”, while others have acquired land through marriage.

5.1.2 Cocoa production

Child labor is very pervasive in the cocoa growing areas visited, and the level to which they are exposed to hazardous working conditions varies according to situation in the village and the expectations of the family. The most hazardous activities include the clearing of weeds, because it involves swinging a machete, the transporting of pods and beans during production, harvest and sale, and the spraying of pesticides. In each case the children are exposed to risks to their health and safety, and efforts are needed to assure that parents and communities understand and are willing to minimize these risks. The team did not find trafficking in unaccompanied children as a significant problem in Ghana, though it exists to some degree. However, traditional methods of sharecropping typify the situation of the vast majority of migrant farm workers in the country. Children perform tasks such as cutting weeds, collecting cocoa pods at harvest time and collecting them and bringing them to a central point where they are broken and the beans scooped out. Children also dry the beans and carry them to and from community weighing points at the point of sale:

Table 1: Tasks Performed by Children in Cocoa Production

Stage	Activities	The Role of Children
1. Clearing of Forest land and burning of weeds	Clearing of virgin forest and the felling of big trees that may prevent the young cocoa trees from getting sunlight. Weeds are collected and piled in heaps then burnt.	Involvement of children at this stage is minimal, because children are not viewed as strong enough to clear away weeds.
2. Nursing and planting of cocoa seedlings	Planting cocoa plants in a small bed, and later transferring seedlings to the prepared land, though some farmers plant seeds directly.	Children participate in this work with guidance from adults.
3. Maintenance of the farm	Weeding the undergrowth and spraying the trees with insecticides and herbicides. Weeding is sometimes done according to communal labor or <i>nnoboa</i> .	Children are involved in weeding, as well as the mixing, loading and application of pesticides, usually without protective clothing, such as gloves, over coats, boots or goggles.

Stage	Activities	The Role of Children
4. Harvesting of the pods after about 3-5 years, when they have become mature.	Plucking cocoa pods near the canopy with a curved knifed fixed to a long light pole. Pods on the trunks are cut with a machete. Pods are collected in a central location to prepare for the breaking.	Children assist by picking and gathering the pods and bringing them to the collection point.
5. Breaking of pods	Breaking the pods, scooping out the beans, gathering them in a central location	Children assist in carting the beans from the farm to the drying area.
6. Fermentation of the beans.	Collecting the beans and covering them for fermentation with banana or palm leaves for a period of three to seven days. This is often done according to communal labor, or <i>mbooa</i> .	Adults usually take primary responsibility, though children assist.
7. Drying of the beans in the sun	After the beans are fermented, they are brought to the house to be dried on mats, laid on a platform.	Adults usually take primary responsibility, though children assist.
8. Bagging the beans	When the beans are very dry, they are sorted and put in burlap or jute sacks.	Children assist
8. Weighing and sale of the beans at cocoa sheds.	The sacks of beans are carried to the cocoa shed to be graded, weighed and sold. The farmer is paid with a check to cash at an agreed bank.	Children assist in transporting the cocoa to the shed.

As the use of Class I and Class II pesticides (the most dangerous chemicals to human health) becomes more widespread in response to the increasing threat of insect and fungal infestations, the expose of children will increase. This includes the mixing, loading and application of pesticides, as well as the storage of chemicals and the maintenance of sprayers. They are also inherently more prone to chemical exposure in cocoa production, because the forest canopy limits exposure to sunlight and water, the primary agents for the breakdown and neutralization of these chemicals.

The lifting of heavy weights is another significant threat to children, in the collection of the pods, the transport of the beans in the fermenting and drying process and the transport of beans to the community weighing station. A respondent stated that children are often expected to carry bags of dried beans (which can weigh up to 50 or 60 kg) for a half of a kilometer or more. The community weighing station may be even farther away.



David Opoku, 10 years old,

David works on the farm on the weekends, usually from about 8am to noon. He plucks out the weeds from his parents farm that raises cocoa, maize and plantain. He attends school and likes to go to church. According to the villages he is the typical situation of how families involve their children in labor. *Bonkron Village, Ashanti Region*

Risk of accidental injury from machetes, to oneself or to others, is present in the breaking of the pods and the weeding of undergrowth. Such injuries are relatively common as the child becomes more adept at using the tool. The drinking of palm wine and other alcoholic beverages during harvest times increases this risk.

5.1.3 Trafficking and Forced Labor

Before examining the trafficking situation in Ghana, it is important first to define it. For the International Labor Organization, a child is considered trafficked, if one or more of the following conditions apply: (1) there is the intervention of an intermediary, (2) some form of transaction takes place, and (3) there is exploitation or the intention or motive to exploit. Many factors contribute to the prevalence of trafficking including, poverty, the breakdown of the traditional extended family, and the rising incidence of unaccompanied children who are easily recruited by traffickers. Trafficking is a difficult issue to examine because, unlike other forms of abusive child labor, it is difficult to know whether a child has been trafficked simply by observing their conditions of work.

In Ghana, there are a number of traditional trafficking practices that are considered culturally acceptable. Children are often moved between households within extended families if the relative can better provide for the basic needs of the child. This is viewed as a useful alternative for poor families who cannot afford to raise their children. Many believe that removing the child from their unfavorable situation in the family will provide the children with better opportunities to the extent that they choose the most intelligent and talented children to move away. This traditional coping mechanisms, however, has been transformed by recruiters and intermediaries to a more dangerous and exploitative phenomenon.

Intermediaries buy and sell the bonded labor of children to buyers in markets within the country or in neighboring countries. Unaccompanied children often migrate from the north of the country to the south to find employment, often with the assistance of an intermediary from their source village, who may or may not be previously known to the family. Data from an eight-month survey of trafficking in West Africa indicates that recruiter pay parents in cash or in kind, though the children who are trafficked enjoy little of the fruits of their labor. The transaction is usually a

verbal agreement that the child, parent, or guardian will be paid an agreed upon sum following the child's period of service. The recruiters sometimes pay an advance or promise to send regular stipends in exchange for the child. The recruiters promise to provide food, shelter, and often some sort of training or education. In most cases, negotiations and agreements are made in secret, and most children do not know what awaits them at their destination. Children usually find that the family that receives them is unable or unwilling to take care of them. Many then end up in the streets and get involved in exploitative and hazardous situation, including prostitution, the fishing industry in Volta Lake, or unregulated gold mining activities throughout the forest belt of the country.

Trafficking is common in urban setting where children regularly migrate to find low paying jobs in domestic work and petty trading. These children are typically not the victims of large scale trafficking rings, rather it is a response by individuals to exploit the acute poverty present in the poorest areas of Ghana, especially the North, The East and the peri-urban areas of surrounding major towns. Because of the illegality of the system, there is often no recourse to redress or arbitration. In some cases the effects on the children are very deep rooted. The ACHD study found that many trafficked children did not know where they come from or what their options were.

The efforts to deal with the problem of trafficking have not been effective, including the ratification of international conventions, the bills passed in parliament, and children's rights monitoring and enforcement programs. Part of the problem is a lack of awareness by stakeholders on the effects of unregulated labor, and the danger it poses to the safety and development of young people. More coordination needs to be exercised by state agencies responsible to alleviate the problem, while there also needs to be a better national consciousness on the problem and making individuals aware of what they can do to help. Currently, there are no laws that specifically address trafficking. Most often, other laws are used to take action against those involved in trafficking, including laws concerning child custody, health, education, slavery, prostitution, and underage labor.

5.1.3.1 Trafficking Routes

Internal child trafficking usually originates in rural areas, with acute poverty, high illiteracy, unemployment, high infant mortality rates and a rapidly growing population. They originate from the North, from slums surrounding Accra and Kumasi, and from the fishing communities of Volta, Eastern and Greater Accra Regions where fishing is on the decline. The children usually end up in the big cities of Accra, Kumasi, Sunyani and other production and marketing points. Areas that receive trafficked children include Ningo and Ada areas (in the Dangme District) Kpando, Gemeni, Adidome, Battor, Sogakope and other settlements along the Volta River in the Volta and Eastern regions of the country. When they arrive, children find work as apprentices; petty traders, fishing assistants and porters. Boys in the north work as shepherds.

International Trafficking occurs across the boundaries of neighboring countries, including Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Nigeria. Trafficking is stimulated by the perception that the political or economic situation in the destination country is better than in the sending country.

The ACHD study found that young girls are trafficked from or to Ghana to work in forced prostitution and/or sex slaves. Burkina Faso is an important transit point for Ghanaian trafficking to Gambia, Guinea and Mali fishing. Most often this is accomplished through the work of an intermediary, though sometimes recruiters accompany the children to the destination country where the intermediary instructs them to go.

Follows are some of the primary trafficking routes identified in the ACHD trafficking study:

Table 2: Trafficking Routes

Domestic Routes	
From Northern, Upper West and Upper East Regions	To Kumasi (Ashanti Region), Sunyani (Brong-Ahafo Region), Accra (Greater Accra Region) and Takoradi – (Western Region).
From Brong-Ahafo Region From Volta Region	To Accra
From Ashanti Region	To Accra. Sometimes travel on to other urban areas like Takoradi and Ho with their friends.
From Accra (esp. Dangme East, Dangbe West Districts)	To Volta, Eastern, Brong-Ahafo and parts of the Northern regions along the banks of the Volta Lake and on the Islands via Accra City
Rural Areas in Northern Region	To Tamale to find work
From Volta Region, especially North and South Tongu, and Anlo districts and From Central Region, children are taken especially from Elmina and Winneba districts	To villages and islands along the Volta Lake for fishing purposes.
International Routes	
From Ghana	To Burkina Faso Mali, Gambia, Senegal and Guinea
From Central Region and Western Region	To Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire.
From Côte d’Ivoire	To Ghana to work as housemaids
From Volta Region	To Republic of Togo and vice versa.

The team did not witness or hear of specific cases of forced labor (where children are forcibly moved and constrained to work), though forms of debt bondage and serfdom continue in both rural and urban areas. In most of these cases the child or his/her family willingly agree to the terms of employment, though their bargaining position is compromised by their poverty or social position. The transport and placement of unaccompanied children in work in the urban centers of Kumasi and Accra is a notable exception that requires further study.

According to the ACHD trafficking study, it was found that 30 percent of children were not paid at all, while 70 percent were paid in the form of pocket money or payments to their parents or guardians. According to the results of the study it was observed that 58 percent of the trafficked children do not know how much money is paid to their labor recruiter or parent, while about 30% stated that no payment is made. On the average, only 15 percent knew how much their parents or recruiters profited from their services.

5.1.4 Kayaye and petty trading

The adolescent girls who travel from the North to Kumasi and Accra are known collectively as *Kayaye*. The girls often learn a trade, work as a domestic, or engage in petty trading (especially the selling of water on street corners) or find other work in the informal sector. Traditionally, migrant work is a rite of passage for these children and they return home after they have earned enough money to buy a few of the basic necessities she needs in future life, such as clothes, dishes or other necessities. They often arrive with little education and few marketable skills, and are very vulnerable to ending up on the street or becoming the object of sexual abuse, or working in prostitution.

Girls from rural areas are often sent to the cities by their families to work as domestic helpers for wealthy urban residents. These girls often receive very little wages if at all. In many cases employers make promises of sending the girls to learn skills in dressmaking or hairdressing after few years of work as a domestic helper. However, employers often fire these girls on simple pretexts, thereby robbing the girls' chances of learning a useful skill. Girls also come to town with an intermediary who introduces them to a "madam" or an "auntie" who agrees to provide for their basic needs in exchange for their work in a chop bar (informal restaurants) or a drinking bar. Respondents indicated that the presence of the intermediary is actually a benefit for migrant girls who arrive in the city, because these girls are more likely to negotiate better terms of employment than a child who arrives alone.



Agartha Agyeiwa, 17 years old

Agartha works as a porter at the Techiman market, the one of the largest markets in Ghana, where many traders come from Ivory Coast, Togo and Burkina Faso. She left school at the P6 level five years ago from a village in the Ashanti region to come to Techiman to learn to sew. Her brother said he could not afford the lessons so she became a porter. She works at home in the morning and comes to the market about 1pm and works until dusk. She earns about ₵5,000 (less than US\$1 per day). *Techiman, Brong-Ahafo Region*

Children from the North migrate to the south to work as porters at the market centers. Boys work as house and/or garden boys, while most find work as porters, shoe shiners, drivers, or street sellers. The dangers of selling include the exposure to the extreme weather in the country, the lack of play, and their vulnerability to abuse (including the withholding of food and beating) if they do not bring home enough money from their sales.

5.1.5 Gold Mining

Many adolescents work in the informal gold mining, or *galamsey*, either digging sand from the riverbed or passing it out of the pit in buckets. For the most part, these children come from surrounding villages, though many have migrated from other parts of the country. Mining is attractive because children receive payment at the end of the day, as opposed to agricultural activities where payment is seasonal. Most children earn about ₵7,000 per day, or about US \$1.



A pit from which children gather soil in Obuasi, Ashanti Region.

In some cases, children pan for their own gold from the alluvium waste that accumulates downstream. Men dig and wash the gold, women set up informal restaurants for the workers, and girls often carry the surface soil to the men who operate grinding machines. Though illegal, children sometimes work in open pits where they may descend up to 30 or 40 meters to retrieve the gold enriched soil. The team heard of an instance where the child was dropped in the hole when they were being inspected by government authorities.



Boys and youth passing gold enriched soil from the riverbed



Kwabena Sakyi, 15 years old

Kwabena has been working at the informal old mining, or ghlalmsey site for three years. He works in the line of boys who throw the pans of soil out of the river bed. He has been working at the mine since P6, when his mother fell ill with a mental disability and his father left the family. Currently, his grandmother is caring for his mother and he must work on the weekends, or on school days if the family needs money. He earns about ₺10,000 per day, or about US\$1.50. He must work extra hard in the evenings if he is to succeed in school.

Follows is a chart of the activities, and the services children regularly provide:

Table 3: The Role of Children in Small-Scale Mining (Galamsey)

Stage	Stage Content	The Role of Children
1. Testing of the soil at a site for gold	Soil is scooped and tested (going through the entire process outlined below) to measure gold content.	Children are not involved.
2. Acquisition of the site	Where gold is found, land is acquired from the land owner	Children are not involved.
3. Digging and collection of the soil	Gold is collected from the surface soil or from open faced pits dug in surrounding areas.	Children transport the soil out of the river bed by passing it along a human conveyor belt. They also are lowered into pits to dig out the gold enriched soil. This is the most dangerous part of the process and children sometimes die from accidents.
4. Crushing/grinding and (1 st) washing of the soil in the “crush-and-wash” machine (if any), Collection and (2 nd) washing of the refined soil for gold	Soil delivered to the “crush-and-wash” machine.	The use of children is minimal, because it requires skills so ensure that the gold is not washed away. Children collect sludge from the washing to pan for gold by themselves.
6. Separation of gold from soil	Using a flat rubber bowl made from the inner tube of a car tire to separate the gold from the soil.	Child work is minimal because of the skill required.

7.	Collection of gold with mercury	Separating gold from soil with mercury. This requires some skills to ensure efficient use of the mercury. The leader or machine owner usually does it.	Child work is minimal because of the skill required.
8.	Extraction of gold from mercury, using a handkerchief	Squeezing out mercury to separate it from the gold, using a handkerchief.	Child work is minimal because of the skill required.
9.	Processing and polishing of gold for sale	The gold is polished and prepared for sale, between ₵30,000-40,000 per blade weight of gold.	Children who wash for themselves also prepare their gold for sale.



Diana Nsonowa, 14 years old

Diana works at the canteen set up at the mining site. She earns about ₵10,000 per day, or about US\$1.50. She cooks from 8am –12 noon and then goes home to help with domestic work. She quite school nine months ago and feels that she is too far behind to succeed if she returns. When asked if she is sexually harassed at work, she says no, but mentions that some of the girls meet the boys after work in the city. *Obuasi, Ashanti Region*

5.1.6 Apprentices

There is an extensive and well-developed apprenticeship system in many areas, including auto repair, carpentry, hairdressing or other small-scale manufacturing and service activities. While it can be an effective mode of skill transfer, apprenticeship also commonly expose children to abuse and exploitation. Most poor youth realize the advantage of learning a trade and are eager to work as an apprentice, and parents often pay for the privilege of having their child work as an apprentice. However, it is often three or four years before they can learn a marketable skill given their entry-level position. In the meantime, they are expected to do menial work, such as sweeping the floor or fetching materials and supplies. Most apprenticeships are not paid, apart from a very small amount of pocket money for daily expenses. Apprenticeship usually exposes children to unfavorable terms of employment. They are expected to work long hours, and may spend their entire time doing unskilled work that does not prepare them vocationally. Master's usually object to the children attending school, since it interferes with their work schedule.

The apprenticeship program are much more successful at vocational training that the small poorly funded technical schools in urban centers and attached to JSS schools. However, it is important to put in place formal structures that monitor conditions of child workers, and help them to gain access to primary education. There is a good potential for the existing system to assist with education, while helping the business owners to meet their bottom line. A program by

the Center for the Development of People designed worked with the Union of Small Scale Carpenters to provide non-formal education. It was not sustainable because the interest of participating small businesses declined over time.

5.1.7 Commercial sexual exploitation

Child prostitution is a problem of concern in Ghana. It is common for young girls to trade sex for gifts or money, as a way to help meet financial obligations. Most often this occurs without an intermediary, though organized prostitution is becoming a serious concern in some areas. In the ACHD study, children between the ages of 14 and 17 years suspected to be in prostitution either ignored the questionnaires or gave false answers. Some public officials refused to assist in the data collection, because they maintained that it was not part of their job description. At risk children are most exposed to the risk of commercial sexual exploitation, especially the poor and the displaced, such as the Kayaye girls mentioned earlier.

While there are more girls in prostitution, boys are increasingly getting involved. It is reported by UNICEF Ghana that many young girls in Ghana get into commercial sexual exploitation in Ghana to escape early marriage. These girls run away from home because of their families' pressure to get married at an early age. Many come to the cities and end up on the streets. They end up in prostitution because they have few skills. It is extremely difficult to find out how many girls are in this deplorable situation because of the sensitive nature of the sector (ECPAT, Undated; CAS/UNICEF, 1999).

5.1.8 Street children

The trend of children living and working on the streets is a growing phenomenon in Accra, Kumasi and other regional capitals. Massive migration from rural to urban areas and the breakdown of the traditional family are responsible, for the most part. It is estimated that there are 15,000 street children in Accra alone. Many work in the markets as vendors (selling ice water or plastic bags) and porters. Some work as domestic helpers and some as prostitutes. Most people view the problem a threat to public safety, and attribute it to the recent rise in crime rates. Most children who work on the street in that day return to their family at night, though the incidence of unaccompanied street children is rising, given the increasing incidence of orphans that results from the AIDS epidemic.

5.1.9 Fishing

A number of trafficked boys aged 10 to 12 years are engaged in the fishing industry along the Afram River and settlements along the Volta Lake in the Afram plains (there are 156 such villages). Children are trafficked into the fishing villages through internal trafficking rings. A respondent to the ACHD study reported that 100 boys were recruited in 1999. These children work under slave like conditions often with their parents consent. It is also believed that these children are sexually exploited. The work is exhaustive and dangerous. Children of fisher families often spend days at sea and are exposed to risks of physical exhaustion and drowning. Children often dive for oysters and crabs and are sometimes expected to dive underwater to untangle the fishing nets, which is probably the single greatest threat to their safety.



Emanuel Azagbe, 12 years old

Emanuel attends school and is in P3 class. He is two classes behind his peers because he started school late. He goes with his father to fish in the sea at 8 am and returns about 1:30. After this he goes out alone and catches crabs in a simple trap made from a coffee can. He earns about ₦15,000 a week. He sells the crabs by the side of the road.

5.1.10 Shepherding

Shepherding is an important source of income in the north, given limited rainfall and short growing season. Children take the cattle out to graze at least once a day. Sometimes that can do this while they attend school, though many children do this at the exclusion of school. A program by Action Aid has established Shepherd schools to provide these children with an education, by attending school in the afternoon after the livestock has grazed. Though generally safe, children may be exposed to animal kicking and stampedes. Shepherds are required to keep close watch of their fields, to avoid losing members of their flock because of wandering or theft.



Mohamed Abdulai, 15 years old

He is in JSS1 and tends cattle for the Chief of Zongo. His friends who work with him have never attended school. His brothers and friends must watch the cattle when he attends school. He works from about 9 am to noon. *Village Outside Tamale, Northern District*

5.2 Summary of Findings

The team found that the situations of children in most of the communities visited were not conducive to their education and development, despite a relatively well developed educational infrastructure. Many parents are failing in their responsibility of providing for their families mostly due to economic hardship.

5.2.1 Education

1. *Children continue to be excluded from basic education* because they do not have the money. Despite the FCUBE policy, child and families do not see the values and usefulness of education or they feel a greater need to earn income for the family. The official enrollment rate of 85 percent masks a high rate of truancy and dropout. 33 percent of the adults interviewed for the ACHD study stated that their children had never attended school.
2. *The goal of increasing access has come at the cost of lowering national standards* in terms of school infrastructure, the availability of learning materials, and scholastic achievement. These problems result from rapidly expanding services that lack the necessary human and financial resources. In this regard, the Ghana is atypical of low-income countries implementing policies to rapidly expand access to basic education.



A primary school in Ashanti Region

3. The education infrastructure in most of the communities visited was adequate though there were instances of missing roofs, windows or doors, and cracks in the walls and floors.
4. Rural schools continue to find it difficult to recruit qualified teachers despite the fact that teacher-training colleges exist in most of the 110 districts. Most teachers at the primary level lack any formal training, and schools may have as little as 30% trained staff. Teacher motivation in the rural areas is low, and most teacher college graduates are reluctant to take posts in rural areas, because of the lack of services. Those who accept posts usually leave after a short stay, sometimes to find better-paid work in private-sector schools.
5. Education attainment is poor with estimate that between 10 and 15 percent are able to pass tests in basic math and language competencies. Many children are unable to read even after nine years of primary and secondary education. Many low income families cannot or refuse to pay indirect education expenses. The student textbook ratio is poor, with about a single textbook for every two students;
6. Many rural families do not see the value of an education, because they believe that most of their children will end up farming, so there is no point. Most educated children do not want to return to farming, particularly after they have attended secondary school, preferring instead to migrate to urban areas in search of employment.
7. Local communities do not support transition or non-formal education for school dropouts or those who have never attended school. They feel that efforts need to be made to help younger students afford school.
8. Education is usually available to sharecroppers who emigrate from other areas, though many are unable or refuse to pay school expenses. Often families will use the excuse that they cannot afford the uniform or books required to attend school, though children in fact are needed to work on the family farm.
9. Labor at school has emerged as a problem in many of the rural areas. Most often this takes the form of clearing the grounds of the school with a machete or working on the farm of the teacher or the schoolmaster. Rural families believe that it is better for the child to work on the family farm, where it will benefit them rather than having them work on non-productive work (clearing school grounds) or productive work for other people (teachers and school masters). Many teachers justify the work of children by the fact that they cannot balance their teaching and farming responsibilities simultaneously.
10. District assemblies are responsible for community outreach activities to increase school enrollment though they regularly forgo recruitment in very poor areas at risk or child labor. More needs to be done to identify working children and bring them into the educational system. This includes raising awareness on the risks to the development of the child from child labor and community led activities to decrease its incidence.
11. The dropout rate of girls is much higher than boys, peaking during the transition between the Primary and Junior Secondary school levels. The problem of school dropouts is closely correlated to the problems of child labor, family poverty and the inability of families to afford school costs. The need to supplement the household budget, which

drives the children out of the classroom, also pushes them into towns and on the streets in search of work.

12. Teaching supplies and educational materials are inadequate in most schools. The distance children have to cover, usually on foot to school, range between half to over one kilometer, and vary from one community to the other. Even the best schools visited reported problems with lack of access to supplies and qualified teaching staff.
13. The public perceives a drop in educational quality over the past 20 years due in part to the fact that graduates were more likely to find work after graduation. Given the high rate of school completion and the lowering standards of schools, a degree is not a guarantee for paid employment anymore.

5.2.2 Housing and Basic Services

14. Health and social facilities are not evenly distributed. While some communities have relatively good facilities, others have dilapidated facilities and others have none at all.
15. Health facilities and personnel are lacking and of usually of low caliber in most of the rural communities. These may include only the presence of a nurse or Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA).
16. There is high dependence on herbal treatment and self-medication due to the inability of most people to pay for formal medical treatment. These are often not curative.
17. The main sources of drinking water in most of the rural communities are streams, hand-dug wells and bore holes. In most cases these sources are contaminated with bacteria, toxic materials and parasites.
18. There are few private toilet facilities, most are publicly owned including Kumasi Ventilation Improved Pit (KVIP) type (able to accommodate about ten people at a time) or hand-dug pit latrines.
19. Open dumping is the main method of refuse disposal. Public solid waste management systems exist, though they are often not maintained in poor urban and the rural communities.
20. The houses in most of these communities are built with mud brick. Those who can afford it use cement to plaster the walls to add strength, especially the outer ones that are exposed to water erosion.
21. Most houses are dilapidated in need of maintenance. Houses on slopes also suffer from erosion that leaves their foundations exposed. Roofing of most houses is done with thatch, while those of the middle class are roofed with aluminum sheets, especially those in settlements near urban and peri-urban areas.

5.2.3 *Labor Standards and Compliance*

22. Child labor laws are regularly monitored and enforced only in the formal sector, where very few children are employed. The current child labor inspection system does not adequately cover the informal and agricultural sectors where the majority of the children work. There is not much effort to enforce legislation on issues affecting children particularly in agriculture.
23. Most intermediaries and employers that participate in trafficking are not subject to prosecution because law enforcement agencies are either unaware of the problem, or they believe it is beyond the scope of their job description. The Police, the Immigration Service and the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service claim they do not have enough funding and personnel to address the problem. Many believe that the enforcement of labor standards is a poverty issue best left to the Department of Social Welfare. Those that prosecute traffickers also consider the exercise as fruitless, since most suspects that are cited receive low penalties or are quickly released because of a lack of evidence.
24. There is a favorable policy environment concerning the problem of abusive child labor. Local and international NGOs are implementing a lot of advocacy and rehabilitation work and a new ministry, the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs has been created to help the social welfare programs become more responsive to the needs of disadvantaged children.

6 RELEVANT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

There are numerous national and international programs that are addressing child labor, education or related issues. Indeed, education has become primary object of the government, and multi-lateral and bi-lateral donors.

United States	USAID is implementing a model school program in three model schools in each of the 110 districts across the country. Their representation in a broad array of social and economic contexts is a valuable starting point to understanding the various forms of child labor.
Germany	The German Government is implementing a teacher-training program, through the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH (GTZ).
Great Britain	The British Department for International Development (DFID) is implementing a whole school development strategy to make the school environment more responsive to the needs of children.
United Nations	The World Food Program (WFP) of the United Nations is providing food for education rations, especially in the marginalized areas of the north.
Denmark	DANIDA is currently assessing good practices to add to basic education

6.1 International Programs

6.1.1 *International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor.*

Ghana signed ILO Convention 182 and is an IPEC partner country with a signed Memorandum of Understanding for IPEC activities. The goal of the program is to strengthen national programs and help the country to come into compliance with the provision of the convention. IPEC has played a critical role in the development of the “National Plan of Action for the Elimination of Child Labor in Ghana”, which was launched by the Ministry of Manpower Development and Employment in February 2001. With USAID collaboration, IPEC is providing technical expertise in administering a situation analysis survey of labor practices in five West African cocoa producing countries. About 1000 cocoa farms in Ghana will be investigated. ILO is also working with various ministries and NGOs to prevent trafficking. .

To date, the program has implemented a number of activities to raise awareness on the issue and build the capacity of government institutions and NGOs to better respond to the needs of these children.

- The Ghana Statistical Information Service has implemented a child labor survey in 2001 in cooperation with the Statistical Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) of the ILO to gather statistical information on the situation of street children, and children working in the sex trade and in agriculture.
- A school-based project is testing methodologies to ensure that each school has a teacher sympathetic to the needs of working children.

- The Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration are incorporated child labor into their curricula,
- The University of Science and Technology is conducting a study on child labor in the cocoa industry.
- The program also has programs in domestic work, market work, petty trading, and commercial sexual exploitation.

6.1.2 United Nations Children's Fund

UNICEF is working to alleviate child labor and communicates with IPEC. UNICEF has sponsored a number of community based child labor panels to discuss the problem and propose solutions. They have sponsored a program in the Afram Plains in the fishing industry to mainstream child workers into the formal school system. Education is also being used to help street children learn vocational skills. There is also a new emphasis on preventing child trafficking from the north by improving conditions in the sending communities and helping to provide children with the skills they need to succeed in their home communities. Mothers of potential migrants are provided with microcredit to assist mothers in the north of the country. UNICEF has also contacted a lawyer at a local university to study the legal dimensions of child rights in Ghana. UNICEF also works in other areas of child protection and child rights , including the following project initiatives:

- National Capacity Enhancement project assists the government to review and modify existing education policies based on a child rights approach. Activities include developing teacher manuals, operations research, training
- Childscope provides training to teachers to help create a link with the community to impart key messages, such as HIV/AIDS awareness. The project also establishes or strengthens school management committees and parents teacher associations.
- Early Psycho-Social and Intellectual Stimulation aims to create awareness on the critical need of appropriate stimulation of the child. 320 preschool teachers were trained in childhood development.
- Child rights promotion and child protection activities include support and counseling for victims of child abuse. Three hundred and sixty six officers were trained to provide protective services to victims of child abuse

6.1.3 The World Bank

The World Bank supports education in Ghana through the Basic Education Sector Improvement Program. Its goal is to improve the quality of teaching process and learning outcomes for poor and disadvantaged groups, particularly girls. Areas of intervention include the strengthening of education management systems, planning, monitoring and evaluation support for the Ministry of Education and Ghana Education Service, and community mobilization activities to increase access to education. Activities include training of relevant personnel and teachers, setting mechanisms for assessing student performance, providing instructional materials, and the

continuous review and development of educational curriculum. The program also supports capacity building and the provisioning of improved school facilities and school environment.

6.2 Government Programs

6.2.1 Ghana National Commission on Children

In 1979, the government created the GNCC to promote child rights. This coincided with the declaration of 1980 as the United Nations “International Year of the Child”. The GNCC aims to provide policy guidelines on child rights issues. It plays a critical leadership role in coordinating the activities of the government ministries to develop a coordinated response to problems that affect children in Ghana. GNCC advocates for child rights, and conducts social surveys on issues related to children’s needs and concerns. The Commission has organized training programs for law enforcement and judicial officials. The training was provided to enhance relevant staff member understanding and knowledge of all the related child labor laws and their appropriate application. The GNCC is also active in Dakar, and has participated in a meeting sponsored by UNICEF to promote and publicize the CRC in 1988. Provisions in the 1992 constitution bolstered the visibility and position of the GNCC.

6.2.2 Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs

The Ministry of Women and Children’s Affairs was founded in February 2001 to provide protection to the rights of women and children. The GNCC and the National Commission for Women and Development (NCWD) were brought under the ministry. The new organization represents women and children at the cabinet level to incorporate their concerns into government plans and policies. The Minister of State for Primary, Secondary, and Girl-Child Education is responsible for ensuring that gender-related issues are taken into account in education. The government created a women’s desk to take care of the gender imbalance in the civil service. The Ministry supports program to address the problem of street children and vocational training for young girls. It also provides support for street child shelters. It implements an HIV/AIDS education program and develops support mechanisms for family members widowed or orphaned by the disease.

6.2.3 National Child Labor Steering Committee

In 2000, the government established a National Steering Committee responsible for implementing and coordinating IPEC activities. The Committee is comprised of representatives from the government, IPEC, the Ghana Employers Association, the Trade Unions Congress (TUC), the media, international organizations and NGOs. The committee works in close cooperation with donors and government agencies to develop project and programs that benefit working children.

6.2.4 National Poverty Reduction Program

The National Poverty Reduction Program (NPRP) is aims at improving the living standard of the poor in society, and is being implemented by the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) with funding from the United Nation’s Development Program (UNDP). The Social Investment Fund (SIF) helps to reduce poverty by facilitating the institutionalization of easily

accessible funds for sustainable community-initiated development projects and other private sector initiatives. Other areas of the program include building management capacity skills, developing new technology and social development planning.

6.2.5 District Planning Offices

Local development initiatives are coordinated and implemented by the local district planning offices found in each of the 110 district across Ghana. The offices include a department of Education, Social Welfare and Education. The department in charge of women and children's issues is the Social Welfare Office, which commonly has at least two social workers who regularly visit the communities and respond to specific needs of residents. They reach these villages by way of motorbike.

6.3 NGO Projects and Programs

6.3.1 Quality Improvement in Primary Schools Project

The USAID-funded, QUIPS Project is develops model schools throughout the country to demonstrate what a school could become, given inputs for teacher training, infrastructure and supplies. AED implements the project in three primary schools in each of the 86 regions located in the seven regions in the central and southern areas of the country. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) is responsible for implementing the program in the three regions of the North of the country (24 districts). Given the drought and humanitarian crisis in the North, CRS also has a school-feeding component in its project.

The project works to coordinate interventions with local school communities and to disseminate and replicate good practices. Three schools are chosen to participate following the nomination of six candidates by the GES. To be eligible, schools must have at least 4 teachers, 100 students, and be accessible by dirt road. The schools remain active in the program for two years at which the project moves on.

Activities include small grants for infrastructure development (a maximum of \$1,500 for painting and renovation) and a comprehensive capacity building approach. Communities are mobilized to get kids in school and increase access. The approach of the program is to minimize differences in economic status, social divisions and clan, so that the school can become more inclusive. The program engages stakeholder in decision making to help to address the primary constraints that exist in the current educational system, such as lack of supplies (no supplies like pens and paper, books) problems with children completing their homework or the lack of uniforms. Through training, it helps teachers understand the curriculum better and influence it, (though the national curriculum is still centrally controlled). The QUIPS project is working to replicate the success of the project by helping the government distribute grants to other schools in the country.

6.3.2 African Centre for Human Development

ACHD is a Ghanaian non-governmental development organization working in child advocacy, civil society, gender, decentralization and public decision-making, business development, and

micro-enterprise. ACHD has grassroots and national level experience in child labor/trafficking alleviation in Ghana. In 2001, the organization conducted an in-depth study on child trafficking in Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Togo, funded initially by IPEC and later by DANIDA. ACHD has also promoted the child rights at the local level through community education projects and sensitization campaigns.

6.3.3 *Save the Children UK*

Save the Children, UK is working in three areas including reproductive health, child protection, and community work. It also is the coordinating organization for the NGO Coalition on the Rights of the Child, which has become an important advocate for children in abusive labor. The program works primarily works in the Ashanti and Northern regions helping communities involved in mining, farming and fishing. It also provides life skills and vocational skills training for Kayaye girls in Accra.

6.3.4 *Kuapa Kokoo Union*

The Kuapa Kokoo Union is the largest private agricultural cooperative in the country. It works to improve agricultural production through training and making inputs available to its members. The program works with 973 village societies, organized in 15 areas of the country. Each unit society sets up a school to train farmers on good farming practices. Each society elects its own president, treasurer and secretary, with representation from at least 1 woman. The program assist farmers by helping them to market their produce, use pesticides responsibly, providing training on harvesting and the use of agricultural inputs. In addition, the society sometimes establishes a credit union to assist members in financing their inputs. Kuapa Kokoo is also a member of the fair trade movement, which promotes best practices to alleviate child labor and promote environmentally friendly production practices.

6.3.5 *Action Aid*

Action Aid is an international PVO with activities in basic education, agriculture, food security, and the capacity building of development partners, including village development committees, district assemblies, school management committees and women's associations. It finances activities through child sponsorship programs and project proposals submitted to donors including USAID, World Bank, European Union and the Irish Government.

The organization implements the shepherd school program that focuses on making education available to the thousands of children who work raising livestock in the North. Children who participate typically tend cattle in morning and attend school in the afternoon. The program operates drop in centers to provide assistance to these children and provides wheat supplements for the families of children who enroll in school, in cooperation with CRS. Plans are currently underway to expand the model of the Shepherd school to serve the extremely impoverished peri-urban areas surrounding Accra, such as Amasaman.

In agriculture and food security, the organization concentrates its activities in the North, where farming and income generation opportunities are lacking. The program provides credit for men and women who don't have assets to begin cottage industries in peanut oil, shea nuts production,

vegetable gardening, and raising livestock, including wild chickens (guinea fowl), sheep and cattle. The agriculture program also helps to alleviate the seasonality of irrigation by providing farmers with pumps and the building of irrigation channels to channel the limited rainfall and increase the growing season for their crops. The program advocates for the rights of women to own land and other assets, which has constrained the livelihood of women and their families.

6.3.6 *Children in Need*

Children In Need Ghana (CING) is a registered NGO founded in 1993. The organization is actively working to assist street children and those engaged in various forms of child labour. It operates a foster home located at New Achimota in Accra-Ghana, which also serves as training, office and a research center. The organization strives to improve the living conditions and self-esteem of children, and works to eliminate child servitude through advocacy work and information campaigns, including videos and leaflets. CING also operates a foster care program where unaccompanied children unable to find accommodation at the center, can find support with a sponsoring family in the form of sponsorship, food, medical treatment and counseling.

6.3.7 *Street Girls Aid*

Street Girls Aid (S.AID) is an NGO located in Accra set up to care for girls who live on the streets. Most have come from their villages drawn to the city to find a better future for themselves, to escape poverty or to flee from unhappy family situations. The organization runs a center in Mamobi, Accra, for street girls who have become pregnant. The girls can stay at the center before and after the delivery of the baby. Here, they receive medical care and advice about how to take care of themselves and their baby.

6.3.8 *Catholic Action for Street Children*

Catholic Action for Street children (CAS) is an NGO founded in 1993 to help children who live in the streets of Accra. The organization supports public advocacy campaigns so that the needs of the children are better understood and supported, and it children who choose to get off the street by helping them find a stable living situation. The program offers counseling services to help the children decide what they want to do with their lives and helps them to reunite with their families. In addition the program provides education and health care services for the children, including and health education to the children, including assistance in vocational skills and to help improve their skills and help find jobs.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ghana experiences high rates of child labor both in rural and urban areas of the country. The prevalence is most closely related to economic pressures on the family and a long established practice of relying on child work to make ends meet. Most all of the respondents of the planning analysis stressed that most child labor is acceptable, and that may even help children to become better people as adults. However, there are forms of child labor that are abusive, including child trafficking. Abusive labor is particularly troubling, since Ghana has not yet established a coordinated and effective response to the problem, either in terms of reaching out and assisting the most vulnerable groups or establishing labor enforcement mechanisms capable of identifying offenders and stopping abuse. Despite the constraints in responding to the problem, Ghana has been at the forefront of reforming policy and implementing national policy reforms to protect child rights and expand educational services. Currently schools exist throughout traditionally underserved areas, both in rural and urban communities. A lot has been accomplished, but much more needs to be done.

The team identified serious problems in child labor and in trafficking. According to severity and danger to children, abusive work in informal gold mines, the fishing industry and debt bondage practices are widespread and deserve priority attention. Each of these have the potential to place the health safety and morals of children at risk. The team did not observe the organized trafficking of unaccompanied children in the cocoa industry as being a priority concern. However, given the limited time frame and informal methodology of the planning analysis, this observation is should not be considered authoritative or final.

7.1 Education

Education has been shown to be the most sustainable and effective strategy to affect the problem of poverty and child work, which is echoed in the approach utilized by all of the important international child labor programs including those of the United Nations, the World Bank, and the US Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs. While the benefits of education often take long to materialize and are difficult to measure, education initiatives are the first line of defense for children in or at risk of dangerous work. Given that the children at risk of dangerous and exploitative work are usually the most socially and economically challenged in the country, programs must make a special effort to reach out to these at-risk groups and provide them with sustainable and cost-effective formal and non-formal education services. In many countries the span and reach of education programs have been the driving force in dramatically reducing the incidence of child labor. This requires strong community outreach and a supportive and sympathetic government education system. The educational challenges for the prevention of child labor is not different than that of increasing access and quality generally. Child workers simply need to. Ghana has demonstrated a key interest in making education available to all children in the country, and the challenge is now to put child laborers on the educational development agenda.

However, education is not a panacea for the problem. Other initiatives need to be implemented in coordination with education programs, including labor enforcement, social awareness raising and the capacity building of key national programs and counterparts. For children already trapped in

abusive labor situation, education is only a single aspect of a complex and interrelated problem. Follows are some of the priority interventions that need to be enacted:

7.1.1 Social Mobilization and School Enrollment

Given the established educational infrastructure in Ghana, outreach to children involved in or at risk of abusive child labor is the focus of the education strategy. The problem transcends raising awareness of the problem, they must be provided with realistic educational opportunities. For this reason, enrollment drives are a component of a more holistic strategy that makes education more affordable and relevant (see below).

Social mobilization and enrollment drives should be developed in cooperation with local governmental authorities, especially with District Planning Offices that have local Agriculture, Social Welfare and Education Departments. Each can work to incorporate increased school enrollment into their existing programs. The Social Welfare office is especially pivotal to this process since they already have trained social workers who regularly visit communities and assist them in addressing their concerns. They would be important in working with schools to develop outreach activities such as visits to homes and the staging of dramatic skits and other activities that raise the awareness of the issue. They are also in a good position to identify the children that are wandering around the village during school hours, and to speak and work with them to help them get into a formal or transitional education program.

7.1.2 School Improvement

School improvement has become an important national priority in Ghana, and most rural communities have access to a school, though there are still problems with access in the North. Child labor programs should work with the GES to improve the access and quality of schools in areas at risk, though it would be unwise to make this the priority of the program given limited human and financial resources. School infrastructure can often be improved by simply coordinating the community and providing them with a forum to donate materials and labor. Often schools are allowed to deteriorate because of the inactivity of school committees and community groups.

7.1.3 Coordinating the Scholastic Year with the Agricultural Calendar

There is an acute need to make the school calendar better correspond to the needs of local agriculture, especially at harvest time. Currently, many school children in cocoa production miss the first weeks of school because they are required to harvest and process the beans during the harvest season between September and October. This is time sensitive work that most children cannot accomplish during their free time. There was a tendency to miss school during this period, which would later be an excuse to skip the rest of the school year. Mechanisms to make school more responsive to the needs of these children include helping them to catch up with the missed time, or delaying the school year for a period sufficient for all of the children to complete their work.

7.1.4 Incentives

The primary challenge to helping education reach at-risk groups is to make it “economically rational” for them to attend. This involves helping families afford to educate their children, both in terms of the direct and indirect education costs as well as helping them to replace the income that is lost by removing the child from work. Education programs already work toward this goal, but working children often need extra help. Incentives and scholarships directly subsidize the education of vulnerable children. The educational support that would be most relevant would be to make school materials and supplies more available. One simple way to assist would be to reuse schoolbooks, by covering and offering them free of charge to poor students. International experience shows that education is an effective way to bring children into school, though it is expensive and may not be effective in improving performance and achievement (Bissel; 2002).

7.1.5 Vocational and Agricultural Training

To improve the attractiveness of educational services, schools curriculum need to be tailored to suit the needs of the local labor market to make the services more useful and valuable to young people. This should include the improvement of vocational and agricultural training. Currently, most Junior Secondary Schools have vocational training available to them, but in many cases it is woefully inadequate. They routinely lack tools and trained instructors. Likewise, agricultural training at this level exists, but imparts little useful knowledge to students. It usually consists of a demonstration farm owned by the teacher or the administrator, that students are expected to work on free of charge while, in practice, they learn relatively little.

There is a good potential for agricultural development programs to work with primary schools as a way to promote good agricultural practices. Children would be a good conduit to train families on improved agricultural production methods, such as integrated pest management. Children learn quickly, are open to innovation and have many hours to master new concepts and practices. In addition, they can learn reading and writing in the context of agriculture, which will improve their potential to learn in the future.

7.1.6 Curriculum

A child labor program could easily work with the GES to improve the relevance and scope of their educational curriculum. It should include messages that enable children to realize their rights and understand what they can do to improve their lives. This would include messages about the age appropriateness of tasks, labor regulations and the most common risks of hazards and accidents. As with all developing countries, curriculum should also include a health education component that trains children on preventive healthcare and basic hygiene.

7.1.7 Training and retaining teachers

The child labor programs should work in close cooperation with the GES department of teacher training and the local district level teacher training colleges to help to help teachers be more response to the needs of child workers. This would include ways to intervene with children and help to prevent school drop out and truancy, as well as raising their awareness of the danger signs of abuse at work. If implemented in coordination with an incentive programs that rewards

the retention and enrollment of working children, such an approach would be the most effective, since it is the teachers that children and families interact with most.

In addition, teachers in rural areas need incentive packages to help to retain them. They are in need of adequate housing and support from the community. Currently, most teachers must find their own accommodation in the village. A community-led child labor alleviation program could help to make adequate housing and a subsistence farming area (for the production of food crops available) free of charge for the teacher and the family, which would remove the major obstacles to their accepting a rural posting and staying there.

7.2 Child Protection and Rehabilitation

The first step in providing outreach to at-risk groups is to interface with the community and governmental decision-making structures at the local level. These include the directorates of education, district assemblies, parent teacher associations and other community groups. Bringing together these stakeholders would help to identify local concerns and develop a plan to respond to them. Strengthening the bonds with the government institutions enables communities to advocate for funding and assistance that they were unable to access previously. Creating such linkages can be one the most long lasting and sustainable intervention local communities can embark upon.

Program need to be developed to integrate the activities of development organizations to help them mainstream the objectives of child labor into their programs, particularly into education, agriculture, and business development initiatives. In general, NGOs are assisting a very small percentage of the most vulnerable children while government programs do not meet the needs of the rest, so government cooperation is crucial to the success and sustainability of any initiative. Other stakeholders include children, parents, chiefs, community leaders, priests and pastors, civil servants, opinion leaders in the communities, police personnel, border patrol units, social workers, ministers of state, NGO representatives and donor representatives.

7.2.1 Public Awareness Raising

Information on relevant child labor issues should be made available, accessible, affordable and reader-friendly; including specialized programs with the active involvement of the youth, as front-liners in protecting themselves from abuse. Communities and individuals need to be made aware of occupational safety and health, labor laws and regulations and the benefits of educating one's children, which can be done through the assistance of media and other appropriate public and private institutions and structures. Community groups in cooperation with local authorities at the district level are in the best position to implement the needed grassroots development initiatives.

7.2.2 Rehabilitation

Children exposed to dangerous work environments may need access to special rehabilitation and support programs, especially those that have traveled to work without a parent or guardian. Safe homes should be established to provide them with counseling, psychotherapy, skills development and job linkage services, among others services. This is especially crucial for the victims of

trafficking and sexual abuse. Rehabilitation can also be achieved through local schools, if teachers and counselors are trained and reimbursed for their services. Services could include after school session for working children and those who have been abused for them to discuss their needs and to help to put them in touch with relevant local programs that can help them.

7.2.3 Labor Law Enforcement

As a result of limited resources government finds it difficult to meet its obligations of resourcing its relevant structures to enforce established laws and policies. The relevance of laid down standards should be reviewed involving important stakeholders, especially ordinary people. Their participation in the review process will make them own the outcome and ensure that standards agreed are complied with. Thus they will become the enforcers and complement the work of established bodies, instead of seeing them as enemies. This will also reduce the cost of law enforcement and ensure maintenance of law and order in all respect. The law enforcement agencies should be well equipped and motivated to do their work. Heavy fines should be imposed on offenders to make the employment of children risky and unattractive. An important step is to make training available for law enforcement to help them identify abusive labor situations and to respond effectively.

7.3 Agricultural Production and Marketing Programs

There is much that STCP can do to improve the lives of children working in the cocoa industry, since it is in an excellent position to put the issue on the table and help communities to develop and implement strategies that address the problem. Once awareness of the problem has been raised, national level programs have a much better chance of being adopted and implemented at the community level. Firstly, STCP should implement a child labor risk analysis for any agricultural development program to ensure that its development activities do not have negative effect on the situation of child workers, given the precarious economic situation in the rural cocoa producing regions make the poor vulnerable to new production incentives or the adoption of new technologies. Secondly, STCP staff should work with community and farmers groups to identify the occupational factors that threaten the safety and health of children, as well as the obstacles to their attaining at least a basic education. By involving these groups in a fruitful dialog in the context of a development assistance program, it is more likely that activities will be developed that benefits these children.

Interventions on the behalf of children should be developed along three parallel paths; to protect and rehabilitate victims of abuse; to improve quality and access to education and to enable them to benefit from agricultural and rural development programs. Given the limited time frame and scope of the planning analysis, it was not possible to identify the severity and extent of child trafficking and abuse in the cocoa industry, except to determine that it does not characterize the industry as a whole. More effort is needed to identify areas where trafficking occurs and to develop interventions that benefit these children.

- For unaccompanied children, it is crucial that communities develop programs that reunite children with families and monitors their rights. This is crucial since these children have no way of ensuring their rights and do not have anyone who is looking after their best interests.

Interventions could include drop in center for these children that offer counseling and helps them to get in touch with their families, who typically live in the north or in neighboring countries.

- For the children of sharecroppers, rural development requires that the terms of employment improve for these families and that they understand the value of sending their children to school. These families represent the poorest groups in most of the communities visited, often earning as little as \$50 annually from the sale of the cocoa. These families are the natural beneficiaries for regional rural development initiatives, and should be made the primary beneficiaries for educational programs implemented in these areas, especially programs that promote the use of economic and educational incentives.

There are a number of agricultural interventions that could improve the situation of working children provided that the positive effect on household income benefits child wage laborers or the children of farmers. The planning analysis found that the primary constraint to the welfare of child workers is the attitude and support of parents, a factor that is not likely to change with simply an increase in household income. For this reason agricultural production improvement should be implemented in cooperation with activities of the District Office for Social Welfare, to monitor the situation of children in the villages. Agricultural improvements that would benefit children most in the short term include:

- Supporting the use of appropriate low cost technology to decrease the danger posed to children by agricultural work. This may include the introduction of wheelbarrows or mechanized technology to clear areas of weeds, grass and undergrowth.
- Training in the use of pesticides to enable farmers and their families to apply pesticides without endangering the situation of the farmers or their children.
- The introduction of storage facilities that enable farmers to take advantage of beneficial markets for their produce and to decrease the amount of post harvest loss. The price differential between in season and out of season crops is as much as 1 to 10. Storage systems have been shown to pay for themselves as
- Market information should be made available to farmers so that they will better know the crops to concentrate on and the return they are likely to receive at harvest time.

The planning analysis found that there is a strong communal interest in supporting the lives of children. Most families show the interest in sending their children to school, but lack the material and human resources to make it happen. A program that improve the income level of such families, could increase the likelihood that they send their children to school, though other factors besides incomes affects the decision to . For this reason, it is important to make poor families the beneficiaries of economic and agricultural development programs. Some useful interventions could include:

- Promotion of small-scale value added industries, such as grading and sorting, which apart from creating job opportunities, will help reduce post harvest losses. Such programs could be promoted by facilitating the purchase of needed equipment through some form of group credit.
- Making knowledge of market trends accessible to farmers to help them and other producers invest their scarce resources profitably. This could significantly improve the income of families and help them to maximize the returns to their labor and other inputs.
- Making credit available to farmer families to promote the use of improved technology and better varieties, which could help to reduce the reliance on the farm on the labor of children.
- Income generation and enterprise development for the families of children in abusive labor as a way to directly target the benefits of income generation to the families that are most in need. Experience with such micro and small enterprise development strategies have been mixed, though it should be investigated as a potential strategy, provided that such businesses have a good business plan and viable strategy for loan repayment.