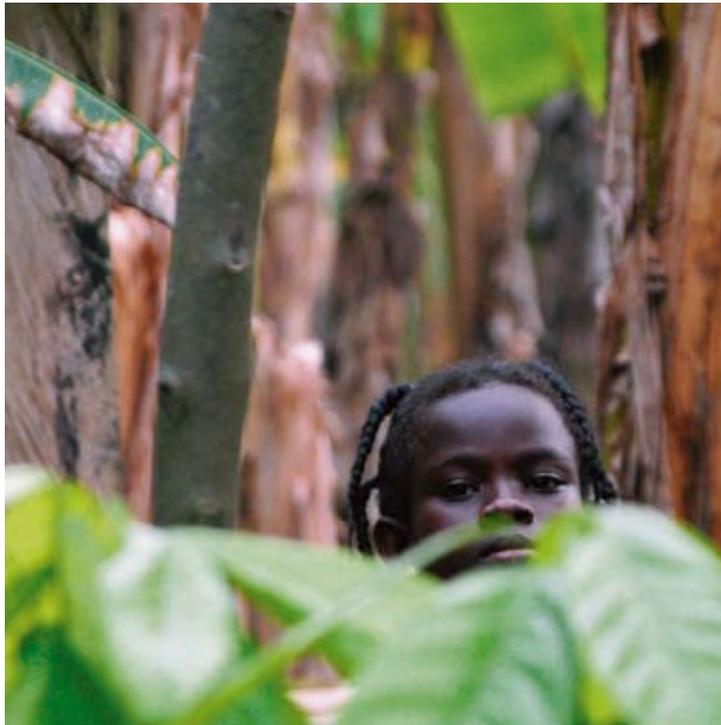




Emerging good practice in
**COMBATING THE WORST
FORMS OF CHILD LABOUR**
in West African cocoa growing
communities



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This work is part of a regional initiative

on combating the worst forms of child labour on West African cocoa farms. The initiative is coordinated by the Sahel and West Africa Club Secretariat/OECD and was launched by the Belgian Government in 2008. It owes much to the specific financial support provided by the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development co-operation. We are also grateful to all other SWAC donors whose regular financing has enabled the contribution of the Secretariat team to this initiative.

Foreword

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), over 215 million children worldwide are child labourers and are engaged in activities that should be abolished. Amongst them, 152 million are under the age of 15, and 115 million engage in dangerous activities. There is little reliable data on the specifics of child labour in the cocoa plantations of West Africa. However, research has shown that many child workers carry very heavy loads, use dangerous tools (i.e. machetes) or handle chemical fertilizers and pesticides. These types of activity pose genuine physical harm to children. Furthermore, child labourers are often denied the opportunity (temporarily or entirely) of attending school, effectively limiting their development potential and jeopardizing their future.

Confronted with the realities of rural poverty and a lack of infrastructure, cocoa producers frequently resort to using their children in order to reduce labour costs on the family farm. They also consider that an apprenticeship in the production of cocoa is essential to guarantee the future livelihoods of their children, who will likely work in the agricultural sector when they become adults. Therefore, it is vital in these circumstances to ensure that any such support given by children is neither dangerous nor detrimental to their education.

The fight against the exploitation of children is universal, and draws together a wide variety of actors and nations. There are a growing number of initiatives to tackle the problem at every level (local, national, regional and international). Individuals, civil society organisations, governments, parliaments, trade unions, international organisations and industries supporting these initiatives constitute a de-facto alliance and a full and varied spectrum of activities should indeed be encouraged. In 2008, the Belgian Government asked the Secretariat of the Sahel and West Africa Club to become fully engaged as well.

Given the complexity and the scope of the problem, it is now imperative to develop an integrated and coordinated approach as well as to assemble and disseminate recognised and proven good practices. This is why the ICI foundation (founded in 2002, and representing a unique partnership between the cocoa industry and civil society organisations) has decided to support this publication.

70% of world cocoa production is cultivated in West Africa where child labour poses severe, in some cases unacceptable, risks. These primarily affect Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, who share the largest production basin, but also Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Cameroon and other neighbouring countries. Reaching beyond

the boundaries of the cocoa farms themselves, child labour in rural communities is often rooted in long standing migratory patterns. Within these practices, trafficking of children, whilst limited, remains an intolerable phenomenon. These problems are also seen in many other sectors of activity such as fisheries, mining, domestic work, etc.

The international community has armed itself with a universal set of non-negotiable rules and regulations, constituting the overarching goals to be achieved. However, they need to be grounded in local contexts, through processes of awareness building and community mobilisation, so that they can be effectively appropriated by the concerned populations.

“The alliance” mentioned above is working continuously towards these goals. History has shown, especially in countries where child labour is most prevalent today, that this is a difficult long-term process that delivers gradual results. Nonetheless, real progress is already evident. It is therefore essential to sustain all efforts to eradicate child labour by placing them within a holistic and coordinated framework. Energised by social mobilisation lasting social change can be brought about.

It is critically important to be mindful of the lessons and good practices that are emerging from our collective experience and work on the ground. This publication does not provide a comprehensive list of recommendations, but we are convinced that they can and should help guide the way. This is the spirit in which this work has been developed.

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Executive Summary

This work gathers together the experiences and ideas from representatives of governments, organisations and agencies active at different stages along the cocoa supply chain as well as from men, women and children living in cocoa growing communities. While it does not aspire to have all the answers or to cover every intervention, a number of key messages emerge and are outlined below. This work provides an opportunity to review essential elements of the environment required to support the elimination of child labour in cocoa production and other sectors. It identifies some emerging good practices from existing interventions in the hope of contributing to their proliferation. It reflects on the roles and responsibilities of those concerned to encourage greater clarity, coordination and collaboration in the coming years.

Key message 1

Addressing child labour as an integral part of national development policies – creating an enabling environment and setting-up effective and relevant national child protection systems.

The ongoing integration of child labour concerns into national development policies on child protection, education, decent work, poverty reduction, peace, justice and security is essential to its sustainable elimination. The creation of such a policy framework leads to an environment that supports specific interventions and helps to bring about a change in public perceptions of children's needs and rights. Because responsibilities are often spread across different government agencies, adequately resourced Child Labour Units should coordinate and facilitate efforts from the various ministries. These coordination mechanisms, along with laws, policies and adequate child services, are an essential element for an efficient national child protection system.

So that available resources can be fairly distributed and used for maximum impact, child labour in high profile sectors such as cocoa farming is best seen as part of the wider issue of child labour, as opposed to being prioritised and isolated from the whole. Advocacy might move towards promoting countries who are in the process of instituting more holistic/nation-wide efforts against child labour rather than focusing on encouraging the chocolate industry to source cocoa uniquely from child labour-free cocoa farms. Verification would then expand its focus. While this might initially seem unrealistic, it would have more sustainable results. As long as the root causes of child labour still exist, children run the risk of displacement to work in other sectors. It is for this reason that this work discusses child labour in cocoa growing communities

rather than solely on cocoa farms, but even this is still not sufficiently broad. If the chocolate industry and the wider international community could agree to broaden their approach and to contribute resources and campaign for the complete elimination of child labour, it would enable governments to prioritise activities based on the degree of risk to children rather than on economic reality. This would be more in line with international conventions which commit us to act in the best interests of all children.

Key message 2

Sustainable change requires coherent upstream and downstream work

Child labour is an issue of global social justice. In our interdependent world it needs to be perceived as “our” problem. The creation of an enabling environment for sustainable change requires “upstream” efforts at an international and national level as well as “downstream” efforts in families and communities.

While in theory this is fairly self evident, it can be challenging to ensure that upstream work is coherent with downstream work and vice versa. For example, international legislation needs to be understood in the context of the concepts and beliefs of a given community, otherwise it risks becoming unsustainable and irrelevant imposition. Whilst promoting international laws, actors should not ignore a community’s right to discuss, analyse and make certain decisions based on their own local understanding of a child’s best interests. Part of the work of national legislation and skilled change agents is to marry community realities with international legislation. It is, therefore, important that international standards and norms are introduced to communities and promoted in ways that are appropriate to local contexts. This needs to be taken into account in change agent training so that “awareness-raising” is about more than ensuring that communities can recite international legislation. Forums and channels should be developed to ensure that community concerns are voiced and heard. The value and importance of “bottom up” processes need to be continually affirmed to counter-balance the prevailing “top down” approach.

Key message 3

The importance of contextualisation

West Africa covers a sizeable geographic area and is home to diverse ethnic groups. This means that not all social, political, cultural and economic realities can be viewed at a regional level. In other words, child labour in Nigeria has

different characteristics from child labour in Senegal. Even within the same country community realities are not always the same. It is, therefore, important to develop and support processes that enable communities to analyse and reflect on their children's best interests in relation to the work that they do, the education they receive, the future that awaits them and the options and resources available to them. The analyses of local community members provide the basis for action that is locally owned and hence more likely to be relevant and sustainable. These processes act as catalysts that empower people to influence decisions that concern them and thus contribute to the development of democratic societies. This work highlights emerging good practices that promote this process of community-level analysis, including the sharing of information from outside the community as well as ideas and possibilities for action. What needs to be avoided is the wholesale transfer of one intervention to a different location without the necessary community involvement.

Key message 4

Protecting Children on the Move: a broader to Child Trafficking

While the issue of child trafficking does not figure extensively in this analysis, it is a good illustration of the importance of coherent upstream and downstream work that is tailored to a specific location. Although it was originally designed in response to trafficking from Eastern Europe, the Palermo Protocol has been used to provide an international working definition of trafficking, even though it does not perfectly apply to all situations. For example, in West Africa there is a long tradition of young people moving south within and from the countries of the Sahel to look for work, and while traffickers have exploited and profited from this, it cannot be assumed that all children on the move are victims of trafficking. Treating them as such can result in increased risk and the violation of their rights. Similarly, in some countries rural children are traditionally lodged with urban relations to access education or vocational training. While this can and does result in exploitation, it is not helpful to automatically classify it as trafficking since this criminalises the child's family and support systems when they are key resources for sustainable change.

Thus in the West African context, child mobility is linked to a number of factors which need to be properly understood before truly effective legislation and interventions can be designed.

Key message 5

Pulling together essential components for a holistic approach to child labour

The work is presented under five thematic headings which aim to provide an overview of the essential components needed to tackle child labour. Community level interventions receive considerable attention but these are situated within the national and international context, as demonstrated by a brief look at the requirements highlighted by the five themes:

1–Government action and building national capacity

Aspects covered include policy and implementation related to:

- Access to quality education including literacy for adults and young people out of school;
- Opportunities for decent work /sustainable livelihoods;
- Child protection services;
- Appropriate savings and credit options.

2–Local action and empowering communities

The booklet looks at a range of approaches and interventions with an emphasis on:

- Community empowerment to organise for advocacy and action to achieve common goals;
- Community level child protection strategies.

3–Improvements along the cocoa supply chain

This section looks at changes along the cocoa supply chain and how they relate to eliminating child labour. The aspects mentioned might also be applied to other sectors.

- Cocoa-specific strategies for changing labour practices and increasing profitability;
- Requirements for a sustainable cocoa economy covering transparency and legal compliance, economic viability, social responsiveness and sound environmental management.

4–Integrated and coordinated approaches so that

- Organisations and agencies can share their expertise and do what they do best;
- Resources can be used effectively;

-
- Platforms for shared learning can develop a knowledge base as a resource for future interventions.

The booklet looks at a number of experiences, considers the roles and responsibilities of the different actors involved, and reflects on issues linked to accountability and communication.

5–Designing, monitoring and evaluating interventions

The final theme seeks to apply lessons learned and emerging good practices from each thematic area to project design, implementation and evaluation in order to encourage holistic, effective and sustainable interventions.

Key message 6

Listening to all stakeholders, particularly vulnerable and marginalised groups

Taking into account the viewpoint of those impacted is an essential part of designing effective policies and interventions, especially as children as a group are habitually marginalised. Working children can tell us a lot about their lives, the impact of the work that they do and the alternatives as they understand them. The views of children are, however, very easily missed since in rural African communities they are generally not encouraged to speak out in the presence of adults. West African women have different roles and responsibilities from men but also often lack an opportunity to express their points of view. If the voices of these groups are missing, interventions may fail to take account of essential information. Thus strategies and processes need to be developed to ensure the inclusion of such groups in policy development as well as in monitoring and project planning, implementation and evaluation.

Key message 7

The role of regional and international organisations in building on emerging best practice

Regional and international organisations have an important role in helping create an environment where child labour is no longer an option through broad-based support for legislation, policies and interventions in line with emerging good practices. Such support includes research, advocacy, consultation and capacity building as well as encouraging networking and platforms for knowledge-sharing. They can also assist in both monitoring national efforts and feedback in order to enhance the impact of activities.

Emerging good practice : origin and concept

In 2008, with support from the Belgian Government, the Sahel and West Africa Club Secretariat of the OECD launched a regional initiative to combat the worst forms of child labour on West African cocoa farms. This work is part of that initiative and aims to document and share effective achievements in combating child labour in cocoa growing communities in West Africa.

It might well be asked why there is a need for yet another paper to add to the existing analyses and documentation of strategies and best practices to eliminate child labour. While this booklet does not pretend to have all the answers, it complements its predecessors by concentrating on addressing child labour in relation to the West Africa cocoa sector. After around 10 years of varied initiatives it seeks to identify which approaches seem to be most effective and what lessons have been learned. It aims to analyse and highlight emerging good practice so that, while there is still much to learn, future interventions can draw on combined experiences to date and key learning from a high profile sector is available for appropriate adaptation in other sectors where child labour occurs.

Cocoa farming is the beginning of an international supply chain that ends with the consumption of chocolate bars around the world. The chocolate industry aims to eliminate child labour in cocoa production in response to consumer desire for products that do not harm their producers. However governments and child rights workers in cocoa growing countries often have a different perspective based on a more in depth knowledge of child labour in their countries. They are aware of children working in a range of hazardous activities in sectors such as fishing, mining and domestic service, some of which are equally or more dangerous than cocoa farming. However, since national economies are dependent on cash exports and international attention is focussed on efforts to eliminate child labour from the cocoa supply chain, the resources invested to help the tens of thousands of children working in other sectors are minimal in comparison.

Thus we have chosen to look at child labour across cocoa growing communities as a whole rather than simply on cocoa farms in order to stress the need to tackle all forms of child labour within a given community or country. If the root causes of child labour are not addressed across the spectrum of child labour activities there is a real risk that children will simply move away from working in cocoa farming into other forms of more hazardous child labour. There are a number of good practices that appear relevant and transferable between initiatives originating in sectors other than agriculture and cocoa production and some of these have also been included.

The International Cocoa Initiative and the Secretariat of the Sahel and West Africa Club have coordinated the creation of the study, based on contributions from cocoa growing communities, national and international NGOs, unions, employers' organisations, governments, chocolate producing companies and

regional and UN bodies. Information has been gathered from a multitude of reports, telephone discussions, field visits and e-mail exchanges in an attempt to include as wide a range of experience as possible.

Objectives

This booklet aims to assist governments, community leaders and their accompanying partners (NGOs, workers' and employers' organisations, regional bodies and international agencies) in designing, implementing and evaluating initiatives moving towards cocoa growing communities that are child labour free. Within this overall objective the booklet specifically aims to:

- Promote emerging good practices and lessons learned from a wide range of initiatives;
- Facilitate progress in countries and sectors that are less advanced;
- Support capacity building at local, national, regional and international levels through facilitating learning from shared experiences and emerging good practices;
- Facilitate and promote dialogue between the different groups of people concerned;
- Improve the synergy and effectiveness of interventions; and
- Contribute to the ongoing development of good practices and platforms for sharing and disseminating new ideas and concepts.

Context

Child labour in West Africa

Across West Africa as in many other parts of the world children have traditionally worked alongside their parents to grow cash crops or food for the family. They also work in fishing, mining and quarrying and in urban settings, mostly in the informal sector as porters, itinerant sellers, and domestic workers and in small factories, bars and shops. It needs to be stressed that not all work that children do is harmful or defined as child labour and learning to contribute to family and community life and to earn a living and develop independence are all part of growing up and developing individual potential. However many children do work in hazardous activities that adversely affect their development, education and wellbeing and the International Labour Organization's internationally agreed definitions of child labour are explained in this booklet.

Many people in West Africa lack decent work and cannot rely on having enough to eat. This leads them to migrate within and between countries, sometimes on a seasonal basis and sometimes resulting in temporary or permanent re-settlement. Such migration includes children and young people

accompanying their parents but many also travel independently to look for work and are thus among those vulnerable to exploitation through trafficking.

While more and more West African children are attending school there are still many communities without a school and there is a massive shortage of trained teachers, especially those prepared to work in remote areas under difficult conditions. Many adults in West Africa have never attended school, curricula are not always seen as relevant and poor quality education means that parents are often worried that their children will neither succeed in school nor learn how to farm the land and will thus end up unable to provide for themselves or their families. Some families cannot afford to send their children to school and some particularly vulnerable children are orphans or have lost touch with their families.

The issue of child labour in West Africa is complex and widespread and needs to be viewed in the wider context of economic development, poverty and demography. Young people under 15 years of age make up nearly half of a total population of 320 million people. The socio-economic factors that influence the use and exploitation of children include poverty and lack of sustainable livelihoods, limited opportunities for young people, some traditional power structures and practices, legal aspects and failures in education systems. Most people in West Africa live in rural areas and around 60% of employment is in the agricultural sector, which is the source of a significant proportion of the revenue generated within the region.

Child labourers tend to either come from or be found in poorer families, communities and countries where fewer opportunities are available for education and employment. Cultural norms and changes in traditional practices also play a role and situations differ from one country to another and even between different areas and ethnic groups within the same country. These are some of the reasons why child labour is so complex and they signal the need for careful situational analyses carried out with the active participation of the people concerned. It is crucial to avoid a “one solution fits all” approach, although child labour does need to be understood as one symptom of the bigger picture of global injustice. Thus work is required “upstream” at national and international levels as well as “downstream” in families and communities to create and ensure sustainable change that is in the best interests of the children concerned.

***West African cocoa production*¹**

West Africa accounts for more than 70% of world cocoa production (Côte d’Ivoire 38%, Ghana 21%, Cameroon 5% and Nigeria 5%). Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana are the world’s two largest producers, representing 80% of total West

¹ Information from SWAC/OECD’s Joint position Paper: *Regional Initiative combating worst forms of child labour on West African cocoa farms 2009*, www.oecd.org/swac/cocoa

African production. Much smaller quantities of cocoa are also produced in Togo, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Cocoa is the region's main agricultural export, accounting for nearly half of total earnings (46% of USD 4 billion in 2006).



The economic importance of cocoa as an export product means that governments, particularly in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, are keen to ensure that the cocoa supply chain functions effectively in line with international demand and requirements. In an increasingly informed consumer environment chocolate producing companies are concerned to be seen to be acting ethically and conforming to international standards. This has resulted in increasing attention to production practices, including the use of child labour.

Child labour in West African cocoa farming communities

Around 7.5 million people work in West African cocoa production, mainly on family small holdings averaging around five hectares in size. Cocoa farming is very labour intensive and producers face strong pressures to keep labour costs down. At peak times all family members, including children, are involved.

Children usually work on their parents' or relatives' farms on a regular basis which does not in itself constitute child labour, unless the tasks are hazardous or keep the children from attending school. In some areas children also work as paid labourers on cocoa farms on a temporary basis. Studies in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire show that nearly half of all children living on cocoa farms have been engaged in at least one hazardous activity, including carrying heavy loads, spraying pesticides, applying fertilizers or cutting trees. In addition, some children have been trafficked from other regions of the country or neighbouring countries, a criminal practice under international conventions.

The Harkin-Engel Protocol

Between 1998 and 2001 a series of reports alleged widespread use of child labour in cocoa production in West Africa including children being trafficked to work in forced labour conditions. In September 2001 the Chocolate Manufacturers' Association, the World Cocoa Foundation and other bodies signed the *Protocol for the Growing and Processing of Cocoa Beans and their Derivative Products in a Manner that Complies with ILO Convention 182 concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor*, which became known as the Harkin-Engel Protocol, after the US senators who promoted it. As the complexities of eliminating the Worst Forms of Child Labour in cocoa production spread across tens of thousands of small family farms in isolated locations became increasingly clear the initial deadline of 2005 was pushed back first to 2008 and then to 2010, with ongoing debate about viable means of verification, as demanded by the Protocol. Overall the Harkin-Engel Protocol has served to focus attention on the need to counter child labour in cocoa production and other sectors although, with hindsight, it might have been better expressed.

An overview of international legal frameworks and conventions

Since the early twentieth century a number of international conventions have created an international legal framework applicable to child labour and thus influenced the development of national and regional legislation. This work does not give a detailed breakdown of all of these conventions but describes some of the principal agreements currently in place. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is probably the most well-known and internationally accepted definitions of child labour are enshrined in the International Labour Organisation's Conventions 138 and 182. At a regional level the Organisation of African Unity has adopted the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and more recently a number of bi- and multi-lateral agreements concerning child trafficking in West Africa have been signed.²

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Adopted in 1989 and in 193 countries, the Convention on the Rights of the Child is a legally binding international instrument that incorporates children's civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. It establishes global recognition that children (people under 18 years old) have human rights and often need special care and protection that adults do not need. The Convention spells out the basic human rights of children everywhere: the right to survival; to develop to the fullest; to protection from harmful influences, abuse and exploitation; and to participate fully in family, cultural and social life. The four core principles of the Convention are non-discrimination; devotion to the best interests of the child; the right to life, survival and development; and respect for the views of the child. The Convention also sets standards in health care; education; and legal, civil and social services.

<http://treaties.un.org>

The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

The Organisation of African Unity adopted the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child in 1990 and in 2010 it had been ratified by 45 member states. Article 15 refers specifically to child labour, stating that:

- 1 Every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development.
- 2 States Parties to the present Charter take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures to ensure the full implementation of this Article, which

² For instance the 2006 ECOWAS-ECCAS "Multilateral cooperation agreement to combat trafficking in persons, particularly woman and children in Central and West Africa".

covers both the formal and informal sectors of employment and having regard to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Organisation's instruments relating to children, States Parties shall in particular:

- a) provide through legislation, minimum wages for admission to every employment;
- b) provide for appropriate regulation of hours and conditions of employment;
- c) provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of this Article;
- d) promote the dissemination of information on the hazards of child labour to all sectors of the community.

African Union 01/03/2010

ILO Convention 138 - The Minimum Age Convention

Adopted in 1973 and ratified by 156 nations by 2010, Convention 138 concerns the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment. Article 2(3) specifies that the minimum age of admission into employment or work in any occupation "shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling, and, in any case, shall not be less than fifteen." Countries whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may initially specify a minimum legal working age of 14 when ratifying the convention. Additionally, under article 7(1), "National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons 13 to 15 years of age on light work which is – a) not likely to be harmful to their health or development; and b) not such as to prejudice their attendance at school, their participation in vocational orientation or training programmes approved by the competent authority or their capacity to benefit from the instruction received."

ILO Convention 182 - The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention

Adopted in 1999 and ratified by 173 nations by 2010, Convention 182 concerns the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour. Article 2 defines a child as someone under the age of 18 and Article 3 defines child labour as:

- a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- c) 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;

d) 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.
(ILOLEX – 10.01.2011)

Many of the worst forms of child labour in West African communities fall under clause (d) of Article 3 of ILO Convention 182: “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”, sometimes known as “conditional worst forms” or “hazardous work”. Each country ratifying Convention 182 commits itself to defining a list of activities that constitute such hazardous work. Such activities can sometimes be improved by altering the circumstances so that they no longer affect the health and safety of the children who do them. This is in contrast to the “unconditional worst forms” listed in clauses 1–3 which are usually illegal, criminal and also unacceptable for adults. They include all those activities whose status as worst forms cannot be altered no matter what is done to improve conditions of work.

While a legal framework is an important constituent of child protection, it is not in itself enough. For laws to be effectively implemented and enforced a majority of the people concerned need to be aware of, to understand and to accept the legislation. Such ownership and understanding evolves more as a matter of course when laws are developed as a result of local or national concerns. Since international legislation, by its very nature, is developed on the basis of cultural and historical norms and realities that might be unfamiliar to many of the people affected, considerable effort is necessary to ascertain understanding of new concepts and facilitate their sustainable integration into the lifestyles of those concerned. This must take place alongside efforts to alleviate root causes of child labour and broader social injustice so that international conventions move us closer to the vision of the world we want to live in.

Approach

Respect for the concept of human rights as expressed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child has been a guiding principal in identifying the emerging good practices in the booklet, alongside basic principles of good development practice. On the basis of broad consultation seven characteristics of emerging good practices in combating worst forms of child labour have been identified:

- 1 Practices that are based on the aspirations, points of view, analyses, decisions and active participation of the communities, groups and individuals concerned, thus ensuring that changes are locally owned and locally led and adapted to local context. This includes practices that facilitate children’s participation in decisions and activities that concern them.

- 2 Practices that create demonstrable positive impact on child labour; practices based on the best interests of the child and that contribute to the survival and development of the child;
- 3 Practices that addresses underlying causes, rather than symptoms;
- 4 Practices that develop institutional and individual capacity at national and local levels, building on what already exists;
- 5 Practices that are non discriminatory and have broad shared benefits;
- 6 Practices that are the result of interdependent and coordinated actions;
- 7 Practices that result in change that is sustainable without continued external inputs and that can, with appropriate contextualisation, be successfully replicated and brought to scale by others.

Themes for emerging good practice

While they inevitably overlap, we have chosen to organise the selected initiatives under five thematic headings. The order emphasises that time limited interventions need to build on existing government provision and contribute to sustainable improvements to national capacity to protect children and foster their development.

1. Government action and building national capacity

Child labour interventions need to be in line with and reinforce the processes of democratisation and decentralisation currently underway in many West African countries. While governments are responsible for ensuring that child protection and education policies are in place more decentralised decision-making powers and resources increases potential for authorities to be held accountable for their actions and for people to more directly influence the decisions that affect their lives.

2. Local action and empowering communities

If democratisation and decentralisation are to realise their potential communities need to be able to use the opportunities they present. Working to support community empowerment and organised action to access social and economic justice not only contributes to eliminating child labour but also to the development of functioning democracies and increasing awareness of and access to human rights.

3. Improvements along the cocoa supply chain

It is in the interests of all those involved to improve cocoa production and ensure that working conditions are acceptable and legal. Chocolate industry investment in improved production and working conditions serves to protecting its economic interests and put into practice a commitment to corporate social responsibility. Proven good practice contributes to a sustainable cocoa supply chain and has the potential to be adapted for use in other sectors.

4. Integrated and coordinated approaches

In an increasingly interdependent world effective practice is coordinated practice and working alone can be counter productive. However this can be complex to implement and emerging good practice can inspire and suggest how to meet the challenges and maximise the benefits of shared learning. This section also takes a look at the relationships between the roles and responsibilities of different actors in combating child labour in general and in relation to cocoa production in particular.

5. Designing, monitoring and evaluating interventions

The final theme looks at the implications of emerging best practice for the design, monitoring and evaluation of interventions, including some ideas concerning impact assessment. These processes are crucial to the quality of interventions and the results that are achieved and need to embody the principles and practice we believe in, taking into consideration the points raised in the previous sections.

How the booklet is organised

Emerging good practices are organised under the five themes described above. Different areas within each theme are described and discussed covering the following aspects:

- A brief description of the context
- Descriptions of what has been tried including: strategies (how) and activities (what)
- The lessons learned
- Emerging good practices are mentioned under “what has been tried” and a more in depth analysis looks at how some such practices fit with our identified criteria

To summarise,

we are looking for practices that contribute to creating an enabling environment where thriving communities can evolve; communities that are socially and economically viable and child labour free, where there are opportunities for sustainable livelihoods and decent work and where children are safe and healthy and have access to appropriate education provision that gives them choices for the future.

Emerging good practices by theme

1 Government action and building national capacity

1.1 LEGISLATION AND POLICY

Context

Due to contrasting political realities governments in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire have responded very differently to similar challenges of child labour and child trafficking. Ghana's progress towards democracy and decentralisation and efforts to make use of international support in combating child labour is in stark contrast to the relatively slow pace of policy development and implementation in Côte d'Ivoire, where ongoing political instability hampers broad based initiatives for change.

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What has been tried?

This section begins with examples of legislation and policy initiatives drawn to a large extent from Ghana, since it has the most developed child protection policy and legal framework in West Africa. The framework touches a number of sectors and includes a number of direct and indirect measures to combat child labour in cocoa production. Principal challenges concern the allocation of adequate resources for implementation, effective collaboration and coordination across ministries and how to ensure relevance and ownership at community level since policies have more often been developed in response to external pressures than to internal demand.

National legal frameworks for children

Ghana has put in place a comprehensive legal framework to protect children and promote their well-being. The 1992 Constitution guarantees the protection of children from any work that constitutes a threat to their health, education or development and includes the concept of Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education. Ghana has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and ILO Convention 182. The provisions of these various conventions have been enshrined in national laws, the most important of which are described here:

The 1998 Children's Act consolidated and revised existing law and constitutes the basis of Ghana's child protection system. It seeks to protect the rights of the child including the right to education, health and shelter and proscribes the engagement of children in exploitative labour. It sets the minimum age for employment at 15 years, to coincide with the age for completion of basic education.

The 2005 Human Trafficking Act legislates for the prevention, reduction and punishment of human trafficking and the reintegration and rehabilitation of adults and children who have been trafficked.

On July 7th 2006 Ghana was one of 24 countries to sign the *Multilateral Cooperation Agreement to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in West and Central Africa*, at a joint inter-ministerial meeting of ECOWAS and ECCAS¹ countries in Abuja, Nigeria.

The 2006 Whistle Blowers' Act aims to protect and reward individuals who, in the public interest, disclose information about illegal conduct or corrupt practices of others.

The 2007 Domestic Violence Act defines domestic violence to include physical, economic, sexual and emotional abuse and criminalises such abuse within existing and previous relationships and is particularly concerned to protect women and children from domestic violence.

While the legal framework is among the most comprehensive in the region, weak institutional capacity and limited funding allocated to implement and enforce these Acts means that they are only one step towards promoting and protecting children's rights, including the elimination of child labour. The principal challenge seems to be implementing legislation at district and community levels. To give one example the Child Panels created by the 1998 Children's Act are gradually being established more than twelve years later and by April 2011 only 31 out of the target of 170 district Child Panels had been established.

Integration of measures to combat child labour into Policy

Both Ghana's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper II (2006-2009) and the Medium Term National Policy Framework (2010-2013) include strategies for eliminating child labour, the latter under the three key themes of 1) poverty reduction; 2) improved employment opportunities and social protection; and 3) improved access to rights. The National Action Plan for Education for All (2003-2015) mentions child labourers and trafficked child among excluded children who are to be provided for.

Thus Ghana goes some way towards integrating child labour strategies into policies across some of the relevant sectors. However to be really effective the elimination of child labour needs to be tackled across the board, starting with consideration in policies for education, health, agriculture, social protection, labour market regulation, poverty reduction and justice. This requires not only wide awareness and readiness to tackle the issue but also effective communication and coordination within and between ministries.

Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE)

Ghana launched its FCUBE programme in 1996 with the aim of providing every school-age child in Ghana with quality basic education. It aims to enhance the

¹ *Economic Community Of West African States and Economic Community of Central African States*

quality of teaching and learning, to improve efficiency in the management of the education sector and to provide full access to educational services. District Assemblies (local government) are responsible for building, equipping and maintaining schools. Various funds have been established to finance additional needs of educational sector, including special measures to increase enrolment and retention rates. While school enrolment has significantly increased it remains challenging to provide all children in remote rural communities with access to relevant quality education. This requires the presence of trained teachers in rural schools but the commitment to 95% trained primary teachers by 2012 enshrined in the Education Strategic Plan (2003-2015) seems unrealistic in the light of the existing shortfall.

National Action Plans to eliminate child labour

Both Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana have undertaken surveys to establish the extent and nature of child labour and have put in place National Action Plans to combat its occurrence. Interventions designed under Ghana's the National Action Plan are prepared with local communities and authorities through participatory approaches with a view to ensuring local ownership. Children directly or indirectly involved in or affected by the worst forms of child labour are supposed to be consulted in both design and implementation of interventions. The National Action Plan is based on a multi- sectoral approach requiring the commitment and contributions of Government, trade unions and employers' organisations, other civil society organisations and the general population, the private sector and development partners. It focuses on eight major issues that need to be confronted and is coordinated by the Child Labour Unit of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare. The plan was validated in 2009 and while the identification and allocation of resources for implementation still need to be addressed for it to become effective, it is taken here as an example of emerging good practice.

In addition to strategies to tackle child labour across the board, in 2006 Ghana developed its National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) in response to high profile international concern about the use of child labour in cocoa production. Intended as a model programme which interventions in other sectors can emulate, it concentrates on raising the awareness of child labour issues in cocoa growing communities and supporting vulnerable children to attend school, aiming to work in all cocoa growing districts by 2011.

In line with their commitment under ILO Convention 182 Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire have both developed lists of hazardous labour, that is to say "*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*". Ghana also has a Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework specifically related to cocoa farming.

Decent Work Country Programmes

Decent work is the term used by the International Labour Organisation to describe work that meets people's aspirations for:

- opportunity and income
- rights, voice and recognition
- family stability and personal development
- fairness and gender equality

Decent work contributes to peaceful and thriving communities and reflects the common concerns of the ILO's three constituent groups (governments, workers and employers). It is captured in four strategic objectives which hold for all workers, women and men, in both formal and informal sectors of the economy; in wage employment or working on their own account; in the fields, factories and offices; in their home or in the community. These are:

- fundamental principles and rights at work
- employment and income opportunities
- social protection and social security
- social dialogue to achieve these objectives

The ILO supports Decent Work Country Programmes (DWCP) developed in collaboration with ILO constituents in both Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. The programmes define priorities and targets within national development frameworks and aim to address major decent work deficits through interventions tackling each of the strategic objectives.

Ghana's development paradigm stresses the importance of jobs in linking economic growth to poverty reduction, with the result that Ghana's Poverty Reduction Strategy places substantial emphasis on private sector led wealth creation and employment generation. Ghana's Decent Work Country Programme addresses poverty reduction through the formulation and implementation of decent work policies and programmes integrated with related social and economic policies, especially for the informal sector, which has both significant decent work deficits and immense potential for poverty reduction and wealth creation through the promotion of decent work.

Integrating strategies to combat child labour into decent work country programmes helps to streamline policy and draw attention to the links and connections between eliminating child labour and decent work for adults and young people of an age to be employed.

Social protection

Social protection is a key element of decent work. Ghana's *National Social Protection Strategy Document* brings together a number of existing social protection strategies including the National Health Insurance Scheme, the Capitation grant, the school feeding programme, the National Youth Employment

Programme and Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP), a conditional cash transfer to the most vulnerable families, one of the conditions for receiving it being that children are attending school.

National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP)

Launched in 2007, the NYEP is the Ghanaian government initiative to promote youth employment, in the face of large numbers of unemployed young people. Youth are recruited into a range of modules including: Agriculture; Business; Security Services; Trades and Vocations modules designed to train youth in various areas to enable them to create their own jobs; and Community Education Teaching Assistants, geared towards augmenting the number of primary school teachers. The programme is confronted with a number of challenges including funding, training facilities and the need for legislation to streamline its operation.

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Lessons learned

Policy

If policies are to provide a solid basis for sustainable delivery of public services and support an environment where children can grow and develop their potential, they need to be in line with the needs of the people concerned. This requires those concerned to be actively involved in policy development, implementation and evaluation processes. Key questions to assess the degree to which a policy framework meets the required criteria include:

- Is the policy document relevant to the people it will affect? Does it take into account the needs of marginalised or stigmatized groups?
- Is the policy development process participatory? Does it involve representatives of the groups concerned?
- In terms of policy implementation: Is there a clear piloting framework? Does it take into account multi-actor involvement and management systems?
- Policy evaluation: Is the policy explicit about how it will be evaluated? Does evaluation involve the groups concerned, including any marginalised groups?

If the answer to these questions is “Yes” then the policy concerned is more likely to achieve its aims and objectives.

Child Labour Units

The existence of a child labour unit is an expression of government commitment to tackle the issue. However much of the potential and usefulness of such units is lost if they are not responsible for coordinating all aspects of government response to child labour. The fact that Ghana’s National Programme for

the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) reports directly to the Minister rather than being situated within the Child Labour Unit is a case in point. This means that the relatively well resourced NPECLC does little to benefit broader child labour issues, in spite of one of its objectives being to test and develop approaches that can be used to tackle child labour in other sectors. Furthermore it contributes to the Child Labour Unit itself becoming marginalised due to more limited allocation of resources.

Another difficulty resulting from NPECLC being situated outside the Child Labour Unit is that the programme team attempts to combine the roles of direct implementation of remediation initiatives with coordinating the country's overall response to child labour in cocoa production. Inevitably this leads to some conflict of interest when negotiating partnership agreements with outside agencies and assessing the relative strengths and weaknesses of different approaches. Responsibility for direct implementation needs to be separated from responsibility for coordination of a country's overall response to child labour.

Emerging good practices

Ghana has a comprehensive legal and policy framework for child protection and combating child labour. While this is not by itself enough to resolve the issues, it provides a good starting point. A detailed analysis of all relevant aspects of policy and legislation is beyond the scope of this work but we take a look at Ghana's National Plan of Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in relation to our identified criteria for emerging good practice. The plan is effectively a statement of Ghana's child labour policy and identifies strategies and activities to tackle the issue.

It also needs to be said that there is strong commitment to change among individuals in the Labour Ministry in Côte d'Ivoire, with the basis for an effective policy framework in place. However the political stalemate that affected the country from 2002 until 2010 and the subsequent turmoil following presidential elections has inevitably had a negative effect on updating the framework and the speed of implementation and this, combined with issues around governance, participation and democracy have meant that progress is more difficult to track.

Ghana's National Plan of Action (NPA) for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour in Ghana

ⓐ Criteria for emerging good practice

ⓐ Participation of the people concerned

Policy formulation: Ghana's NPA states that it was formulated through a long consultative process involving key institutional stakeholders. It does not state if this included community level discussions.

Policy Implementation: The NPA requires District Assemblies and development partners to design and implement interventions through the use of participatory approaches working with local communities and their leaders with a view to ensuring local ownership. It also requires that children directly or indirectly involved in or affected by the WFCL are to be consulted in the design and implementation of interventions.

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ⓐ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour ...

Ghana's NPA is designed to have a demonstrable positive impact on child labour through strategies to tackle 8 major contributing issues:

- 1 Weak and uncoordinated enforcement of legal framework
- 2 Inadequate promotion and protection of children's rights
- 3 Significant numbers of children out of school
- 4 Children involved in WFCL
- 5 Limited livelihood opportunities for vulnerable households, requiring empowerment and social protection strategies
- 6 Low technology in traditional economic sectors fosters dependence on child labour
- 7 Ill-equipped public and civil society organisations with child development/protection mandates
- 8 Outdated results of Ghana Child Labour Survey, uncoordinated dissemination and utilisation of research, limited sector specific studies.

ⓐ Addresses underlying causes

Ghana's NPA addresses underlying causes through highlighting the improvement of livelihood opportunities, social protection strategies, the importance of education and understanding and observance of children's rights.

ⓐ Capacity development

Ghana's NPA tackles ill-equipped public and civil society organisations with child development/protection mandates as one of its 8 major issues, thus identifying capacity development as a priority.

Ⓢ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

Ghana’s NPA seeks to counter discrimination that affects vulnerable groups such as girls, children in Worst Forms of Child Labour and children from poor households, thus promoting child rights and the wellbeing of all children.

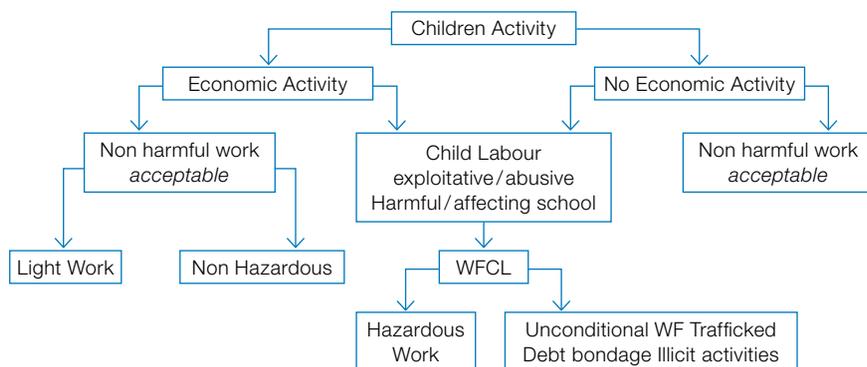
Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

Ghana’s NPA is based on a multi-sectoral approach requiring the commitment and contributions of a broad range of stakeholders – the Government, trade unions and employers’ organizations, other civil society organizations and the general population, the private sector and development partners. It establishes the National Steering Committee to oversee implementation, mobilise resources and facilitate effective cooperation between Ministries, Departments and Agencies. It thus creates space for collaboration and coordination and recognises the interdependency of different initiatives.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

Ghana’s NPA hasn’t yet been evaluated – although it promises to adopt a participatory and transparent approach involving key stakeholders at national and sub-national levels. It makes provision for monitoring and evaluation of accountability, community participation and ownership and the sustainability of outcomes. Ghana is also in the process of developing and scaling up its Child Labour Monitoring System which will help to measure the degree of sustainable change with regard to child labour.

The Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector of Ghana provides a comprehensive conceptual framework for child labour (reproduced below) with clear definitions of international terms and child labour concepts.



Based on an extensive review of previous work, national consultation and research involving adults and children in cocoa communities, the process of developing the framework used an occupational health and safety approach to provide evidence of the health consequences of different types of child work activities and thus to identify hazardous work. This was combined with an analysis of each task or activity within the hazardous sectors to develop a contextually relevant framework. The resulting Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector identifies 17 activities on its hazardous labour list and 17 age appropriate permissible activities. Anthropometric research was used to identify the weights that children of different ages can safely carry over defined distances and this was converted to units of measurement (small, medium and large baskets) that are easily understood and applied in cocoa communities.

The overall approach enabled sector-specific issues to be taken into account and child-centred strategies looked at the degree of risk to define acceptable and non acceptable child work. Because of the importance of education, conditions which interfere with children's education are also included.

Thus the framework makes a concerted effort to interpret international norms in relation to the realities of life in Ghanaian cocoa growing communities thus providing a framework that can claim to be scientifically rigorous, economically feasible and politically, socially and culturally acceptable while offering sufficiently well-defined standards to guide intervention and research.

The full framework can be downloaded from:

www.childprotection.gov.gh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=20

1.2 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION – STRENGTHENING PUBLIC SERVICES

This section looks at how effectively policy is being implemented through the delivery of public services. Although governments carry the responsibility for law enforcement and service delivery other agencies are supporting initiatives across a range of sectors, thus contributing to improving services to help prevent child labour.

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Context

West Africa has some of the lowest literacy rates in the world and 14 million eligible children are out of primary school. Education and literacy are widely acknowledged to be basic human rights that open the way to better health, higher incomes, more secure livelihoods and greater participation in community and public life. Lack of access to these rights results in economic, political and social exclusions, to which women and girls are particularly vulnerable. Low rates of adult literacy and school enrolment and retention have led to young populations searching to access the livelihoods and lifestyles they aspire to without the basic skills that they need. School-based and out-of-school education service delivery, including literacy, has cross cutting effects on many if not all other sectors. For example in the health sector literacy increases the impact of HIV and AIDS prevention work and helps those affected to survive; in the agricultural sector, (which is the principal source of livelihoods and survival for most West Africans), literate and organised workers can advocate for the investment, know how and fair terms of trade that they need in order to increase income and profitability. These are some of the reasons why eliminating child labour can only be discussed together with access to quality primary education and within the overall context of provision for lifelong learning.

Thus in addition to protecting vulnerable children such as child labourers through implementing the legal and policy framework devised for this purpose, governments in cocoa producing countries need to deliver the full range of public services to all those who lack basic skills for living in modern democratic societies. Resources are limited and often controlled by bi- or multi-lateral donors, international NGOs or private sector partners, each with their own specific priorities. Adding political instability and the challenges of capacity building for effective management and governance further highlights the complexity of public service delivery in West Africa.

In this far from easy environment all successes and partial successes are to be valued as the basis for learning and ongoing improvement. The rest of this section looks at some education, child welfare and decent work initiatives that are contributing to enabling children to access their rights and develop

their potential. It is not feasible to treat any one issue in isolation, including child labour in cocoa production. Governments are obliged to look at the bigger picture and development needs to be seen as a long term process. Both national and international development partners have a role to play in advocating for the voices of the less powerful to be heard and piloting effective strategies in response to their needs. Government can then build on and scale up successful initiatives.

What has been tried – a look at education, child welfare and decent work

Many initiatives have focussed on a mix of activities that contribute to education in and out of school and improvements linked to agriculture and child protection. The focus in this section is on education, child welfare and decent work country programmes (agriculture is covered under “Improvements along the cocoa supply chain”).

Education in school

Access to quality education is universally acknowledged as a key factor in eliminating child labour. In addition to proximity to a suitable school, vulnerable children or families often require additional support to ensure regular school attendance. Such support has included:

- school feeding programmes that ensure a meal during the day
- help for children (particularly girls) to travel to school safely
- provision of school uniforms, books and materials
- installing girls and boys toilets and a water supply (particularly important for making schools safe and friendly places for girls)
- support and training to foster savings and income generation to enable parents of vulnerable children to cover costs linked to education and earn a living without relying on child labour
- conditional cash transfer schemes

There is little point in getting children to enrol and remain in school if the quality of education on offer does not enable them to increase their choices and opportunities for the future. The quality of education depends on adequate infrastructure, relevant curricula, sufficient and appropriate teaching and learning materials and having enough trained teachers (men and women) with good support, supervision and ongoing training opportunities. This is an enormous challenge for most countries in West Africa, where teacher training opportunities are limited, curricula are in the process of being updated and infrastructure leaves much to be desired. These factors are compounded in the remote rural areas where cocoa farming takes place and where few teachers

are willing to live and work for long periods. Initiatives to improve the quality of education include:

- curriculum development
- innovative teacher training schemes
- sponsorship of teachers in training in return for a guaranteed period of service in rural areas
- building houses for teachers in hard-to-reach communities
- subsidies for teachers in hard to fill posts
- training and logistical support for local education authority supervisors

Good management and governance of schools also contributes to the quality of the education provided and, in addition to the support and supervision of local education authorities, the involvement of local communities in the running of their local schools is an important factor in ensuring local ownership and effective management of education resources. Initiatives to develop such community involvement include:

- capacity building and advocacy training for School Management Committees
- capacity building and advocacy training for Parents and Teachers Associations
- capacity building and advocacy training for local leaders
- establishment and training of Mother's Associations to support their children in school

Education, literacy and training outside school

While most efforts are concentrated on achieving universal primary education by 2015, there remain large numbers of young people in West Africa who either have never been to school or who have dropped out of the formal education system for a variety of reasons. These young people are often found in or come from rural communities which offer them little choice other than to join their parents working in the fields or to leave to look for work in urban areas or in commercial agriculture, mining or fishing. Children out of school are particularly vulnerable to child labour either in their home communities or away from home. Leaving brings the additional risks associated with migration and exposure to the risk of child trafficking. Training and vocational education opportunities for young people with no exam passes are extremely limited. They need to be adequately resourced and to include practical work experience and teaching of entrepreneurial skills. A number of strategies have been developed to address these various issues including some which aim to help children remain in or return to the formal school system:

- accelerated basic education to prepare children to rejoin their peers in school
- remedial education to keep vulnerable children in school

Other initiatives focus on improving access to and the quality of training and vocational education:

- community education centres, under a variety of names, offer basic education and life skills combined with training in a range of income generating activities
- Junior Farmer Field Schools offer basic education and practical exposure to farming methods and business skills
- support for apprenticeships or work experience, sometimes including literacy and life skills
- business skills training, start up funding and agricultural extension support (particularly for young people and women)

Youth and adult literacy is a cross cutting development strategy that enables people to participate more fully in the political, social and economic life of their society. It is the “invisible glue” that underlies the achievement of development goals and individual and community development, enhancing parenting skills and confidence to advocate for one’s rights. Initiatives to promote youth and adult literacy include:

- participatory approaches to empowerment and social change such as **Reflect**
- provision of infrastructure (libraries, literacy teaching centres), training for literacy teachers and materials
- advocacy for the implementation of comprehensive national Non Formal Education policies
- advocacy for literacy facilitators to be paid and have access to ongoing training and recognised qualifications

Reflect is an approach to community development and social change that enables marginalised groups to understand and influence the power dynamics that affect their lives, building on what they know and developing literacy and communication skills. Reflect draws on ideas that combine Paolo Freire’s concepts of adult education, Participatory Rural Appraisal tools and gender analysis. www.reflect-action.org www.pamoja-west-africa.org

Child welfare

Child labour has a direct bearing on children’s wellbeing and is therefore the concern of state welfare and child protection services. Virtually all programmes tackling child labour include community sensitisation or awareness-raising about what constitutes child labour and how to recognise and identify tasks that are safe and tasks that are hazardous for children of different ages. This is covered in detail under the next theme “*Local action and empowering communities*”.

Once people understand the concept of child labour and have identified where it occurs in their communities, **strategies** to tackle it directly have included:

- the formation and training of child protection or vigilance committees at community and other administrative levels
- Child Labour Monitoring Systems (CLMS) at community through to national levels
- encouragement of work site protection, including the use of protective clothing and age-appropriate tools and equipment for children engaged in permissible activities
- promoting avoidance of exposure to noxious chemicals in fertilizers and pesticides
- monitoring of distances walked and loads carried by children
- creation of local bye-laws and sanctions regarding child welfare

Initiatives tackling child labour often include child welfare components linked to health such as:

- dissemination of information about HIV and AIDS in communities or through employment and skills development programmes
- information about mother and child health services to encourage correct vaccination, pre- and post- natal care, good nutritional practice, malaria avoidance etc.
- health checks and health care for vulnerable children such as working children and children living on the streets
- promotion of National Health Insurance Schemes providing access to basic healthcare.

Trafficked children, unaccompanied children on the move or any children that communities do not protect need to access help either from state child protection services or those of voluntary agencies. This can include:

- residential short and long term centres for assessment, rehabilitation and/or family reunion
- counselling and therapeutic services
- transport back to communities of origin and food, accommodation and care while in transit

Once standards for child welfare and strategies for child protection are established in law, the challenge is to ensure that the law is effectively enforced, which calls for know-how and resources. Initiatives to support child labour related law enforcement include:

- training on knowledge and implementation of child labour law for those responsible for its enforcement: the police, the judiciary, customs officers,

border officials, labour inspectors, agricultural agency personnel, local authority social services, education and youth officers and community leaders, among others

- training for those in positions to support child labour law enforcement such as transport unions and media personnel
- support to develop proactive monitoring and evaluation of child labour law enforcement
- training to identify and work appropriately with children in need of protection
- networking to ensure that different child protection agencies communicate with each other, coordinate their activities and share experiences

Decent work

Ghana's decent work pilot programme

www.youtube.com/watch?v=S_dILqcSqOE

www.youtube.com/watch?v=YhiBlrdZPS8&feature=channel

In Ghana 7 million out of the 9 million-strong workforce are found in the informal sector, where earning a living is often precarious with nothing to fall back on in hard times. Although cocoa is taxed and regulated, most producers lack many of the benefits associated with decent work. The ILO supported a pilot initiative in the informal sector which shows how two District Assemblies are opening doors to some of these benefits. Through bringing the idea of social partnership to local government level, the ILO and Ghanaian authorities are finding innovative ways to help informal sector workers and their businesses to prosper, opening the way to more and better jobs and better living and working conditions.

While these examples do not concern cocoa farming communities the benefits of such social partnership could clearly benefit such communities and move towards a more integrated approach to tackling child labour by addressing decent work deficits through sustainable capacity building for and via local government.

In Ajimako,

in Ghana's Central Region, people make a living from trade and agriculture, including producing palm oil for use in cooking, soap and cosmetics. Manual extraction of the oil is a long, tough, dirty and low paid process traditionally done by women. They used to earn less than \$1 per day and after feeding and clothing their children nothing remained for school fees or medical bills. After taking part in the ILO supported programme to help informal sector workers, women now take their palm fruits to a new mechanised processing plant where simple locally designed and built machines produce clearer and purer palm oil more easily and more quickly. Earnings have risen to \$10-\$12 a day, changing the lives of women producers and their children, who are now in school.

The coastal town of Wineba is home to one of the poorest fishing communities in Ghana. People earn a living from catching, trading, smoking and salting fish for sale locally and at inland markets. The District Assembly set up a sub committee to register and support women herring smokers associations to receive business skills training and access to loans. Their incomes have risen, their children are in school and their families have guaranteed access to health care.

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These two District Assemblies are changing the way local economic development is handled. Each has set up a Sub Committee on Productive and Gainful Employment (SPGE) which includes informal sector workers who are able to influence the type of services on offer through explaining their experiences. Similarly to many cocoa farmers, these include having no collateral and so no access to loans, and never having been to school - so no opportunity to learn business skills. SPGE members receive technical guidance and training and identify priority economic sectors. They then organise workshops and training to enable production techniques in these sectors to be upgraded. In addition to training, credit unions have been set up that enable people to save very small amounts and to access low interest loans. Ghana's National Health Insurance Scheme has introduced special low rates for informal sector workers thus providing guaranteed health care for families and the National Pension Scheme is looking at a similar option. The programme also introduces people to professional associations which help them to plan and develop the skills to expand their businesses. Tax revenue has increased in both districts and is used to improve access to potable water, rural road networks and other infrastructure that contributes to the economy and the overall quality of life of local people.

Lessons learned

Education in school

Provision of stationary, books and uniforms to support attendance in school of selected children at risk of or withdrawn from child labour is a common component of child labour remediation efforts and is popular with recipient families. While there is a limited place for such provision, it also has its down side:

- It singles out one group of children from others, often without publically understood or common criteria, so can be divisive within a school or community
- It is not sustainable without continued financial input and thus, on its own, does not contribute to long term change

- It encourages dependency rather than strategies to increase self sufficiency
- When a project comes to an end children and parents can feel let down when support disappears, sometimes abruptly
- It is inefficient, as text books belong to individual children rather than to the school – so no guarantee that the book will continue to be used after the child moves on to the next class
- In some countries it overlaps with government provision so is an inefficient use of resources

More effective, more sustainable and more empowering are strategies to help families increase their income, prioritize expenditure and budget for education costs. Communities can also organise or participate in campaigns for state provision for all vulnerable children, such as Ghana’s conditional cash transfer scheme and advocate for education that is truly free at the point of delivery, without the sometimes considerable costs of books, uniforms and various parental contributions.

Education out of school

Youth and adult education (also known as non-formal education) is under resourced in West Africa, where the emphasis is on primary education and UNESCO’s promotion of lifelong learning has yet to become a priority. Youth in this sense refers to the significant numbers of young people in West Africa who have either dropped out of or never been to school and literacy is a key aspect of education that they have missed out on. This is a sector where NGOs attempt to fill the gap in state provision through designing and implementing projects and pilot initiatives that can then be scaled up by government. There are varying degrees of collaboration between NGO project staff and ministry and local authority personnel. In the best cases state and NGO activities are seamlessly integrated – activities contributing to national policy objectives and local authority personnel being involved in training, monitoring and evaluation. However this is the rare exception rather than the norm, since there is pervasive mistrust between government personnel and NGO staff – on the one side the belief that NGOs have unlimited resources so should be prepared to pay for any help provided by state services, and on the other that state personnel are being paid to do a job and so should not demand additional resources to do it. Both beliefs can be convincingly argued, but the tension does not contribute to fruitful collaboration and coordination. These issues need to be carefully discussed, planned and budgeted for from the outset of any project intervention to maximise impact and encourage sustainability.

Child Welfare

The state's frontline child protection services are most commonly represented in rural communities by extension workers or peripatetic officers based in urban centres. Due to resource constraints, out reach work is limited and hence communities are required to be relatively self sufficient in terms of on the spot child protection. Capacity building at both community and local authority level is therefore necessary and the linkages between the two need to be strengthened. There is a role for voluntary agencies and ideally their activities are linked to and thus strengthen statutory provision. The issues discussed previously concerning collaboration between state services and NGO projects also apply here.

Emerging good practices

Teacher training

The Untrained Teachers' Diploma in Basic Education (UTDBE) was introduced in Ghana in 2005 and has a three-fold benefit, first it **increases the number of teachers** – and critically, of female teachers – available for rural primary schools; second, it **provides employment opportunities for girls** who have completed secondary school but either do not have the means or the necessary examination passes to further their education; and third it **draws on local people** thus increasing the likelihood of retaining teachers in hard-to-fill posts. The UTDBE operates as a sandwich course at regional centres where teachers go three times a year during school vacation for three weeks of training at a time over a four year period. Graduates are awarded a diploma in Basic Education, a professional teaching qualification which can also serve as a bridge to tertiary education. However cost poses a problem since government subsidy is insufficient and apart from pupil teachers who are on the government pay roll, most of these teachers are either supported by their communities or are National Youth Employment Programme recruits. A number are also supported by district assemblies and NGOs. One example of such NGO support can be found in the programme *Strengthening the education sector in Ghana's cocoa producing districts*, developed by the Danish development organisation IBIS, which, in addition to supporting teacher training also provides training for School Management Committees (SMCs) and community sensitization about education and child labour issues.

IBIS – Education for Empowerment

Strengthening the Education Sector in Cocoa Producing Districts in Ghana – teacher training

Sponsored by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and Toms Confectionery Group, a Danish chocolate company, this programme worked from 2007–2010 to increase access to quality education for children in two cocoa producing districts (Asunafo South and Tano South, Brong-Ahafo Region) through:

- in-service training for 400 qualified teachers (5 days per year)
- support for 330 teachers on the UTDBE to obtain their Diploma in Basic Education
- training and fuel for supervision for Ghana Education Service (GES) circuit supervisors
- training for School Management Committees (SMCs) in 50 communities
- provision of various teaching and learning material to over 40 schools
- community sensitization meetings and radio programme on child labour and education issues
- support for institutional development of implementing partner organisations

Information on this programme is drawn from field visits in October 2010, project documentation provided by IBIS, the report of the independent Evaluation carried out by Martina Odonkor and Connie Dupont in August 2010 and the IBIS website: www.ibis.dk/eng/index.php?menuId=49&upId=33

Criteria for emerging good practice

Participation of the people concerned

Miss Janat Animah, one of the young UTDBE teachers sponsored to take part in the scheme has this to say: *“I learned about classroom control and the importance of preparing my lesson plan. Now I am much more confident when I go into the classroom and I feel I can really offer a good service to the children. As well as the teacher training sessions, the supervision and regular follow up visits have been very important in putting what we learned into practice. It really helps to be able to discuss any problems that arise. Overall this is a wonderful scheme that has really improved our skills and I hope it will continue so that many other people can benefit.”*

IBIS Programme activities are in line with national education and child labour policy and are implemented through collaboration between local authorities and civil society organisations. The programme’s work on community sensitization and with School Management Committees is discussed later, under the theme *“Local action and empowering communities”*.

Ⓢ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

The project has been able to:

- improve the quality of teaching through training teachers and their supervisors
- increase the number of female teachers in rural schools
- support a more child centred learning process and access to more story books
- encourage community involvement in resolving school management issues
- improve accountability and transparency in the disbursement of government resources to schools
- increase awareness of effects of child labour among cocoa farmers
- reduce involvement of children in hazardous activities in the cocoa production process

Data provided by the headmistress in Old Brosankro for the 2010 independent evaluation showed increased enrolment and a decrease from 44% to 12% in internal examination failure rates in Primary 1 between 2006 and 2009. In 2006, before the project was initiated, 20 out of 45 pupils failed. In 2007, the first year of the project, 16 out of 55 pupils failed and by 2009 only 7 out of 60 pupils failed.

This strongly suggests that the project had a positive impact on pupil performance. Teachers and SMC members said that improvements in retention and performance have taken place at all levels, in both primary and JHS (Junior High School), and that the JHS now has more girl students than boys.

Community members attributed these striking improvements to a combination of factors: the training and the strengthened role of the SMC, the increase in teachers (particularly female teachers), improvements in teacher training and the sensitization on child labour.

Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

This programme addresses access to quality education, the lack of which is acknowledged as a factor contributing to child labour. From the 2010 evaluation: *“There was evidence that educational quality had improved as a direct result of the project. The most significant challenge was the huge teacher deficit. The GES training aspect of the project may have been the single most effective intervention. Training teachers and their supervisors together and strengthening supervision mechanisms had a marked effect in improving their working relations. Teachers had gained tremendously in confidence and spoke in glowing terms of what the training had done for them.”*

Ⓢ Capacity development

The programme supported teachers' training and professional development. Five days annual training was provided for 400 qualified teacher over three years. The first year was a refresher on the core subjects, the second year

focused on methodology and the third on teaching practice and testing of children. An additional 330 UTDBE teachers were supported to complete the four year training leading to a Diploma in Basic Education. The programme also built the capacity of GES circuit supervisors. The 2010 evaluation describes IBIS work with the GES as *“a supportive approach through which all parties had their capacity built in synchrony, demonstrating how efficient the system can be when it works as it is meant to. The impact was most evident in the improved performance of Circuit Supervisors”*.

C Non discrimination / broad shared benefits

The programme addressed existing gender inequalities through tackling the lack of trained women teachers in rural schools. An increase in the number of girls enrolling and remaining in school was observed. Working with schools and communities as a whole created broad shared benefits for children in the cocoa producing communities concerned.

C Coordinated action / interdependency

Strengthening collaboration and coordination, the IBIS programme involved District Assemblies, the GES, St. Joseph’s teacher training College, the Ghanaian NGO SODIA (Social Development and Improvement Agency), Success FM (a private radio station) and local schools and communities. One of its strengths was working to improve and support existing services and initiatives, such as the UTDBE, to show how coordinated action can increase impact. Mr Aduse Poku Antwi from the GES District office in Kukuom, testified to the effectiveness of collaboration between the organisations involved.

C Sustainable Change

The 2010 evaluation found that: *“The teacher training component has limited sustainability due to heavy dependence on funding, although it has effected lasting changes in teaching methodology.”* Suggested strategies for improving sustainability included communities lobbying for District Assemblies to support the training of local pupil teachers, seeking corporate sponsorship for teacher training workshops and getting GES agreement not to transfer staff trained under the programme out of the district.

One objective of the IBIS programme focused on advocacy to draw public and government attention to issues concerning child labour and the right to education. The evaluation suggested that *“A more successful advocacy approach might be a literacy and rights awareness campaign to strengthen civil society groups, since advocacy by those that have a direct stake in the issues is far more effective.”*

Improvements to education infrastructure

A number of approaches are being used to improve school infrastructure in cocoa growing communities, including:

- government initiatives
- partnerships with the private sector, including the chocolate industry
- improvements supported by international NGOs

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Classrooms, libraries, offices, teachers' houses, toilets and water supply all contribute to the quality of education. All of the above approaches have produced results, the important factor for success being the involvement of community representatives such as School Management Committees or Parents' Associations throughout planning, implementation and evaluation stages. This is effectively demonstrated through Community Action Planning which is discussed in the following theme "Local action and empowering communities".

The Government of Ghana introduced the Capitation Grant in 2005 to reduce the burden of education expenses on parents. Schools receive a few dollars per pupil per year to cover administrative issues, minor repairs, sports, culture, health and sanitation, teaching/learning materials and support for identified needy pupils. The IBIS programme encouraged SMC involvement in planning how local schools should spend the capitation grant and, to give one example, in 2009 in Old Brosankro it was used to finance a classroom for pre-school children. The classroom was built with voluntary labour from the community while the capitation grant covered the cost of construction materials.

The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI)

ICI was created in 2002 to fight against child labour and forced adult labour, as a result of a process of consultation and collaboration between the cocoa industry, the labour movement and key civil society stakeholders. Its work is primarily funded by contributions from the cocoa industry.

www.cocoainitiative.org

Campement Paul in the San Pedro District of Côte d'Ivoire was the first Ivorian community to adopt an ICI sponsored Community Action Plan. The community identified the lack of education provision as a constraint and went on to build accommodation and recruit two volunteer teachers. ICI sponsored the construction of new classrooms and eighty pupils now attend primary school for the first time.

Participatory Development Associates (PDA)

PDA is a Ghana based private sector human development organisation supporting processes of empowerment and self-determination in communities, organizations and individuals. Their approach is to work with communities, organizations and individuals to reflect, to learn and to act, thus bringing about a transformation in their present situation. PDA personnel are innovative and experienced in the use of participatory tools and approaches and initiate and participate in a range of advocacy and networking activities to further their objectives.

PDA is the local coordinating agency for ICI in the implementation of ‘Yen Daakye’ (‘our future’) Project, which has grown into the Yen Daakye Movement (<http://yendaakye.org>) and PDA also provides capacity building support to the community engagement processes of the Mars-iMPACT partnership. www.pdaghana.com

The Mars iMPACT partnership – Gold Coast Camp, Ghana

The Mars iMPACT partnership is a social, economic and environmental development program working to support sustainable improvements in the lives of cocoa growing communities in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire. Working through national NGOs, ICI supports communities to create their Community Action Plans. Other iMPACT partners are Africare, the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (IFESH), Rainforest Alliance, the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP) and the German development agency, GTZ, and they contribute their particular expertise to putting community action plans into practice.

Information on this programme is drawn from field visits in October 2010 and the ICI website:

www.cocoainitiative.org/en/partnerships/mars-impact-partnership

© Criteria for emerging good practice

© Participation of the people concerned

Community leaders are at the centre of change in Gold Coast Camp. One such leader described a new cohesion in the community as people come together to end child labour, saying “*We have become as one*”. There is a strong sense that design and implementation of the Community Action Plan (CAP) is owned and lead by the community, supported by the iMPACT partners.

© Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

A range of activities to tackle child labour have been instigated including the rehabilitation of the school building with help from IFESH, building of school

toilets by Africare and the community's collection of funds to pay teachers. Farmers are improving cocoa production through attending Farmer Field Schools and passing on their knowledge not only in their own community, but to neighbouring communities which have asked for help after seeing the progress made. Rainforest Alliance is helping to obtain organic certification to make cocoa sales more profitable. Traditional labour practices have been re-introduced, so groups of farmers work together at labour intensive periods. A result of these activities is that the vast majority of children now attend school and children are no longer involved in hazardous cocoa farming activities.

Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

In Gold Coast Camp the iMPACT programme raised awareness about child development, child labour and education and addressed education needs, labour practices and economic issues, three important contributory factors to child labour.

Ⓢ Criteria for emerging good practice: Capacity development

Community capacity to identify, plan and support the implementation of activities was enhanced. Capacity for child protection was increased through information sharing and analysis.

Ⓢ Non discrimination / broad shared benefits

iMPACT's approach of working with communities as a whole encourages broad shared benefits and the growth of community cohesion and common pride in achieving results.

Ⓢ Coordinated action / interdependency

iMPACT is a fine example of a range of well coordinated activities contributing to eliminating child labour. Up to seven partners can be involved in any one community and the approach enables each partner to contribute its particular area of expertise.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

After the relatively short period of 2 years Gold Coast Community leaders are confident that changes brought about by the project will remain and the community will continue to make progress, even without the project – but they expressed a strong desire for the project to stay and support them for a while longer.

Education and training outside school

The ECHOES Alliance

The Empowering Cocoa Households with Opportunities and Education (ECHOES) Alliance aims to strengthen cocoa growing communities by expanding opportunities for youth and young adults through a range of relevant education activities, namely:

- In-school youth agriculture classes & agriculture clubs (upper primary/lower secondary students)
- Out-of-school youth agricultural livelihoods training (youth aged 17-35)
- Family Support Scholarship with Entrepreneurship training for mothers (adult women)
- Literacy training (out-of school youth and adults)
- Teacher and administrator training (in-service and pre-service teachers)
- Leadership training (adult community leaders including village chiefs)
- Community Challenge Grants (community groups)
- Establishment of ICT-enabled Community Resource Centres (entire community)
- Community awareness events on child labour prevention, HIV/AIDS, malaria (entire community)

Ultimately, the program seeks to serve as a scalable model for education in rural West Africa. Managed by the World Cocoa Foundation (WCF), the Alliance is funded by USAID, WCF and its cocoa industry member companies and has been implemented by Winrock International, IFESH, Making Cents International, World Education and Leadership Africa USA.

Information on ECHOES from field visits in October 2010, documentation provided by the programme and the WCF web site: www.worldcocoafoundation.org/what-we-do/current-programs/ECHOES_Overview2.asp

As part of ECHOES, Winrock International (www.winrock.org) has combined expertise in agriculture, youth and education to provide livelihoods education in agriculture and entrepreneurship to young people in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. This builds on experience gained through a number of programmes working to combat child labour in agriculture, including CLASSE (Child Labour Alternatives for Sustainable Systems in Education), a previous initiative in cocoa growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire. The development of the "Model Farm School," a model for community-based agricultural training programmes for children both in and out of school, youth and parents is presented below as an example of emerging good practice:

Winrock International – Model Farm Schools for Strengthening Rural Communities and Preventing Exploitive Child Labour

The Model farm schools approach provides agricultural vocational education and aims to improve the image of agriculture as an income-generating business. Under the supervision of agricultural field agents, communities develop demonstration plots for hands-on agricultural and enterprise development training. Participants benefit from six months training in improved agricultural methods, alternative crops, entrepreneurship, enterprise development and life skills. They learn:

- how to market products from the demonstration plots as a means of developing their business skills and to gauge the external efficiency of the vocational training model.
- simple mechanics for small agricultural machinery such as water pumps, small engines and oxcarts, and other locally identified skills
- leadership, financial literacy and numeracy, accessing credit, communications skills, and how to start up and succeed in a small enterprise
- how to improve agricultural safety and identify and avoid child labour

The programme focuses on preparing youth for income-generating work and linking them with employment opportunities through involving them in:

- value chain analyses in rural enterprise and agriculture
- identifying potential markets
- identifying apprenticeships and employment opportunities among small local businesses

The Model farm school also trains teachers to form agricultural clubs for children in local schools.

C *Criteria for emerging good practice*

C **Participation of the people concerned**

Locally recruited agricultural field agents work with parents and communities to select out-of-school youth aged 15 and over to receive training in improved agriculture technology. As a condition of joining the model farm programme, parents, guardians or the village chiefs are asked to contribute a public space for the model farm and to assist groups of students to access loans at the end of the coursework. Parents are invited to attend classes and where possible model farms form a link with local schools.

C **Demonstrable positive impact on child labour**

Winrock's experience suggests that once young people see the benefits from their own agricultural enterprises, most opt to remain in their rural environments, avoid child labour (and encourage their siblings to avoid it as well), and share the new technologies with their parents.

ⓐ Addresses underlying causes

Model Farm Schools address poverty and poor education while integrating content on child labour prevention, HIV/AIDS, and malaria. Strengthening education in the cocoa farming communities helps to keep children in school and raises awareness of the types of activities that are appropriate or inappropriate for children. Enterprise training addresses economic issues and promotes income generation.

ⓑ Capacity development

Teachers learn how to integrate practical lessons on agriculture and apply the integrated Cocoa Farming and Life Skills Curriculum, as well as the benefits of and how to run successful school agriculture clubs. Agriculture extension workers have a new opportunity to apply their skills to build local agricultural capacity. In the ECHOES example agriculture livelihoods training for out of school youth is complemented by enterprise skills training for women and the establishment of community resource centres thus opening doors to community wide capacity building.

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ⓒ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

ECHOES is based on working with communities as a whole and the Model Farm Schools component also operates on this principle. In addition to working with parents and children both in and out of school, demonstration plots are deliberately sited in accessible public positions so that all can see what is happening. Girls are encouraged to make up 50% of the classes and enterprise training for women helps to increase family income and develop successful role models for their daughters.

ⓓ Coordinated action/interdependency

The Model Farm School programme evolved through experience and collaboration working with governments, ILO-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), international and local organisations, communities and children to reduce child labour through coordinated efforts that include formal and non-formal basic education, agricultural vocational education, youth livelihoods and innovative scalable models.

ⓔ Sustainable Change

Government teachers are trained to teach agricultural education and engage in other community activities. These teachers volunteer to shadow ECHOES field agents as they work in schools, with agricultural clubs, and on school gardens and cocoa plots. At the Zoukougbeu Secondary School in Côte d'Ivoire, school administrators offered two teachers the chance to undergo year-long training to gain the skills to sustain the project and support their

community. Model farms aim to engage local partners to provide the needed skill sets to support sustainability.

Child welfare

Local authority personnel with responsibilities linked to child welfare are often among the most dedicated, but invariably have to contend with inadequate logistical, human and financial resources to respond to the needs of all the children under their jurisdiction, including those affected by child labour. Similar resource challenges confront the security forces and the judiciary. Remote rural cocoa farming communities with significant levels of poverty often have considerable difficulty in accessing government services. To compound the problem there is often an information time lag when new legislation comes into force so that both the general public and those responsible for implementing legislation are unaware of their responsibilities.

Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty – LEAP

The Government of Ghana's Livelihood Empowerment against Poverty (LEAP) is a conditional cash transfer scheme initiated in 2008 (the first in West Africa) aiming to empower, among others, orphans and vulnerable children and their caregivers, through a 'developmental rather than remedial' approach to poverty reduction. LEAP conditionalities include ensuring that children are neither trafficked nor engaged in the worst forms of child labour and their enrolment and retention in school. Overall, LEAP is making a useful contribution to costs faced by poor households for basic consumption and service but there is scope to improve some key programme design features and implementation practices so as to increase overall programme effectiveness and realise the programme's potential for supporting progress towards gender equality.²

Future Resource Development Ltd. (FURDEV), Ghana

FURDEV is a Private Consulting Firm supporting Project Design, Project Coordination, Monitoring and Evaluation, Capacity Building and Development of Governance Structures for the elimination of child labour in Ghana. It combines sensitization with improving the knowledge base and skills of key actors, one example being coordination of a capacity building programme supported by ICI from 2004 to 2008. This programme combined the development of modules for knowledge and skills training and monitoring of their impact. 611 individuals benefited from this training including NGOs, especially

² ODI Project briefing 52, November 2010 – *Gendered risks, poverty and vulnerability in Ghana: is the LEAP cash transfer programme making a difference?*

ICI's Implementing Partners, COCOBOD staff, staff of Licensed Buying Companies, Police, Social Welfare staff, Prosecutors from the Attorney General's Department, members of the Judiciary service including judges at all levels and media personnel to enable them to carry out sensitization at the grassroots level for the elimination of child labour.

In 2010 and 2011, contracted by the Department of Social Welfare, FURDEV is developing Standard Operating Procedures which will provide guidelines and procedures for all stakeholders in terms of rescue, rehabilitation, reintegration and monitoring of victims of WFCL in all sectors (fishing, cocoa, animal husbandry, ritual servitude, commercial sexual exploitation and other illegal and illicit activities).

Examples of Initiatives in training for law enforcement:

- 1 Training for 138 Police, Immigration and Customs officers working at 38 border posts, to enable them to better combat cross-border trafficking of children. The training encouraged proactive monitoring and covered how to identify and arrest traffickers, rescue victims and ensure that they are transferred to appropriate agencies.
- 2 The production of a Training Manual on Child Trafficking in Ghana and dissemination to government Ministries, Departments and Agencies; public libraries, universities and NGOs working on human trafficking and child labour. (ILO-IPEC/LUTRENA 2006)
- 3 Training to build the capacity of 52 Judiciary, Social Welfare and Police personnel in cocoa districts, to enable them to defend the rights of children caught up in child labour, child trafficking and forced labour and to prosecute offenders and give assistance to victims in conformity with the laws of Ghana. (ICI 2008)

© Criteria for emerging good practice

© Participation of the people concerned

FURDEV works in collaboration with the Ghana Police Service, Department of Social Welfare and the Judiciary Service for all training initiatives. A national steering committee had overall oversight of the LUTRENA project and the workshops included high ranking personnel to encourage ownership of the initiatives by the security agencies.

© Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

2006 training: In the period after the training between April and August, 37 child victims were rescued (22 at Aflao, 3 at Elubo in Western Region, 11 at Kulungugu in Northern Region and one at Sambolugu). Two of the children were under 10 and the rest were between 10 and 17 years old. 16 of the children were repatriated to Benin and one to Togo. Seven suspected traffickers were also arrested and investigated.

Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

These initiatives addressed the fact that although both the Children's Act and the Human Trafficking Act mandate the Police, Social Welfare and Judiciary to take action against child labour, child trafficking and forced Labour the majority of police officers, social welfare personnel and members of the judiciary have received little if any related training and thus do not know the concepts and the laws for child protection or how to implement them.

Ⓢ Capacity development

These are all capacity building initiatives for security and social welfare services and the judiciary. Training workshops build capacity of individual participants, looking at both knowledge and skills components, while the manual aims to reach a wider audience and provide a lasting resource.

Ⓢ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

For child labour law to be uniformly applied clearly the relevant authorities need appropriate information and training. Officials in positions of power and responsibility need to be particularly aware of marginalised groups and discrimination occurring within wider society, perhaps due to gender, age or ethnicity. This training helps to address this.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

The ICI training highlighted the complementary roles of security and social welfare services and the importance of building their capacity and networking to help them achieve their common goal of giving care and protection for children. Training officers from both groups together encourages better coordination and understanding of interdependency.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

Copies of FURDEV's Training Manual on Child Trafficking were distributed to immigration, police and customs training colleges for use in the training of new recruits and officers and most of these institutions have added Human Trafficking to their curricula. In 2008 the American Embassy trained 60 police officers and the government of Denmark supported the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) to train 60 immigration, police and customs agency personnel. This increasing awareness of the need for training and capacity building for child labour law enforcement is encouraging, but the ultimate goal must be the mainstreaming of child labour modules into the training curricula of security and social welfare agencies and the judiciary alongside continuing efforts to train personnel of all ranks who are already in the system.

Emerging good practices by theme

2 Local action and empowering communities

Context

Without community owned and community led change it is difficult to create a child labour free society in the long term. In West Africa cocoa is principally produced in tens of thousands of small family owned farms, many in remote rural locations. While labour inspection and law enforcement are important, the most effective and immediate way to reach children is by community regulation of child labour, including identifying and responding to child trafficking. Virtually all programmes that combat child labour include community level strategies that either address the issue directly or focus on root causes or contributory factors, or a combination of these. Experience has shown the importance of identifying and involving community leaders and other key people in all community initiatives, since they are the ones that set priorities and influence ideas and behaviour. The ethos behind the design of activities ranges from empowerment and rights based on the one hand to more paternalistic and charitable on the other.

What has been tried?

Sensitisation & behavioural change

If individuals, families and communities are to change their behaviour with regard to child labour (or anything else) they need access to information and opportunities to discuss and analyse the advantages and disadvantages of the changes under consideration. They are then in a position, both individually and collectively, to make decisions, develop strategies and organise themselves to implement what they have decided. This is a process that takes time to get going and time to spread throughout a community. The length of time depends on a number of factors, such as the strength of local leadership, the skills of the change agents, the degree of community cohesion, beliefs about established behaviour and local access to resources. These factors will vary from one community to another so, while an idea of the period required for sustainable change can be developed through experience, each community's situation needs to be assessed in its own right. It makes sense to start working in the communities that show the greatest potential for change – it increases the chances of success and provides models for others to observe.

Community organisation for empowerment

Some of the initiatives that revolve around community organisation are listed here:

- Community Action Plans (CAP)
- Farmers' cooperatives
- Workers' unions

- Child protection committees (under a variety of names)
- Community Child Labour Monitoring Committees (CLMS)
- School Management Committees and other school related groupings
- Clubs and camps for children and young people
- Capacity building for community leaders
- Working with women's groups
- Economic empowerment: support for improved /alternative livelihoods

Community Action Plan (CAP)

Once a decision is made to develop a Community Action Plan, one effective approach is the organisation of a community gathering, possibly over two days. After a general introduction, open discussion and questions and answers the assembly divides into peer groups (men, women, young people, children...) for a number of successive exercises, with shared feed back between each. The first exercise is to identify the dream or the vision (perhaps “no child labour in our community”) and what that would look like, in as much detail as possible. The second exercise describes the current situation, again in as much detail as possible, and the third serves to identify the difference between the current situation and the vision – what needs to change. The integration of the work of each group provides the content for the CAP – what remains is a planning process, identifying what can be achieved with resources from within the community and strategies to implement these components and what external support is required and strategies to source this. (Drawn from Participatory Community Diagnosis – World Education, Mali and other similar processes)

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Working with women for economic empowerment

Since working children contribute to the family income, the elimination of child labour often has economic consequences. It has proved challenging to find sustainable and alternative livelihood options in countries where national economies are far from booming and in rural communities with limited market access or food processing capacity. However a number of successful strategies have focussed on building women's skills, mutual self help and opportunities for savings and loans. Increasing women's incomes has a positive effect on school enrolment, school retention and children's health and has been seen to change family dynamics so that women play a greater role in decision making. However since rural women already have a heavy workload, they need to be involved throughout the process of design, implementation and evaluation of new initiatives, to ensure adaptation to their local realities. Some projects have not been able to support people long enough for their new income generation to become sufficiently established and this means that the time needed must be factored into project time frames and budgets.

Holistic approaches to working with communities

The previously mentioned ECHOES programme in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire aims to address the development needs of entire communities. In addition to programme components which focus on education and agriculture it includes:

- Family Support Scholarships with entrepreneurship training for women;
- Leadership training for community leaders including village chiefs;
- Community Challenge Grants to support community groups to put their development ideas into practice;
- Establishment of Community Resource Centres with computer technology which are open to the entire community.

Such holistic approaches can help communities to collectively become more confident to address development issues to improve their lives. In addition to introducing new information and ideas and building capacity, project interventions need to encourage communities to discuss, analyse, revisit, explore, exploit and adapt traditional self help approaches and strategies for protecting vulnerable members of the community, thus integrating traditional values with new information and ideas. If change is well rooted in local values it is more likely to grow and flourish, as opposed to withering away after the change agent departs.

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Involving children

A range of activities have been developed to find out what children think about child labour, encourage their participation in responses to it and enhance their personal development. Some of these activities specifically concern child labourers and others aim to inform and involve children in general. Such initiatives can be valuable components of wider programmes, promoting child-to-child learning and contributing to the sustainable elimination of child labour. They are ways of giving children their right to self expression and building their confidence and skills.

Clubs

SCREAM, or *Supporting Children's Rights through Education*, the Arts and the Media, is an education and social mobilization initiative developed by ILO-IPEC to help educators worldwide, in both formal and non-formal education settings, to cultivate young people's understanding of the causes and consequences of child labour. The programme uses visual, literary and performing arts and provides young people with a range of tools for self-expression while supporting their personal and social development. Specially trained teachers have piloted SCREAM clubs in a number of schools in Ghana. Members act as

peer educators and sensitise their parents and other members of the community on child labour issues using the kits provided and drama, role plays and radio and television interviews.

LUTRENA clubs were another ILO-IPEC initiative set up in schools, mosques and communities in 7 West African countries as part of the LUTRENA project, a sub regional initiative to combat child trafficking that operated from 1999 to 2009. Organised by volunteer teachers, implementing NGOs or community child watch committees, activities included awareness raising and advocacy using theatre, song and dance, marches, games and sporting activities.

Winrock International's model farm schools (discussed under theme 1) train teachers to form agricultural clubs in schools. These enable children to meet for outings and discussions during or after school and to develop school gardens. Participants in out-of-school youth training programmes in the same communities gain experience teaching and demonstrating safe agricultural practices and how to cultivate the schools gardens. Club activities also cover life skills, HIV/AIDS sensitization, public speaking and leadership training.

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Community research

The African Movement of Working Children and Youth (AMYC) was set up in 1994 and has chapters in over 20 African countries. It is committed to combating the worst forms of child labour and improving the living and working conditions of young workers in Africa. In 2008 AMYC carried out research into people's understanding of child migration and trafficking in West Africa. Over 500 interviews took place with working and non-working children, parents, community leaders and other key stakeholders in 5 countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso, Togo and Niger). The research explored the expression and understanding in 12 local languages of four key concepts commonly used in discussing child labour and trafficking: Migration, Trafficking, Exploitation and Ill-treatment. It revealed significant difficulties in translating these terms into local languages, where related concepts have a range of nuances and connotations. This type of peer-to-peer research is of critical importance in developing an understanding of how internationally used terms and concepts are perceived from different cultural perspectives. The words of young workers quoted in the research provide a glimpse into their world, a world that needs to be understood and taken into account when designing and implementing programmes that affect them.

Camps

Trading Visions aims to alleviate the poverty of small-scale producers in the South by amplifying their voices in the supply chain so that they can challenge and change consumer behaviour and industry practice.

www.tradingvisions.org

Kuapa Kokoo (which means Good Cocoa Farming) is a farmer's cooperative established in Ghana in 1993 to improve the social, economic and political wellbeing of its members. (www.kuapakokoo.com) Trading Visions and Kuapa Kokoo collaborate on an educational project that aims to empower young people from cocoa farming communities in Ghana by increasing their understanding of the role of their communities in the global chocolate supply chain and co-producing educational materials for their peers in the UK.

In 2009, Trading Visions and Kuapa Kokoo ran a “Kids Camp” in Kumasi, Ghana, where around 70 young teenagers from several villages took part in facilitated discussions on child labour.

The children talked about:

- how international and national definitions of human rights fit with cultural norms in the cocoa growing communities where they live;
- how they distinguish between acceptable and non acceptable work for children, what is seen as normal in their communities for children of different ages and which activities are dangerous and why;
- how to pass on information to their parents (for example about the dangers of fertiliser and fungicide chemicals), since for children to directly challenge their elders is not acceptable behaviour.

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This kind of child-focused event at which children are encouraged to speak out and where their views and opinions are taken seriously enables children to develop their confidence and capacity to express themselves and listen to others and to see themselves as real social individuals, negotiating actively with their parents and peers with the possibility of influencing what happens in their lives. This is a more subtle reading of children's rights that respects what the children themselves actually think and signals a productive approach to tackling child labour issues in cocoa farming.

Both Winrock, in Côte d'Ivoire and CARE in Mali have used camps to work with children on issues related to child labour. They not only provide an opportunity for serious discussions but are also highly enjoyable social events, with a chance to participate in games, theatre, role play etc for children who do not have many such invitations.

Monitoring child labour and remediation

A number of Child Labour Monitoring Systems (CLMS) have been tried with the aim of some or all of the following:

- measuring the impact of the project in question;
- helping communities to monitor and respond to child labour;
- as part of national child labour monitoring systems.

Many community CLMS are based on local volunteers (often members of a community child protection committee) monitoring and reporting on various indicators such as:

- numbers of children in school;
- numbers of children observed at a particular worksite;
- numbers of children reported doing hazardous work;
- number of referrals to appropriate services and tracking of each child's progress;
- numbers of children who stop doing hazardous work;
- numbers of children receiving school books/ uniforms etc to support their school attendance.

Some CLMS are based on a community child register where incidents are reported, alongside the action taken. Volunteers are usually provided with training, sometimes with motivation in kind such as a bicycle, but are rarely paid for their time or provided with financial resources to cover their costs.

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It has so far proved quite elusive to devise a simple, affordable and sustainable community based child labour monitoring system for cocoa growing communities. A community based remediation system is also important since official and legal remediation procedures require reporting of child labour cases to local authority officials who are usually based outside the community in urban centres, thus making it more difficult for them to be informed.

Such systems require a high degree of local ownership of the child labour issue as well as sufficient community resources to act in the short term and good linkages to local authority services. Project interventions need to build capacity and promote such systems without taking responsibility for them, since the biggest challenge is sustainability after the project ends. This means ensuring the participation of local communities and district authorities in planning of improvements and the monitoring and evaluation of the system.

Lessons learned

Sensitisation & behavioural change

In terms of sustainability the importance of facilitating and accompanying a process of change over time cannot be too highly stressed. Some change agents going into a community are tempted to take the approach that “you have a problem here and we can tell you how to solve it”. This doesn't work! It may appear to bring change in the short term. People in traditional societies are generally obliging and in some countries and cultures are accustomed to doing what they are told by authority figures, or they may have learnt that projects come with handouts in return for compliance. A few public meetings

to explain the dangers of child labour and the proscribed solution may result in some superficial adjustments to local practice in order to please the external change agents and access whatever they have to offer. This motivation will cease when the project ends. For change to be sustainable the people concerned have to decide that it is in their best interests and have access to the necessary resources.

Community organisation

It is important to consider the processes that interventions relying on community organisation are built around. If they are to be locally owned and thus have a chance of being sustainable, decisions related to community organisation need to be made at community level, taking into account the views and needs of not only the most powerful but also the more marginalised and vulnerable. This presents a challenge for project planners. Many change agents arrive in a community with a mission to “create a committee” – the decision was made far away, the committee becomes known as the “the X project committee” and when the project finishes, the motivation for the committee finishes with it.

It cannot be stressed too often that the process is all important – the change agent’s mission must begin with sharing of information and facilitation of dialogue and analysis by members of the community. It doesn’t matter that such analysis may already have taken place within the project organisation and resulted in a decision to “create community committees” to resolve an issue. The people affected by any proposed change or initiative need the opportunity to discuss, analyse and decide for themselves how they want to tackle the issue in question.

Numerous community committees have been set up to protect children across West Africa. Their members are invariably enthusiastic and committed and put in many hours of work but many also talk about the lack of support and recompense for their work and few remain active in the long term once the project that created them leaves. There is a danger that such committees may take on an overly controlling or policing role, without the necessary skills or authority to do so. Examples exist of children suspected of being trafficked being returned to their home communities, albeit with the best of intentions. With no follow up the same children often simply leave once again, in search of wider opportunities, but this time they take more hidden routes, avoiding villages along the way, which may put them at increased risk. We need to learn from these experiences, working to protect children on the move and recognising that this may be their best choice when their home community has little to offer.

Emerging good practices

Sensitisation & behavioural change

ICI, PDA and implementing partners – Yen Dakaaye and iMPACT in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire

Sensitization, dialogue and behaviour change

ICI and PDA have developed a process of dialogue with cocoa farmers to increase their awareness of abusive labour practices and enable them to identify strategies to ensure these practices are brought to an end. The programme is community driven and enables a community to decide its own future. Local NGOs participate in a series of workshops to learn about ICI, its approach and child labour issues and then become implementing partners (IPs), working in cocoa communities. The programme can be divided into four steps:

- **Dialogue and Sensitisation:** IPs talk with members of the community in groups, raising issues around child labour and education for discussion and using appropriate visual tools to facilitate the process. Possible hazards that children can suffer while working on cocoa farms are discussed.
- **The Community Action Planning:** The community members identify and prioritise various initiatives they believe will improve the situation and develop an action plan (e.g. build a school and find teachers);
- **Implementation of the Action Plan:** Community members decide how to implement the action plans (e.g. how to get the funds, materials and labour force to build the new school and how to resource staff and running costs);
- **Monitoring and Evaluation:** The community forms a committee to make sure the action plans are actually implemented (e.g. the school is effectively built) and that practices change.

© *Criteria for emerging good practice*

© **Participation of the people concerned**

The programme is community driven. However community leaders are not the only ones involved in decision making. Separate discussions take place with groups who have different roles and interests within the community (such as men, women, youth and children) so that information is widely dispersed and different perspectives emerge for consideration. Community members are not simply passive recipients of information, but active participants in analysis and planning and subsequently the implementation and evaluation of activities.

Ⓢ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

The 2009 ICI programme evaluation in Ghana found that the vast majority of adults and children in project communities can identify which cocoa farming activities are hazardous and explain why, in line with the 2008 Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sector of Ghana. Prior to the ICI programme this concept was virtually unknown. This has led to a significant reduction in the numbers of children involved in hazardous activities and many children are better protected and equipped with size- appropriate tools for the farm work that they continue to do. The evaluation teams used proxy indicators to make this overall assessment and found that most children no longer:

- mix or spray agrochemicals, but carry water to the farm a day before spraying;
- carry heavy loads, but loads according to their strength;
- remove parasitic plants or weed large areas of land;

Some children were observed using small cutlasses and hoes to weed instead of adult tools and child-size wellington boots were observed on sale in one town, something that was not previously in evidence.

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Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

The ICI programme addresses underlying causes through awareness raising concerning education and children's welfare and support for the implementation of Community Action Plans. This has led to improvements to education infrastructure, teacher recruitment, teaching and learning materials and support for School Management Committees/Parent Teacher Associations. The programme also addresses the economic issue through Farmer Field Schools to improve production and profitability – further discussed under the theme “Improvements along the cocoa supply chain”.

Ⓢ Capacity development

Capacity building to enable implementing partner NGOs to use the ICI approach in participating communities is central to the programme. ICI chooses to work with locally based partners, in the belief that their local knowledge and reputation are of primary importance and that they can learn skills they do not already possess. Training includes in depth analysis of participatory tools and techniques, with special emphasis on the use of visual tools and graphics to enable maximum active participation by non-literate participants and groups.

Ⓢ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

ICI works with communities as a whole, in the belief that, given the opportunity, most parents seek the best for their children and that effective community decision making processes for protecting vulnerable children are more likely to lead to sustainable change.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

Community Action Plans are implemented by a range of partners: communities themselves, local authorities, government departments, private sector partners, ICI and other international NGOs, UN bodies etc. The programme plays a facilitating role while building community capacity to advocate for their needs and coordinate the implementation of the action plan.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

Influencing communities' knowledge, beliefs and practice with regard to child labour is at the heart of the ICI programme, while building local capacity to organise and access resources. This is an approach that aims to empower communities' to take charge of their destinies – the most effective approach to sustainable change at community level.

Community organisation and empowerment

In this section we look once again at the IBIS programme that supports the Government of Ghana's UTDB teacher training scheme, as featured under Education in section 1. The independent evaluation findings make it a particularly credible source of emerging good practice and this section highlights the programme's work with School Management Committees. The IBIS programme is not alone in having a number of components tackling different issues and overall more holistic programmes tend to have more impact.

IBIS—Strengthening the Education Sector—School Management Committee (SMC) component

As part of their programme in Cocoa farming communities in Ghana, IBIS, through their local NGO partner SODIA, provided training for School Management Committees in 50 communities, covering topics such as:

- Roles and responsibility of the SMC;
- Ways of improving children's education;
- Importance of SMC members visiting schools;
- Roles and responsibilities linked to the capitation grant;
- Ways of motivating children to attend school;
- Importance of teachers' attendance.

Ⓢ *Criteria for emerging good practice*

Ⓢ Participation of the people concerned

During an independent evaluation in 2010 members of several School Management Committees said that they had never properly understood what

their roles were meant to be until they had received training through the programme. Taking part in the training not only gave them information but also helped them to act on it and better fulfil their role to support the good running of the school.

C Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

The 2010 independent evaluation heard testimony from community members in Old Brosankro attributing improvements in school enrolment, retention and performance to the strengthened role of the SMC, the increase in teachers (and female teachers in particular), improvements in teacher training and sensitization on child labour. The evaluators heard comments like this one from Amekukrom: *“Formerly, we didn’t know we were meant to part of the capitation grant. We organized a durbar with the chief etc. and explained about the roles of the PTA and the SMC and their own responsibilities.”* In Old Brosankro the capitation grant has been planned for twice by the SMC. In 2009, as a result of the SMC training and sensitization of community members, a classroom for pre-school children was built with voluntary labour from the community while the capitation grant covered the cost of construction materials.

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C Addresses underlying causes

Training for SMCs enables and empowers communities to have direct input and influence on the management of their local schools. It increases local ownership of schools and schooling among people who tend to feel alienated by the school environment and believe that what happens beyond the school gate is not their concern. The quality of education is enhanced through local advocacy activities and by building the capacity of local stakeholders to supervise the effective delivery of primary education.

C Capacity development

Capacity-building of School Management Committees (SMCs) was described in the 2010 independent evaluation as a highlight of the project. Members of several SMCs said they had been encouraged through the training to approach their District authorities about the needs of their schools and had participated in decision-making about the capitation grant. Parents expressed a heightened awareness of the link between civil society involvement and improved quality of education, and a detailed knowledge of the harmful effects of child labour.

C Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

During the evaluation community members in Amekukrom, where school enrolment rose from 150 to 300 as a result of the project, said: *“We have*

called two or three open forum meetings to impart IBIS information to the wider community. That is what made enrolment rise. The chief told the people—now, there is no land so people should take education seriously”. Community members also said: “We have now understood our civic responsibility in liaising with the District Assembly.” Liaison with the District Assembly resulted in the provision of a 3-classroom block with an office and common room, a powerful demonstration of the impact of rights-based advocacy in improving the quality of education.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

At community level IBIS works through Ghanaian NGO SODIA (Social Development and Improvement Agency), the existing community leadership structure, the local school and the SMC, mirroring similar coordinated action at District level

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

From the evaluation: *“Making SMCs and community members aware of their right to hold the education system accountable for its performance and for its use of public funds, was absolutely the correct strategy for impact and sustainability. The project is highly commended for adopting this strategy and for an excellent implementation of it.”*

Women’s livelihood initiatives

Rescue Foundation, Ghana – Emancipating women through micro credit and capacity building

Rescue Foundation is an NGO using child-focussed multiple intervention to prevent child trafficking from sending communities through participatory approaches to education and community development. One example is an intervention in 8 poor rural farming communities in Ghana’s Effutu Municipality, source communities for children working in the fishing industry and cocoa farming. Strategies are based on broad based community sensitisation, capacity building for community leaders and support for child victims to access education and appropriate training opportunities. Some of the activities include a micro-credit scheme, training for women in leadership, gender, business and financial management and support for “Yen som” women’s co-operative and gari production. (Gari is a versatile flour made from cassava tubers).

Information from Rescue Foundation and field visits

C *Criteria for emerging good practice*

C **Participation of the people concerned**

Rescue Foundation works through local councillors and other volunteers who are paid a stipend. Activities focus on women, since before the project they were barely visible and only men, elders and the chief participated in family and community decision making. Men are also involved in some training activities and the project is accepted by both men and women since the need to draw on the strengths of both to build prosperity is now largely understood.

C **Demonstrable positive impact on child labour**

Working within source communities to sensitize and change mindsets to stop parents from trafficking their children, has resulted in trafficked children starting to come back home. Increasing family prosperity has lead parents to recall their children, since they are now able to enrol them in school. The project helps with school enrolment and supplies and with apprenticeship training for older children, including some who have been brought home by other agencies but remain vulnerable due to lack of support.

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C **Addresses underlying causes**

Work to change the situation in poor rural “sending” communities which children decide or are forced to leave because of poverty and lack of opportunity addresses one of the most prevalent underlying causes of child labour in West Africa. In this case poverty, hopelessness and lack of knowledge and understanding had led parents to traffic their children into some of the worst forms of child labour. This project has begun to make a difference.

C **Capacity development**

The project provided infrastructure and technical skills training for gari processing alongside entrepreneurship and business management training for women. Women were organised into a cooperative and a micro credit scheme ensures access to loans. These multiple and complementary initiatives have increased women’s capacity and confidence – to the extent that even when floods wiped out a whole year’s cassava harvest they were still strong and ready to plant again.

C **Non discrimination/broad shared benefits**

Women’s marginalisation was identified as a key factor contributing to their families’ poverty. Men and women participated in gender and leadership training and community wide gender sensitisation takes place. Rescue Foundation describes the greatest achievement as the emancipation of women, since gender has been a critical and cross cutting aspect of their

work. “No-one dares stand against “gender” now because gender means power to the women, power to the family and the men. Discrimination against women has been eroded in Gyaahadze and women’s involvement and participation in decision making and planning can be observed by any visitor”.

© Coordinated action/interdependency

The project shows how multiple interventions can work together to change the opportunities available in poor communities. Rescue Foundation has also exploited and coordinated different funding opportunities to ensure that the necessary work has been done at the right time.

© Sustainable Change

The project operates in very deprived communities which steer a precarious course for survival. Emancipation and empowerment of women, the development of support services from local volunteers and access to credit has created new opportunities. Women in neighbouring communities are keen to follow a similar path – so many factors suggest that this approach has a good chance of being sustainable. However the Rescue Foundation does not have a fixed period of intervention and, funding permitting, intend to continue their support until the groups concerned are well established and can operate independently.

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Saving for change

Savings-led microfinance is an alternative to providing financial services through financial institutions that is reaching thousands of poor rural women across West Africa.

Saving for Change – Large scale, group managed microfinance for poor rural women

Savings-led microfinance organisations facilitate the training of fifteen-to-thirty member self-managed savings and lending groups. Members save and lend to each other at interest and share the profits, much like credit unions and, as in the Grameen bank model, good performance depends on social pressure. Since the group fund is entirely financed by the savings of group members there is no external loan fund to manage and oversee. The cost per client, typically about \$25, is a small fraction of the per client start-up costs of a microfinance institution and the methodology reaches far deeper into rural areas and includes a higher percentage of the poor and very poor as clients. By 2011 in Mali Saving for Change had attracted 338,000 women members

organized into 15,000 saving and lending groups in 4,000 villages. These groups were collectively managing about \$5,000,000 in their group funds and the return on savings—from the money being lent and relent among the members over the year—is 41%.

From an article by Jeffrey Ashe of Oxfam America "The Savings Led Revolution" 2009 and the experience of Jeunesse et Développement, a participating NGO in Mali

C Criteria for emerging good practice

C Participation of the people concerned

Savings for Change groups are managed by their members. No-one outside the group touches the money and all transactions take place at group meetings, hence the model is virtually fraud proof. Local animators are trained to support new groups and replicate the approach.

C Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

While, as far as we know, this approach has not yet been tried in West African cocoa growing communities, it is well documented that tackling economic empowerment is an important factor in eliminating child labour since it enables families and communities to better meet the needs of their children. Some savings groups already provide a forum for literacy and sharing information on health and education topics, so child labour could also be discussed.

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C Addresses underlying causes

As a result of their participation in Savings for Change groups, women are investing in trading and agriculture and, with more income from these activities their families are less likely to go hungry between the planting and the harvest. The women can also pay school fees, purchase medicine, and even buy the occasional treat for their husbands and children. This increased buying power and a group to support their progress leads to women taking a larger role in the household and the community, thus a number of contributory factors to child labour are addressed.

C Capacity development

The Women's capacity to manage their own savings is developed, simultaneously building self confidence and decision making and technical skills. Local NGOs learn how to support the groups, thus extending their range of interventions.

C Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

Member savings plus interest is returned to each member at the end of the yearly cycle, often just before planting when money is scarce. It is used to purchase food and seeds and for other investments. Many groups also divide

their funds when they need money for festivals. Since the interest charged on loans is paid to the group instead of an external lender, members see an annualized return on their savings ranging from twenty to fifty percent.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

An advantage of savings-led programs is that they can be carried out by existing NGOs already providing other services. The infrastructure needed to promote savings-led programmes is already largely in place; there is no need to create a new delivery structure. Economic empowerment and exposure to the Savings for Change experience helps women take better advantage of other development projects in their communities.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

Groups operate independently after approximately twelve months of training and they survive even after the NGO that trained them has left. When the first group in a village divides their earnings at the end of the cycle and the others see how much they earned, new groups spring up quickly. According to a qualitative study carried out by BARA*, Saving for Change opens up investment opportunities for women that would have otherwise been beyond their reach. Greater economic security can lessen the need to migrate, which is notably important for the poorest (often women-led) households. From a social perspective the BARA team reports that group membership is extending women's social networks and has increased confidence and leadership skills and thus women's role in the community and has enhanced cooperation, mutual assistance, and solidarity among members and in their communities as a whole. Asked what they liked best, women rated solidarity and mutual assistance higher than saving and borrowing, with malaria training and business development following. The BARA researchers see Saving for Change as a key leverage point to promote sustainable development in vulnerable villages

**BARA, Bureau for Applied Research in Anthropology, University of Arizona, "Phase II Evaluation Report of Saving for Change in Mali," September 10, 2009.*

Emerging good practices by theme

3 Improvements along the cocoa supply chain

Context

The ILO estimates that seventy per cent of working children in the world are working in agriculture. While not all the work they do is harmful, agriculture is one of the three most dangerous sectors in which to work at any age, along side construction and mining.

The agricultural sector is of central importance to West African economies, both for food and for export earnings, yet few rural young people express any desire to work in it, having experienced the hard life that is the reality for many of their parents and grandparents. As increasing opportunities for education become available through policies promoting Education for All, young people aspire to become teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers and politicians rather than modern farmers. If “success” continues to be seen as leaving the land and farming to be perceived as a second best or last resort (as opposed to an essential and lucrative occupation) many young people will inevitably fail to attain their dream since there are limits to how many teachers, doctors and lawyers any society can support. It also raises questions about who will grow food and cash crops in the future.

Even if improved farming methods bring increased productivity, and streamlining of production reduces the number of family smallholdings, a new generation of modern farmers is needed. Unless agriculture’s image problem is tackled and the region’s innovative and creative young people have attractive options that enable them to stay in or return to their home communities, many will continue to head for city lights in Africa or beyond – not to seek adventure and taste the wider world as their counterparts in the developed world are able to do, but because they see no other choice.

One important requirement for changing the image of cocoa farming is that farmers receive a fair proportion of the income from the sale of their cocoa. Measures to ensure that this is the case include stronger governance, financial management and transparency, which require regular audits of responsible bodies and publication of the results. Taxes need to be reasonable – Côte d’Ivoire’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2009–2013 includes reducing taxes to 22% of the export price. However difficult it might be, the systemic corruption that tends to evolve around lucrative exports such as cocoa needs to be tackled, otherwise the funds farmers need for investment and improved working conditions will not be available and the impact of improvements will be less than optimal.

Other measures needed to address agricultural reform in West African cocoa growing countries include regeneration of the aging cocoa tree stock, land reform to consolidate property, greater diversification, and reorganisation of professional agriculture organizations, improved rural roads, and modernisation of agricultural techniques and increased in-country processing of raw materials.

Just as the cocoa supply chain spans continents, so does the impact of not addressing the economic future of cocoa farming communities. A sustainable cocoa economy is dependant on factors related to:

- its capacity to respond to the needs of producers,
- sound environmental management,
- economic viability,
- transparency and legal compliance.

A sustainable cocoa economy requires access to investment, information and innovation and fair terms of trade so that agriculture can become a source of attractive and viable livelihoods. While sensitisation is important to change perceptions and mind set, people can only act on their new knowledge if their economic environment permits them to do so. This is why agricultural sector and other supply chain initiatives are important. This section looks at improvements in production and working conditions in cocoa farming communities within this context.

The Roundtable for a Sustainable Cocoa Economy (RSCE) is an initiative for dialogue and sustainability amongst all stakeholders in the global cocoa economy: cocoa farmers and cooperatives, traders, exporters, processors, chocolate manufacturers, wholesalers, governmental and non-governmental organisations, financial institutions and donor agencies. An RSCE meeting in Abidjan in 2009 proposed a framework of ten principles for a Sustainable Cocoa Economy under four general headings:

Transparency and legal compliance

Principle 1: Transparency

Principle 2: Compliance with applicable laws and regulations

Economic viability:

Principle 3: Remuneration for quality cocoa production and improved farmer incomes

Principle 4: Access to credit and rural development services

Principle 5: Access to markets and market information

Social responsiveness

Principle 6: Decent working conditions

Principle 7: Support for farmers' and workers' organisations

Sound environmental management

Principle 8: Clear land use planning, secure access to land and proper infrastructure

Principle 9: Rational management of natural resources

Principle 10: Conservation and wise use of biodiversity

What has been tried?

Agriculture related initiatives to tackle child labour have generally focused on strategies to improve economic viability and compliance with child labour laws and conventions. Some projects also aim to improve working conditions and support farmers' organisations. Activities involving adults, young people and children in community-based approaches include:

- raising awareness of the concept and occurrence of child labour in agriculture and strategies to address it;
- encouraging safer farming practice, tools and equipment including use of protective clothing and tools designed for children when they are carrying out acceptable agricultural activities;
- supporting access to Farmer Field Schools;
- revival of traditional strategies to cope with labour intensive tasks;
- supporting farmers' organising through trade unions and community based cooperatives;
- developing access to micro-finance and savings schemes to create investment for improved or alternative livelihoods;
- supporting technical and vocational training opportunities;
- training cocoa sector personnel on child labour and strategies to tackle it.

Cocoa Farmer Field Schools (FFS)

The Sustainable Tree Crops Programme, hosted by the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (STCP/IITA) has pioneered FFS on cocoa integrated crop and pest management (ICPM) in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. A comprehensive manual based on this experience opens with a general description of a FFS (see box) and covers details of adult learning, technical content, monitoring and a host of other useful topics – virtually everything you need to know to start a FFS programme.

Farmer field schools are among the most effective components of programmes working to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing community communities since they enable farmers to collectively understand and commit to using new practices. The resulting significant increase in production and hence income helps to cover the costs of children's education and alternative labour sources.

The Farmer Field School (FFS) approach

FFS is a participatory training approach that can be considered both as an extension tool and a form of adult education. A farmer field school consists of a group of farmers (20-30) from the same or nearby villages who meet regularly guided by a trained facilitator during the course of a cropping cycle. The purpose of the school is to experiment with new production options.

FFS focuses on building farmers' capacity to make well-informed crop management decisions through increased knowledge and understanding of the agro-ecosystem. FFS participants make regular field observations and use their findings, combined with their own knowledge and experience, to judge for themselves, what, if any, action needs to be taken.

FFS follow a set curriculum that is determined by the priority constraints identified during needs assessment. FFS curricula do not promote recommendations; farmers are encouraged to experiment on their own farms and make their own decisions based on their observations and knowledge. FFS therefore encourages farmer experimentation as part of discovery learning.

FFS objectives of are to:

- Provide an environment in which farmers acquire the knowledge and skills to be able to make sound crop management decisions;
- Sharpen farmers' abilities to make critical and informed decisions that make their farming activities more profitable and sustainable;
- Improve farmers' problem solving abilities;
- Show farmers the benefits of working in groups and encourage group activities;
- Empower farmers to become "experts" on their own farms and to be more confident in solving their own problems.

While FFS is a flexible approach, 7 basic principles should be respected:

- Farmer-centred
- Group discovery learning
- A learning, rather than a technology/message, focus
- Competent facilitators
- Empowerment of farmers
- Systems approach
- Self help

Extracted from STCP/IITA's Guide for conducting FFS on cocoa ICPM

Cooperatives

Farmers working as members of well organised cooperatives are in a better position than individual farmers to advocate and lobby for their interests and to work collectively with industry and other partners outside their communities.

In Côte d'Ivoire the cocoa supplier ADM is building the capacity of farmers and their cooperatives through an initiative known as SERAP, which means Socially & Environmentally Responsible Agricultural Practice. Participating cooperatives are offered financial incentives to fulfil a number of criteria related to four areas of their work: Cooperative governance, Quality management, Social responsibility and Environmental protection. ADM believes that

capacity building of farmers' organizations is essential for sustainability, so that well managed farmers' organisations and trained farmers will be able to improve overall economic and social well being without resorting to continued external inputs. In ADM's experience farmers' poverty is the root of the child labour problem. Farmers must integrate best practices into their farming in order to eliminate the worst forms of child labour and ensure children's safety when they help parents in acceptable tasks on the farm. SERAP yearly scoring audits show that cooperatives' and producers' performance is steadily increasing with regards to the Social responsibility section of the programme which includes elimination of child labour.

Possibly the most well known cocoa farmer's cooperative is Ghana's fair trade certified Kuapa Kokoo Farmers' Union. Established in 1993, the cooperative works to improve the social, economic and political wellbeing of its members. In 1998 Kuapa Kokoo, in partnership with Twin Trading and supported by the Body Shop, Christian Aid and Comic relief, set up a chocolate company in the United Kingdom with Kuapa Kokoo owning a third of its shares. The company later adopted the name of its product, becoming Divine Chocolate Limited and a US subsidiary was launched in 2007. Divine Chocolate's trading system is unique even in the sphere of fair trade, in that members of Kuapa Kokoo currently own 45% of the company shares and thus cocoa farmers share directly in profits from the sale of Divine chocolate. The UK's Observer newspaper voted Divine Chocolate UK Best Social Enterprise in 2007 and Best Ethical Business in 2008.

Training for national cocoa industry personnel

The Ghana Cocoa Board (COCOBOD) is a parastatal organisation with responsibility for all aspects of the cocoa industry. It conducts cocoa research, controls quality and provides extension services to advise cocoa farmers. In Ghana all cocoa is bought at a seasonally fixed price at village buying centres by Licensed Buying Companies, who deliver the cocoa to the ports where the Cocoa Marketing Company (CMC) sells it on. This monopoly buying system means that the CMC can sell cocoa forward on international markets for up to 18 months thereby knowing the likely revenue for any cocoa buying season in advance. This allows COCOBOD to fix the farm-gate cocoa price at the start of the season. The Government Export Tax and the operating costs of COCOBOD are covered in the difference between the export sales price achieved and the farm gate price paid. This figure is normally some 30% of export revenue.

Since COCOBOD is central to cocoa production in Ghana its personnel need to have a sound understanding of child labour issues and strategies to address them, and to pass this on to farmers in the course of their work. ICI and COCOBOD have worked together to provide training for regional and district agents, including those of licensed buying companies, and to reach

communities with messages through radio. An ICI impact assessment found that this capacity building programme contributed to increasing awareness of child labour and a growing tendency for children to attend school, although it was not clear that sensitization at farmer's rallies was the most effective approach and further resource allocation was needed at district level.

Lessons learned – or not yet learned!

While considerable attention has been given to improvements in cocoa farming and labour practices in the context of child labour, rather less has been focussed on the rest of the cocoa supply chain. This concentration on change at the grass roots is perhaps understandable since it is here that child labour takes place but given its global and interrelated nature, perhaps other links in the chain warrant more attention. This might include developing more opportunities for in country processing of raw materials and more opportunities for producers to be part of marketing decisions and sharing in profits from chocolate sales.

Emerging good practices

Farmer Field Schools (FFS) for cocoa farming communities

FFS were initially used in West African cocoa farming communities by the Sustainable Tree Crops Programme / International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (STCP/IITA) and the idea has been adapted and used by ICI, ECHOES and iMPACT among others. They have proved to be a simple but highly effective method of improving cocoa farming practice and increasing productivity. FFS establish a simple open-air classroom on a cocoa farm chosen by the community. 20–40 local farmers meet regularly with an instructor, who can be an agricultural extension worker or another farmer who has already participated in a FFS. The course follows the cocoa farming calendar and at each stage farmers learn and use best cocoa farming practice during the session and then return home to carry out the same operations on their own farms. Sessions are participatory and interactive, including lectures, demonstrations and group work. The farm serves as a demonstration plot where others in the community can witness what is taught and the results.

Criteria for emerging good practice

Participation of the people concerned

FFS are a direct service to farmers, operating within the community and in collaboration with community leaders and participating farmers. Using adult learning techniques based on what participants already know, they enable

men and women farmers to participate in their own learning thus ensuring that it is adapted to their needs.

Ⓢ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

FFS provide a forum for raising awareness about child labour and for farmers to discuss the issues and strategies to tackle it. FFS result in increased production and income which helps to cover the costs of children's education and alternative labour sources.

Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

There is ample evidence that FFS help farmers to increase their production and hence their income. The 2009 evaluation of ICI's Ghana programme found repeated examples of farmers attending FFS multiplying their crops three or four times over. Thus FFS address poverty through increasing farmers' incomes.

Ⓢ Capacity development

FFS clearly increase capacity to use good cocoa farming practice, not only for participants but for the wider community and even neighbouring communities. They are also a forum for effective agricultural extension work, as expressed by one instructor of a Ghanaian FFS during the 2009 ICI evaluation: *"This is the way our work is meant to be done. It's much more effective than lecturing at farmers rallies because here farmers are putting the techniques into practice on the demonstration farm and then they go straight back to their own farms and apply what they have learned"*

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Ⓢ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

FFS make new knowledge available across communities, and are open to men and women alike. Similar initiatives adapted for young people help to further spread good farming practice and the resulting benefits.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

FFS are usually one component of a number that make up child labour related programmes. They can serve to link communities with local government agriculture departments, thus drawing on existing resources. STCP/IITA and Winrock International have been able to package their agricultural expertise in the form of manuals that other non-specialist organisations can use.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

Once again sustainability is a challenging area for FFS since it requires resources to pay instructors and for instructors to move around their districts to reach different communities. There are examples in Ghana (developed by

Participatory Development Associates PDA) of groups of farmers who have attended FFS selling their services to nearby communities to pass on what they have learned – possibly the beginning of a sustainable model to disseminate the information.

Farmers' Cooperatives – Kuapa Kokoo Farmers Union

<http://kuapakokoo.com>

Kuapa Kokoo members are organised in Village Societies, which each elect a 7 member executive to look after day to day affairs. Currently 1300 village societies are organised into 52 districts. Each district elects a 7 member *District Executive Council* and 20 people are then elected to the *National Executive Council* and members serve on the boards of the different subsidiaries. Major policies are approved for implementation at the *Annual Delegates Conference*, the highest decision making body, which is attended by one man and one woman from each village society. Subsidiaries comprise:

- 1 *Kuapa Kokoo Limited*, a licensed cocoa buying company owned by Kuapa Kokoo. It is the commercial and trading wing of the Union which provides farmers with the best services and prices and a share in its profits. The company is managed by professionals who are non-farmers employed by the Company to work on its behalf.
- 2 Kuapa Kokoo Farmers Trust manages funds from premiums of cocoa sales on the Fairtrade market. Farmers are represented on the Board of Trustees and Trust funds are used for various projects approved by the KKFU Annual General Meeting, including boreholes, schools, income generating facilities, mobile clinics, Farmer Field Schools, Payment of Bonuses etc
- 3 Kuapa Kokoo Credit Union has 8,300 members who are mostly members of Kuapa Kokoo Farmers Union. It was set up to cultivate a savings culture, to provide loans and to redeem cocoa farms mortgaged to money lenders.

C *Criteria for emerging good practice*

C **Participation of the people concerned**

Kuapa Kokoo is a democratic organisation that is owned by farmers and farmers are at the heart of the organisation. Farmers sit on the various boards of the composite organisations and take decisions. Elections are held every four years to elect executives at the society level, district level and the national level. Recorders are farmers and are elected by the members of the village society to weigh their cocoa on their behalf, which helps to eliminate all forms of cheating. Kuapa Kokoo also has two places on the Board of Divine Chocolate Ltd. so it can exercise its influence over how the company is developed.

Ⓢ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

Fairtrade criteria require that there is no child labour involved in the supply chain of certified cocoa. A Fairtrade premium paid on top of the purchase price is used for social and economic investments. Kuapa Kokoo has undertaken a range of initiatives to improve the quality of life in members' communities.

"Thanks to Kuapa Kokoo, my society Alikrom has a borehole and for the past seven years, we have been drinking clean water. Before we got this facility, we had to walk for miles to fetch water from a stream. Since we got this borehole, no one in my family has suffered from typhoid disease. I have been able to enrol my only child in a private school because I am now financially independent. I also received bonuses from Kuapa. I have also helped my father to complete our house." Fatima Ali of Alikrom Kuapa Kokoo Society

"Our dilapidated primary school building was pulled down about seven years ago and a new six classroom block with a library, head teacher's office and store constructed for our wards. Not long ago, another three classroom block to house the Junior High School was also put up by Kuapa Kokoo. This school now serves six other communities nearby. It has well over 600 pupils with 16 teachers". Elias Mohammed of Bayerebon No.3 Kuapa Kokoo society.

Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

Kuapa Kooko improves the economic position of member farmers.

Ⓢ Capacity development

In addition to building farmers' capacity for organisation and governance, Kuapa Kokoo employs and trains local people to fulfil the different tasks within the cooperative as witnessed by Fatima Ali, recorder of Alikrom Kuapa Kokoo Society:

"I joined Kuapa Kokoo after completing my senior secondary education. Most of my friends tried to talk me out of my decision to become a farmer because in their view, farming was the preserve of illiterates. I told my father who is also a farmer and a member of Kuapa Kokoo about my decision to join him and he gladly agreed to guide me. He told me about the fact that Kuapa was a cooperative and that members have a say in the way things are done. I must say that I was encouraged to join... The thought of farmers having a say in the way a company is managed actually intrigued me! Today, I am a proud owner of a 5-acre farm. Last season, I was able to harvest about twenty bags of cocoa. I was elected a recorder of my society about three years ago. Never in my wildest dreams did I think I could hold such position. I am a woman and also very young but because of the training I have received from Kuapa Kokoo, I just know that I can achieve anything I put my mind to. Next year, I plan to contest for one of the National Executive Council (NEC) positions. I want to make history ... I want to be the youngest NEC member!"

Ⓢ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

Kuapa Kooko works with member farmers but benefits from Fairtrade Premiums benefit entire communities. Power and profit within the cocoa supply chain is more evenly distributed than in the rest of the industry since the interests of cocoa farmers are assured by their representation from the cocoa weighing shed to the Board of Divine Chocolate Ltd.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

The fact that farmers are represented on the Board of Divine Chocolate Ltd is perhaps the ultimate demonstration of the power of coordinated action all along the supply chain, and recognition that since chocolate cannot be produced without cocoa, cocoa farming communities deserve an acceptable standard of living.

Ⓢ Sustainable Change

Kuapa Kooko's relationship with its members and Divine Chocolate Ltd provides a sustainable model spanning the cocoa supply chain. While it represents a tiny proportion of the overall cocoa market it shows that such a model is feasible and that Fairtrade significantly improves producers' lives.

The Fairtrade standard for cocoa requires that

- Producers are small family farms organised in cooperatives or associations which they own and govern.
- The Fairtrade minimum price is paid directly to the producer organisations. When the world market price rises above the Fairtrade minimum price, the market price is paid plus the Fairtrade Premium.
- A Fairtrade Premium is paid on top of the purchase price and is used by producer organisations for social and economic investments.
- Environmental standards restrict the use of agrochemicals and encourage sustainability.
- Pre-harvest lines of credit are given to the cooperatives, if requested, of up to 60% of the purchase price
- No forced labour of any kind, including child labour.

Emerging good practices by theme

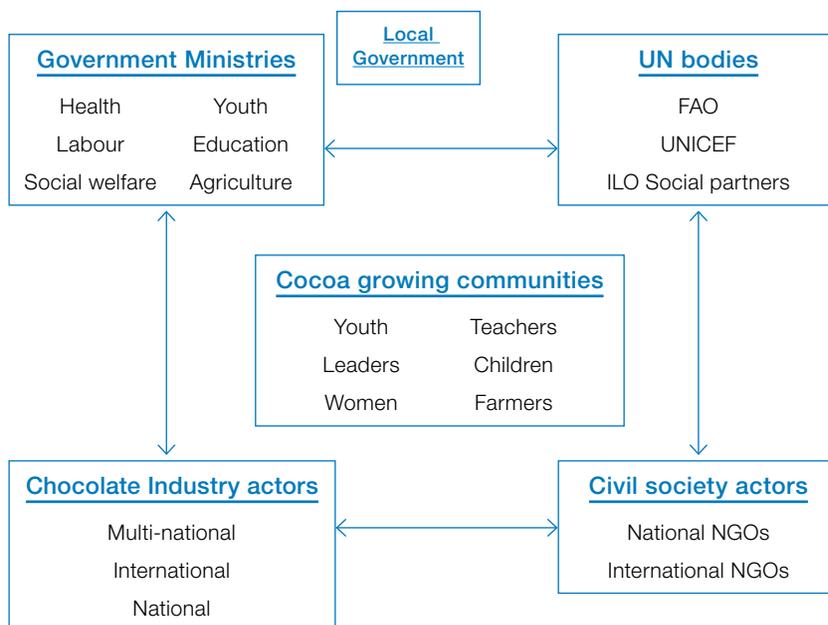
4 Integrated and coordinated approaches

Context

There are many different organisations, communities, groups and individuals involved in work to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing communities, creating a complex web of relationships, roles and responsibilities. The various actors can be broadly grouped into five categories, each of which has a particular internal culture – a similar set of norms and beliefs that influence the way they act and react:

- Cocoa growing communities – which are not homogeneous and include a number of groups with different roles, interests and connections both inside and outside the community.
- National and local governments – operating through a range of ministries and local government departments to meet internal commitments and external requirements. This group includes not only governments of cocoa producing countries but those of powerful European and North American countries with a declared interest, particularly the USA.
- The chocolate industry, comprising individual companies and groups of companies, regulatory bodies, advisory bodies, employers’ organisations, workers’ unions and consumer groups...
- Civil society, with its eclectic mix of national and international NGOs broadly working to promote the Millennium Development Goals, education for all, child rights and social justice.
- Development partner and UN bodies, particularly the ILO and UNICEF but also others involved in agriculture, education, health and youth, concerned to implement and monitor internationally agreed policies and conventions.

These groups are not mutually exclusive (for example worker’s unions can be seen as ILO social partners, civil society actors and part of the chocolate industry). The web of relationships stretches within and between these different groups and helps to demonstrate the complexity of interventions and the challenges of effective coordination and collaboration. Preliminary research by Ghana’s National Programme to Eliminate Child labour in Cocoa estimated more than 70 different agencies operating in Ghana alone. This serves to indicate not only the need for mutual efforts to understand different organisational points of view but also the potential for shared learning.



Roles and responsibilities

Before looking at some of the integrated and coordinated approaches that have been tried, this seems an appropriate point to consider the roles and responsibilities of some of the key organisations and bodies concerned.

In addition to commitments in their national constitutions, governments commit their countries to regulating children's work and eliminating worst forms of child labour when they sign ILO conventions 182 and 138. Labour ministries usually take the lead in coordinating child labour initiatives but since the policies and responsibilities of other ministries (such as Education, Health, Agriculture and Social Welfare) have considerable impact on the lives of children, families and communities, they also play an essential role in creating an environment less conducive to child labour. Thus eliminating child labour needs to be seen as a cross cutting issue and coordination within and between ministries and with various development partners plays a crucial role in maximising the impact, efficiency and effectiveness of interventions. This coordination has proved to be one of the most challenging areas. A number of countries, including Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, have established child labour units within the Labour Ministry as the focal point for coordination of the overall national response to child labour.

National ILO offices work to reinforce the national tripartite relationship between the social partners (government, employers' and workers'

organisations) that constitute the ILO, through supporting the development of Decent Work Country Programmes and National Action Plans to eliminate child labour. In West Africa this has included the strengthening of national legal frameworks concerning child labour and regional initiatives to combat child trafficking. The ILO’s International Programme to Eliminate Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) also funds community level interventions which are implemented through the social partners or national or international NGOs. At an international level the same tripartite structure brings together governments, international employers’ and workers’ organisations concerned by child labour in the cocoa supply chain.

This non exhaustive table highlights the specific roles and responsibilities of different actors concerned in relation to child labour in general and/or in cocoa farming communities in particular:

Actors concerned	Responsibility	Role
Civil society	Promoting peace, social justice and environmental sustainability – to provide a “contre pouvoir”	Advocacy, lobbying, provision of technical expertise and funding
Cocoa growing communities	Assuring their children’s futures and contributing to their community’s development	To make and implement decisions about life in the community drawing on internal and external resources
Donors	Ensuring that their funds achieve a positive impact in line with stated objectives as effectively and efficiently as possible	Child labour related research and funding, monitoring, evaluation of initiatives to promote its elimination
ECOWAS and the African Union	Improving the living conditions of the citizenry, ensuring economic growth and creating an environment conducive to development and integration	Promoting and monitoring of regional agreements; Regional policy development and support for implementation; Projecting and representing the interests of member countries and their citizens
Farmers organisations	Assuring the best interests of their members	Analysis, networking, advocacy, organisation and action
Government (local)	Implementing policy and plans at so that people have access to quality services	Local consultation and planning; Service delivery, monitoring and evaluation

Government (national)	Assuring children's rights; Regulation of children's work and eliminating worst forms of child labour.	Policy design and implementation for children's wellbeing
		Coordination of the overall national response to child labour.
		Implementation of specific initiatives
Industry	Promoting a sustainable, socially responsible, profitable and legal cocoa supply chain	Producing cocoa and derivative products; Funding and promotion of initiatives to eliminate child labour;
ILO	Monitoring and facilitating progress towards Decent Work including labour regulation and the elimination of worst forms of child labour	Supporting social partners in the development of Decent Work Country Programmes and National Action Plans to eliminate child labour
International Union of Food (IUF) Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations	Working to improve workers conditions and protect their interests and ensuring that members comply with their legal obligations	Supporting and promoting initiatives in line with their policies; dissemination of information to members
International NGOs	Promoting MDGs, EfA and the development of less developed countries along a continuum of approaches ranging from charitable to rights based.	Advocacy, technical expertise and funding for child labour initiatives
National NGOs	Contributing to national and local development Explaining local interests to development partners and partners' interests in the community	To act as intermediaries between communities and development partners Using their local knowledge, experience and technical expertise to facilitate implementation of local development initiatives
Parliamentarians	Representing their electorates in national parliaments and discussing with them the debates that concern them	To ensure that the voices of their electorates are heard and that they have access to information and feedback about the issues raised in parliament and decisions taken that affect them

Accountability

The table makes an analysis of some of the roles and responsibilities of the key actors concerned in combating child labour in cocoa producing communities. It does not examine the lines of accountability of the groups mentioned, or their relative degrees of power, which are factors that influence the way the whole system operates in reality. For some groups accountability is clear – farmers’ organisations must be accountable to their members. But governments have a duty of accountability to their electorate and also to their donors and if these should conflict it is not clear which takes priority. Similarly, are NGOs primarily accountable to the communities where they work or to their technical and financial partners? Is an ILO national office accountable to Geneva or to the national social partners? Chocolate companies are directly accountable to their shareholders – but what is their degree of accountability to their producers and consumers? Even if such questions can be answered in theory the answers are often more difficult to put into practice. We are accustomed to a system of predominantly “upward” accountability, but then who is accountable to child labourers and cocoa farming communities, to chocolate consumers (in brief, to ordinary people, who provide the labour and earn the money to pay taxes, buy chocolate and make donations to NGOs)?

What has been tried?

Various integrated and coordinated approaches have been developed by government, industry, ILO-IPEC and a number of national and international NGOs. These include efforts to maximise coordination, encourage collaboration and shared learning between and within different projects and programmes. Some of these have already been discussed but they are mentioned here specifically in the context of coordination, collaboration and integration.

The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) programmes are primarily funded by the cocoa industry, thus requiring the integration of inputs from different companies and collaboration between their representatives, which has not always been easy for enterprises more accustomed to viewing each other as competitors. ICI’s programmes in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire focus on empowering communities to plan for the elimination of child labour. Community Action Plans rely on coordination with local authorities for their integration into wider development plans and other development partners for technical and financial support for implementation. Farmer Field Schools use local authority agricultural extension workers as instructors and local NGO implementing partners play an overall facilitating and coordinating role. ICI draws on local expertise to implement the initiatives it funds. For example in Ghana

Participatory Development Associates, the Rescue Foundation and nine national NGOs (CODESULT, HACOG, PROMAG, RECA, SCMPP, Glori, HFH, SLF and OASIS) all play a role in the ICI programme.

The Mars iMPACT programme builds on the same community based approach developed by ICI and PDA but brings together a group of international partners (Africare, the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help (IFESH), Rainforest Alliance, the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP) and the German Development Agency, GIZ to contribute their coordinated expertise to implement Community Action Plans.

The World Cocoa Foundation (WCF) ECHOES alliance has found that one of the most successful aspects of its coordinated approach is that it addresses the needs of different groups across entire communities. Funded by USAID, WCF and cocoa industry member companies and implemented by Winrock International, IFESH, Making Cents International, World Education and Leadership Africa USA, a range of initiatives address the needs of in and out of school youth, community leaders, non literate youth and adults, teachers and communities as a whole. ECHOES intended results are:

- Increased school attendance, enrolment, and pass rates;
- Increased government investment in expansion of the programme;
- Increased community participation and management of schools;
- Improved economic wellbeing of the community;
- Use of modern methods for growing cocoa;
- Increased adult literacy;
- Improved teacher skills and teacher attendance;
- Increased awareness of HIV/AIDS, malaria, gender, and child labour;
- Improved leadership skills;
- Improved ICT skills.

The ILO-IPEC, United States Department of Labor (USDOL) funded project “Towards child labour free cocoa growing communities through an integrated area-based approach” was designed to address the elimination of child labour in cocoa growing communities as a process embedded in wider national development strategies. Such strategies include those addressing the worst forms of child labour, the promotion of education and decent work and the reduction of poverty, in recognition that poverty and decent work deficits are among the root causes of child labour. This integrated approach aims to increase the effectiveness and sustainability of time limited interventions by creating an environment where children do not shift from one hazardous sector or occupation to another, where vulnerable families and communities are empowered to address their livelihood and economic situation and where the necessary

consensus at both community and national levels is generated to garner the ownership needed to support long-term change.

The Sustainable Tree Crops Programme works in a number of West African countries to:

- ensure that cocoa production succeeds and is effective through technical training and support for healthy cocoa stock
- promote the wellbeing of cocoa producing families through making them aware of occupational hazards and those who are particularly vulnerable

The programme has been working in Côte d'Ivoire since 2003 and currently works with iMPACT and the World Food Programme in several areas. It also works with cooperatives and in collaboration with ANADER, the government's rural development agency, to train local FFS facilitators and promote good practices and the integration of child labour and HIV&AIDS awareness into the FFS curriculum. This provides one example of a programme developing specific expertise in an effective approach and making it available for integration into other initiatives through collaboration and coordination.

Using the Media

Since the media is first and foremost about communication and radio is an effective means of reaching West Africa's rural populations, training for journalists to ensure that they have a good understanding of child labour issues has been integrated into a number of programmes. In areas where people have access to television this is another possibility, but the added expense and reduced audience suggest that it may be less cost-effective. Although not easy to evaluate there are indications that media broadcasts can be an effective component of an integrated approach. They can be used simply for the dissemination of information by the responsible authorities but some of the more creative approaches have included:

- children talking about their experiences as child labourers;
- round table discussions between key local or national stakeholders;
- phone-in quizzes with prizes;
- sketches / stories to highlight child labour issues.

Encouraging local people to use radio to disseminate their own thoughts and ideas can empower communities by demonstrating the potential of using such media to reach a wide audience for a variety of purposes. Traditional media using music, theatre and storytelling have also been used to good advantage to spread messages about child labour and education.

National and local Steering Committees

Many West African countries¹ have established National Steering Committees to guide the implementation of their National Action Plans to tackle child labour. Such committees bring together key national level stakeholders to share their activities, experiences, good practices and lessons learned. Such fora provide a good basis for networking, coordination, collaboration and shared learning but in many cases they are under exploited. One interesting approach encountered in Tanzania is for a small group of members to make field visits to different projects prior to each quarterly meeting and report back to the committee as a whole. This helps to ensure that deliberations are rooted in community level realities as opposed to meetings becoming a theoretical talking shop.

Such committees also exist at local government levels and provide an effective means of facilitating and encouraging coordination and collaboration between different initiatives and different development partners, which can work to everyone's advantage. For example if a local NGO is supporting the implementation of Community Action Plans it will help them to know if there is a campaign to provide clean drinking water, with a drilling rig in the district, so that they can facilitate the appropriate links. Similarly if a mining company or other private enterprise is interested in contributing to local infrastructure development such a committee can help them find out what is going on locally and suggest the most effective way to intervene.

Some programmes and projects have set up steering committees specifically for the time limited initiative concerned – while this can be useful in the short term it may detract from the effectiveness of a broader gathering of stakeholders meeting on a more permanent basis.

Networking, coordination and collaboration at community level

Just as networking, coordination and collaboration provide added value at national and local government levels, the same is true at community level. The Rescue Foundation in Ghana gives us one example. When carrying out community level training they train several groups together and then encourage them to network in support of each other afterwards, when implementing the learning from the course. Their training programmes cover both knowledge and skills training using participatory methodologies and include field based practice. They leave behind copies of the training modules to enable ongoing access to the information.

Enabling people from a community where a project has been operating to visit a neighbouring community or vice versa can help prepare the way for scale up. Regular visits between community committees with similar responsibilities in different communities can encourage shared learning and networking.

¹ Including Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo

Such events are not expensive in relation to their value – but need to be taken into account in project budgets in the same way as aspects of networking and coordination at other levels.

Lessons learned

Build on what exists already!

Whatever the project, whatever the initiative, it does not arrive in a vacuum. People have been living and working in cocoa growing communities for a long time and have developed strategies and norms for all aspects of community and family life. Judgments made by outsiders on the basis of inadequate information result in false assumptions, which jeopardise the success of subsequent initiatives. There are effective participatory research approaches that have the combined advantage of providing the newcomer (who facilitates the research) with much needed information and of sending a message to the community that what they have to say is of value and important. Such research is an essential preliminary to any project intervention in a new community. It identifies existing structures that might play a role in the new intervention, as opposed to creating yet another project committee that will probably cease to function soon after the project ends.

Share information!

Development organisations ideally see each other as partners rather than competitors – although competition for funding can work against this. Local, national and international access to project evaluation and other reports can only contribute to a developing knowledge base and shared learning. Transparency is to be encouraged – but it needs to be for everyone – not just other organisations. If transparency is desirable for government and the cocoa industry it is also desirable for NGOs – how many implementing organisations share their budgets with the communities where they work? Transparency and accountability run parallel to effective integration and coordination.

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Do no harm!

Integrated service delivery is particularly important in any situation where a child is removed from a situation where he or she is deemed to be in danger. Whatever the circumstances this is likely to be a stressful experience and every care needs to be taken that the child does not suffer greater trauma in the removal than through the initial situation. Children suspected of being trafficked being detained with adult criminals is one glaring example of authorities further victimising the victim, whether through ignorance or lack of resources.

Develop both vertical and horizontal coordination and networking

Some interventions are particularly effective at community level while others have a greater impact at national or international levels, but few concentrate their efforts on links between levels. Upstream, downstream and mid stream work are all important. How do interventions fit into the National Action Plan in practice at local government levels? How can the project intervention and local authority departments be mutually supportive and how can innovations be sustained at the end of the interventions? How to capitalise on and share common learning between communities, local authorities and national government?

National implementing partners are often the ones to feel the heat – they know about community realities because this is where they work. They take on the implementation of projects, often designed without their input, since this is one way of accessing funding to work in communities, but the funding sometimes comes with unrealistic expectations, particularly with regard to the time a desired outcome might take to be achieved. Implementing partners are often local organisations which themselves have limited capacity – but financial partners do not always see capacity development as part of their remit. The links and the processes involved in any project or programme are just as important as the inputs and outcomes and hold the real secret to sustainability.

Emerging good practices

Integrated and coordinated approaches

This section does not look at one specific approach but aims to highlight components of some of the integrated and coordinated approaches that have been tried that point the way to overall emerging best practices.

© *Criteria for emerging good practice*

© Participation of the people concerned

ICI's community based and community led initiatives work with the active participation and collaboration of community leaders. They take into account the different perspectives of specific groups within the community, facilitating the involvement of men, women, young people and children in analysis, decision making, planning, implementation and evaluation of child labour related and wider community development.

IBIS provides a good example of working with existing structures through their work training school management committees (see theme 2).

Ⓞ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

Integrated approaches that combine awareness-raising about child labour with components that tackle education access and quality, economic empowerment, livelihoods and advocacy tend to reduce child labour in the longer term since they tackle symptoms, contributory factors and underlying causes. Both the ICI and IBIS evaluations showed demonstrable impact on child labour. ECHOES has not yet been evaluated will probably also do so.

Ⓞ Addresses underlying causes

The ECHOES alliance provides access to a broad range of interventions linked to education in and out of school, livelihoods and economic empowerment to meet the needs of children, youth, leaders, women and farmers, alongside diverse initiatives offering community wide opportunities. The programme raises awareness of child labour issues as one of a number of other aspects of health and education but the real emphasis is on addressing underlying causes.

Ⓞ Capacity development

Multi-level capacity building is a feature of the ICI programme – incorporating national cocoa management bodies, national NGOs, security services and the judiciary and community level capacity building. The ILO builds social partner capacity so that government and workers' and employers' organisations can collaborate effectively to safeguard children's rights and promote decent work.

Ⓞ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

Tackling child labour as a community wide issue through an integrated area-based development approach as proposed by ILO-IPEC's initiatives in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire has great potential for non discrimination and broad shared benefits since it tackles across the board decent work/livelihoods issues and aims to build social partner capacity at local levels.

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Ⓞ Coordinated action/interdependency

As highlighted under this theme programmes such as those of iMPACT, ECHOES, IBIS and ICI each in their own way show the added value of coordinated inputs. Since children in cocoa farming communities are part of a number of interdependent systems (the family, the school, the cocoa supply chain...) this offers a number of entry points to effect change.

Ⓞ Sustainable Change

Permanent national steering committees to oversee the implementation of National Action Plans to eliminate child labour offer fora for building on

coordination between stakeholders developed during the course of time limited interventions. This, together with community empowerment, advocacy and local level capacity building for social partners holds the greatest promise for sustainable change.

Emerging good practices by theme

5 Designing, monitoring and evaluating interventions

Context

The previous sections have concentrated on an analysis of the implementation of various initiatives that contribute to the elimination of child labour. The way in which such projects are designed has an ongoing effect on the way they are perceived by different stakeholders and on the sustainability of impact after they end. Monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment are different aspects of controlling, reviewing and measuring progress towards objectives, identifying strengths and difficulties and expected and unexpected results to enrich ongoing and future interventions. A number of the initiatives discussed in the booklet have yet to be independently evaluated and monitoring is largely an internal affair with selected findings released to a wider public. This section aims to highlight emerging good practice with regard to designing, monitoring and evaluating interventions and also looks at impact assessment as an important aspect of measuring change.

What has been tried?

Research

A number of different approaches have been taken to researching the extent and realities of child labour in West Africa, which is an important prerequisite to project design.

Governments in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire have carried out statistical and socio-economic surveys to establish an overall picture of the extent and type of hazardous activities carried out by children in their countries, with specific studies concerning child labour in cocoa production.

ICI started its work in Ghana with a qualitative review of cocoa farming practices, their origins and *raison d'être* and more recently has carried out a socio-ethnological study in cocoa growing communities in Côte d'Ivoire. The former provided the basis for work in Ghana which was then replicated in Côte d'Ivoire and the latter set out to examine social norms around childhood, work and education in the cocoa growing communities concerned and their relationship with international child labour norms. This research is fundamental to the development of community child protection systems based on indigenous protection practices and building on the experience and knowledge existing within communities as opposed to the too frequent entry point of "awareness-raising".

The valuable research into understanding of child migration, trafficking, exploitation and ill treatment in West African communities that was carried out by the African Movement of Working Children and Youth (AMYC) has been mentioned under theme two "*Local action and empowering communities*". It highlights the challenges of translating terms commonly used in international

conventions into local languages and is a pointer towards the need for more in-depth understanding of the communities where we work so that projects can be a mutual endeavour based on common understanding.

Much has been made of the fact that while there is anecdotal evidence of trafficked children working on cocoa farms, government and other surveys have failed to validate their existence. Specialists of the Rescue Foundation in Ghana suggest that this is because trafficking is a criminal offence, trafficked children tend to stay in remote and hidden locations and hence strangers arriving in a community with questionnaires are unlikely to hear about such children. Their experience is that a different sort of research is required, where locally trusted community based organisations are trained to recognise risk factors that suggest that a child may be a victim of trafficking or forced labour and to intervene in a sensitive and effective manner that respects the best interests of the child.

Non discrimination and gender analysis

In addition to looking at children working in cocoa production a careful analysis of the roles played by women in West African cocoa farming communities is needed in order to understand overall patterns of work, particularly those of girls. Cocoa is generally one component of a multi-cropping system, and children do not only work in cocoa production but often to grow food crops like vegetables, often planted around cocoa plots. In Côte d'Ivoire, such food crops are generally managed by women who draw most of their revenue and autonomy from this activity.

Children and especially girls usually help their mothers and may also be involved in numerous other types of work. In addition to the gender aspects, an understanding of the role played by work in a given society is an important prerequisite to designing any intervention.

Monitoring

Monitoring is an ongoing activity for most projects, with selected results shared in reports or on websites. There is little evidence of sustained community and local authority participation in project monitoring apart from the child labour monitoring systems established through ILO-IPEC¹ initiatives in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire (among other countries) and local authority monitoring of government programmes. If the general perception of community members as project “beneficiaries” were to evolve towards a vision of mutual partnership, with a corresponding shift in power dynamics, then community actors and implementing agencies might then be able to monitor each others’ activities in a spirit of transparency and cooperation to feed into an ongoing cycle of improving practice to achieve mutually agreed results.

¹ *International Labour Organisation's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour*

Evaluation

Of the interventions discussed in the booklet *ICI Ghana*, IBIS and iMPACT have been independently evaluated. ICI's Ghana evaluation in 2009 used an approach that involved key stakeholders as active participants in the process. This provides an interesting alternative to a more typical project evaluation where an external evaluator is faced with the challenges of working for short periods in a limited number of unfamiliar communities, often communicating through an interpreter and working to mitigate a number of factors liable to bias the findings. ICI's use of community, local authority and implementing partner representatives to make up the evaluation team promoted collaboration and learning among key stakeholders throughout the evaluation process. The added credibility drawn from having independent viewpoints was provided by external evaluators who facilitated the process. This approach is further examined as an emerging best practice later in this section.

Certification and verification

While a detailed analysis of the discussions around certification and verification that cocoa products are child labour free is beyond the scope of this work, so much time and energy has gone into attempts to design appropriate and reliable systems that it deserves a short overview.

As the complexity of eliminating child labour in cocoa production has become increasingly clear, debate continues about how to establish viable means of verification as required by the Harkin - Engel Protocol. Much of it focused on what can realistically be verified, since to directly verify that all cocoa produced on tens of thousands of small family farms in isolated locations is child labour free is practically impossible. However, what can be verified is the existence of a process for eliminating child labour in cocoa production and statistical extrapolations on the basis of sampling can be used to indicate the progress that is being made. Thus verification primarily concerns process evaluation.

The WCF website explains the four steps of the certification process that work together to improve labour practices:

- Data collection at the community and farm level that provides a statistically representative view of child and adult labour practices;
- Transparent, publicly available reporting on the findings from data collection activities, and on what needs to be done to address the issues raised in the report;
- Remediation – a range of programmes to address issues identified in the data collection process and that improve the well-being of children;
- Independent verification of the certification process.

Independent verification implies that a third party will attest that the claims made by second parties are accurate and, possibly, that the process is

competent and credible. These second parties are usually the social auditors engaged by multinational cocoa enterprises to carry out the research needed for certification. However there are no internationally agreed public standards to measure the competence of social auditors or verifiers. Many verifiers are no better technically equipped than social auditors to interpret the application of international labour standards or national law in workplaces, an area of expertise developed over time by the ILO and its social partners. Social auditing is a snapshot diagnostic tool and while labour inspections of workplaces are also “snapshots”, labour inspection is a statutory process that involves both employer education to prevent violations and enforcement of law. A sustainable solution to widen the coverage of workplace inspection to cocoa farms is to strengthen labour inspection and agricultural extension services to promote a culture and practice of compliance. This can be combined with complementary measures developed in response to particular situations, such as the regional or “roving” safety representatives from agricultural workers’ unions proposed by ILO-IPEC’s project *“Towards child labour free cocoa growing communities through an integrated area based approach”*.

An integrated area based approach

Developed in 2010 and implemented in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire, ILO-IPEC project *“Towards child labour free cocoa growing communities through an integrated area based approach”* is one of the first projects designed to address all child labour in cocoa growing communities as opposed to focussing on cocoa farming in isolation. The integrated area-based ethos approaches the elimination of child labour as a process embedded in wider national strategies for eliminating child labour, promoting education and decent work and reducing poverty. The approach aims to create an environment where children do not shift from one hazardous sector or occupation to another, where vulnerable families and communities are empowered to address their livelihood and economic situation (one of the root causes of child labour), and where the necessary consensus at both community and national levels is generated to garner the ownership needed to support long-term change.

Monitoring child labour and monitoring interventions

It is important to clearly define the objectives and processes of national or local Child Labour Monitoring Systems (CLMS), and the difference between these and the monitoring and evaluation of a specific project. The former is designed as a sustainable system while the latter is a project management tool.

A Child Labour Monitoring System provides mechanisms for identifying children who are at risk from child labour – either because they are below the minimum age or the work they are doing puts their health or development at risk – and referring them to school or other services. Operating mainly in agricultural or informal sectors of the economy, the system assists the labour

inspectorate in increasing surveillance of areas where child labour is concentrated. Data from this process is reported to the Inspectorate for follow-up where necessary.

As part of their National Action Plans both the Ghanaian and Ivorian governments are committed to developing systems to monitor the occurrence and measure the prevalence of child labour in cocoa growing communities and in the other areas. Effective and sustainable CLMS require improved and expanded reach of labour inspection and agricultural extension services with links to necessary public services and appropriate capacity-building to support local communities and district authorities in operating the system. A number of ILO-IPEC projects have worked on developing Child Labour Monitoring Systems and currently an assessment and revision of existing interventions is underway with a view to scaling up systems to cover all Ghanaian and Ivorian cocoa growing communities.

A CLMS is not intended to replace periodic national surveys that collect information on child labour. The degree to which a community operated CLMS can effectively contribute to local and national child labour statistics has yet to be defined, since even the most successful attempts have proved difficult to sustain over time. CLMS can certainly serve to collect and share information on child labour and related activities in communities, and contribute to a certain extent to the drafting of national annual child labour reports on the implementation of ILO Conventions 138 and 182, but are not adapted for use as the main basis for establishing credible national statistics.

To ensure sustainability and permanent change, CLMS design needs to foster national ownership and to ultimately function independently of project support. This requires that CLMS connect to:

- National monitoring and evaluation systems and processes at relevant levels and in child labour related policies, programmes and institutions.
- Monitoring and Evaluation Section and Implementation Plans of the existing Decent Work Country Programmes.
- Country plans for achieving the MDGs, with particular reference to the Decent Work Indicators that are included under MDG-1 (Poverty Reduction) and MDG-3 (Gender Equality), as well as MDG-2 on Education.

To arrive at a functioning CLMS at national level, it will be necessary to integrate or adapt national Monitoring&Evaluation frameworks to include indicators and monitoring devices to track government adherence, application and implementation of rights-based approaches and commitments to eliminate child labour.

Lessons learned

Design and contextualisation

This section suggests a check list for the design of interventions combating the worst forms of child labour in cocoa growing communities:

1—Project steering group

A project steering group of representatives of key stakeholders, with an emphasis on those from community and local authority levels – those who are closest to the action – is a good place to start project design. The first task of such a group is to plan the community based research described below.

After the initial research the steering group can go on to guide and validate project design, to regularly review and assess implementation and contribute to the evaluation of activities. Thus key actors are not only part of the research but go on to be part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of project interventions. This goes a long way to ensuring local ownership and relevance of interventions and avoids the misconceptions and assumptions that can occur when project design takes a more “top down” approach, starting far from the communities they aim to serve. The project budget needs to cover the costs of steering group meetings and activities.

2—Initial community based research to explore, among other things:

- Concepts of childhood, education, work etc.;
- Local social and child protection systems and strategies;
- Traditional and modern agricultural practices;
- Savings and loans access;
- Local economy and potential for alternative livelihoods;
- Community groups and farmers organisations;
- Leadership and power structures, marginalised or excluded groups;
- Formal and non-formal education provision and needs;
- Access to local government services (education, health, child welfare, agricultural extension etc.) and particular challenges in service delivery.

Such research needs to be carried out by a range of actors including community representatives, local authority staff and potential implementing agents in the research teams. It needs to use participatory approaches such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Reflect to ensure the active participation of non literate people in the communities concerned. The preparatory training workshop needs to draw attention to the relevant power dynamics at all levels, including analysis of the access to and use of power within the research team, with particular attention to gender issues. When successful initiatives are being transferred from one area or country to another a project

steering group and community based research helps to ensure that the appropriate contextualisation takes place.

3—Project design

If the project is designed on the basis of research in the communities concerned there is a strong probability that it will be relevant and adapted to local needs. The validation of proposed interventions by the steering group helps to ensure that this is the case, as does the use of locally based implementing agents known to and with knowledge of the communities concerned.

Based on the research findings, projects might include components linked to:

- Formal and non-formal education (improving access to and quality of school-based education; Farmer Field Schools; other technical and vocational training; youth and adult literacy...);
- Agriculture and the cocoa supply chain (Farmer Field Schools; Farmers' Cooperatives; Farmers' Unions; improved labour practices; improved cocoa stock and farming practices...);
- Economic development and alternative livelihoods (access to savings and credit services; feasibility studies and market surveys; training, inputs and start up support for alternative livelihoods...);
- Needs of specific groups (such as youth, women, vulnerable children...);
- Organising for change and advocacy (using local democratic systems; promoting transparency and good governance; collective action: unions and cooperatives);
- Capacity building for local leaders and future leaders, School Management Committees, local authority staff, children and young people;
- Building communication, links and networks for shared learning and solidarity (local and traditional media, conferences, exchange visits and regular meetings between groups with common interests...);
- Participatory monitoring and evaluation strategies and processes (to ensure that interventions remain on track and relevant and to promote credible formative and summative evaluations...);
- Crosscutting attention to gender, analyses of power dynamics and other locally appropriate issues.

Thus projects will be holistic interventions tackling root causes contributing to child labour. They will look at community wide needs and have broad shared benefits, involving representatives of those most closely concerned as key actors and decision makers. They will build local capacity and encourage coordinated action and democratic processes using appropriate participatory methodologies. Where they exist, relevant national policy frameworks provide guidelines for interventions combating child labour and where such

frameworks have yet to be established interventions need to support advocacy for their introduction.

Economies of time in the project cycle

Economies of time during the project design phase are often false economies. Projects based on hurried multi-country missions that focus on brief encounters to achieve validation from government and other national level stakeholders are not ideal. If this culture of deadlines and short-term objectives then becomes the driving force behind project implementation much of the potential for sustainable change at community level is likely to be lost. If community and local authority stakeholders and implementing partners are not involved in the design of projects their local knowledge, experience and know-how are missing at this crucial phase and time is then required later to redress shortcomings that could have been avoided.

An end to “beneficiaries”

Communities feel little ownership of initiatives over which they have no control, or where commitments are not respected. Internal organisational cultures and donor requirements must not be allowed to take precedence over the time and other resources needed to achieve sustainable change. Community leaders, groups and representatives must be seen as equal and essential partners in change as opposed to “beneficiaries”. There are many beneficiaries of child labour free cocoa outside of those communities and if this were not the case it is unlikely that the level of investment would be so high. All those employed to work on project interventions might also be described as beneficiaries while those fulfilling a role at community level, often economically the poorest, are frequently expected to volunteer their services. The use of the word beneficiaries has no place in a rights-based approach to development and fails to take into account the very real benefits accrued by various different actors throughout the project hierarchy.

***Impact assessment*²**

There is no consolidated evidence of attempts at impact assessment with regard to initiatives to eliminate child labour in cocoa growing communities. This brief overview looks at why this might be a useful exercise as part of and to contribute to the design and planning of future initiatives.

Impact assessment requires a slightly different perspective than monitoring and evaluation. Rather than focussing on agreed project objectives impact assessment takes a broader look at the wider effects of interventions, asking questions such as

² Taken from *Impact Assessment: Understanding and assessing our contributions to change* © INTRAC 2010

- What has changed?
- For whom?
- How significant was it?
- Will it last?
- In what ways did we contribute to these changes?

Impact assessments need to both demonstrate success and to help learn about where we could do better, which do not always sit easily together. We need to:

- Demonstrate success (to donors, ourselves, the public; to be seen to supporting progress in eliminating child labour etc.), both to justify funds received and to solicit further funding;
- Learn to understand how our efforts impact on local communities in order to improve the effectiveness of our interventions; to make a more significant difference in people's lives;
- Be accountable to the people (stakeholders) for whom we are working: we should not 'do development to local communities' but rather work with them to understand the changes they want to make in their lives and then to analyse progress (or no progress) together;
- Use the findings from impact assessments to advocate for changes in behaviour, attitudes, policy and legislation at all levels.

The table below clarifies the difference between monitoring evaluation and impact in relation to development planning.

Monitoring	Evaluation	Impact Assessment
Measures ongoing activities	Measures performance against objectives	Assesses change in peoples lives: positive or negative, intended or not
Main work during implementation	Main work in middle or at end of project/programme cycle	Can be included at all stages and/ or can be used specifically after the end of programme/ project
Focus on interventions	Focus on interventions	Focus on affected populations
Focus on outputs	Focus on outcomes	Focus on impacts
'What is being done?'	'What has happened? Did we achieve what we set out to achieve?'	What has changed? For whom? How significant is it for them?'

For impact assessment to be useful for learning and accountability, we need to look beyond project logic and focus on changes in relation to our target groups. The question to ask is not ‘What did we achieve?’ but rather ‘What has changed in relation to our efforts?’

Indicators which are designed to verify outcomes – or expected changes – are different from those designed to understand impact. As impact assessments should be able to capture both the expected and the unexpected, as well as the positive and negative changes that are taking place, impact indicators should be seen more as ‘areas of enquiry’ or a focus for asking open-ended questions, rather than the more closed tick-box type of indicator which is used to prove that the expected change has taken place. Impact indicators which are not developed with input from stakeholders and partners are unlikely to be relevant to them. While the majority of impact indicators are likely to capture qualitative information, this information can be converted into quantitative data using score cards and ranking systems.

The following recommendations are key to developing effective impact assessment processes.

Planning for impact

1. Encourage the development of an organisational Theory of Change, and develop a few broad dimensions of change that will inform the direction of impact assessment areas of enquiry.
2. In relation to this, clarity about your realistic organisational ‘sphere of influence’ will encourage a more effective understanding about where impact can be measured and/or assessed; and where changes can be illustrated but not directly attributed to your organisational efforts.
3. Work to build the assessment of impact into existing planning, monitoring and evaluation policies and systems. Build ‘change questions’ into existing reporting formats and processes. Collecting and collating this ‘emerging impact’ will prove invaluable both for developing rolling baselines and for adapting programme plans to suit changing needs.
4. Ensure stakeholder input in all stages of design and development of impact assessment processes.
5. Consider using Outcome Mapping when planning interventions with partners, networks and coalitions.
6. Coordinate impact assessment broadly across all programmes and interventions

Gathering data

7. Use a few tried and tested methods (which allow for triangulation) over complex or innovative and untested ones that are not clearly understood at field level.

8. Involve stakeholders in gathering information. Build their capacity to do this effectively.

Reporting

9. Use findings widely and creatively for improved impact of impact assessments (case studies, stories of change, YouTube videos, plays etc. to communicate messages to stakeholders, to advocate for change, to raise funds, to build coalitions of interest, to report to donors etc)

The integration of impact assessment into initiatives to eliminate child labour would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the effects of our work in the communities concerned and thus help to render future interventions more useful in opening up opportunities for thriving cocoa growing communities to develop, communities where children and young people can reach their potential and a sustainable cocoa supply chain can evolve.

Emerging good practices

ICI's 2009 Ghana evaluation

The evaluation was coordinated by two independent development consultants. One had previous experience evaluating a number of programmes combating child labour in West Africa and the other had considerable knowledge of child labour and agriculture in Ghana and of the ICI programme. A document review and key informant interviews were carried out alongside a participatory process of assessment of community and district level activities. Representatives of implementing partners, local authority staff, and community members took part in a short training workshop before splitting into small teams to visit selected communities to discuss the programme. Findings were shared at the end of the visits and presented to a stakeholders meeting in Accra, thus providing an opportunity to gather further information and points of view.

C *Criteria for emerging good practice*

C **Participation of the people concerned**

For the evaluation of the work at community level small research teams made up of community, local authority and implementing partner representatives visited 15 communities, selected to represent a cross section of all communities covered by the programme. Each small team spent two days in each of three communities, working largely with groups of children, leaders, men, women and teachers using participatory tools and complementary information from school and local authority records. Teams were organised so that no-one

visited their own community or a community where they worked. At community level 455 men, 422 women, 467 boys and 400 girls between 9 and 17 and over 100 teachers took part in the evaluation, in addition to the research teams.

Ⓢ Demonstrable positive impact on child labour

This type of evaluation is formative as well as summative in that it enables findings to feed directly into the communities concerned through the discussions and analysis taking place during the evaluation, as well as influencing the future of the programme. It builds the confidence and capacity of the research teams to monitor change in their communities and collect information to advocate for their needs and rights. It facilitates ongoing reflection and is thus likely to contribute to reducing child labour to the degree to which this is seen to be in the best interests of the children and their families.

Ⓢ Addresses underlying causes

This type of evaluation empowers the research teams to assess and review their activities and make any changes required to meet project objectives – it tries to reflect a model of intervention that puts key local actors in charge of decisions that affect their lives and work. The model could be developed to incorporate regular exchange visits between all programme communities and groups within these communities as an ongoing process of peer review.

Ⓢ Capacity development

This evaluation approach builds capacity for advocacy and the presentation to national level stakeholders of findings about changes in cocoa growing communities by members of the communities concerned. It provided an opportunity to raise sensitive issues such as the adjustment of scales at the point of sale which reduces farmers' cocoa revenue.

Ⓢ Non discrimination/broad shared benefits

A participatory evaluation which draws on a range of people to make up a gender balanced research team is likely to have more representative overall findings and ongoing broad shared benefits and than one carried out solely by an external expert. Results were shared with all stakeholders and key points more widely published using web site and ICI newsletter, thus promoting shared learning.

Ⓢ Coordinated action/interdependency

The approach encourages coordinated action linking community, local government and implementing partner representatives in a common endeavour, building on existing relationships and opening the door to the develop-

ment of new opportunities and better understanding of each others roles and responsibilities.

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Since those carrying out the evaluation are closely involved in implementing the project, the evaluation findings will be owned by those in positions to integrate them into future actions, thus contributing to more sustainable change.

Conclusions & Sources

Conclusions

Since international attention was drawn to child labour in cocoa production around the year 2000 many interventions have been made and continue to be made. Numerous research studies have been carried out and a number of lessons have been learned, the chief of which being that eliminating child labour in West African cocoa growing communities is not a quick fix and requires long term development planning with the active involvement of the communities concerned, systemic changes in the cocoa supply chain and considerable investment.

It is also evident that child labour in cocoa farming cannot be effectively addressed in isolation but requires an integrated approach at all levels. That is to say that in cocoa growing communities all forms of child labour require attention and at national level programmes to tackle child labour in cocoa production need to be an integral part of overall child labour elimination policy and practice – and thus managed or coordinated from national Child Labour Units. National strategies for child labour elimination, poverty reduction and the promotion of education and decent work need to be understood as inter-dependent parts of the development process. If specific interest groups such as the chocolate industry can begin to understand this, they have the potential to play a even more significant and effective role in creating national environments conducive to the elimination of child labour.

A range of programmes and projects are working at community, local authority, national and international levels, initiated by government, the cocoa industry, UN bodies, development agencies and NGOs. Indications are that in the communities where interventions take place more children are in school, there is greater understanding of the concept and dangers of child labour and a significant decrease in the numbers of children involved in hazardous activities. Measures to improve livelihoods and access to investment are effective but too few and far between. With access to information and opportunities for training and education communities are increasingly taking measures to enhance the well being of their children and implementing strategies to improve their lives. However there are still many communities that are untouched by any project or programme and in these communities change is much slower.

It is universally recognised that eliminating child labour and access to relevant good quality educational provision need to be addressed together. Attention is focussed on the important area of primary education but we should not forget that increased primary enrolment and retention means increased demand for secondary education. Alongside the acknowledged importance of developing the formal education system is the pressing need to provide relevant non formal education and technical and vocational training for young people and adults who have either dropped out of or never been to school. There are exciting initiatives to develop and improve agricultural methods, link

business and life skills with micro-finance opportunities and explore alternative and improved livelihoods and these need to be given higher priority and extended to reach more communities.

Farmers are not yet fully exploiting their potential to act together as members of worker's cooperatives and unions. This self-organisation needs to be facilitated and supported since it is one way that this significant group of producers can play an effective role in identifying, expressing and advocating for their needs and rights as part of the cocoa supply chain and as citizens of increasingly democratic societies. Cocoa producers have economic power and can use this responsibly and effectively to enhance the future of their children. Cocoa producing communities have considerable voting power that can influence government policies. Ultimately a child labour free and sustainable cocoa supply chain entails a change in existing power structures and dynamics and intervening organisations need to recognise and be willing to work with this reality – otherwise we are only tinkering.

Too little attention is given to the knowledge, know how and cultural strengths of cocoa growing and other rural communities. "Cultural practices" are often cited as factors contributing to child labour but we rarely see reference to or acknowledgement of the many cultural practises that enhance the wellbeing of individuals and communities. This reinforces the idea that local cultures are generally negative, to the extent that some implementing organisations actually seem to believe this, as opposed to seeing the richness and diversity of different cultures as one of the principal resources of humanity. This is not to deny that damaging practices exist, but to stress the need for development processes that enable communities to build on their strengths and feel good about themselves and who they are, as a strategy for supporting the change process of analysis, reflection and decision making. Effective and sustainable development processes require mutual respect and understanding. This applies equally to the international community, which needs to tread gently, recognising that the effectiveness of interventions supported by its power and resources depends on the capacity to listen to and reflect on the messages or voices from the grass roots – the only way to understand community perceptions of reality. This means greater pragmatism, more creativity and less "one size" fits all mechanical implementation of standard theories and approaches.

We are in the early stages of learning how to consolidate and scale up community led change processes based on the building blocks of initiatives linked to education, livelihoods and governance. This requires an enabling environment with child welfare and child protection strategies embedded in wider national development processes defined in well resourced government policies and programmes. We have seen that this requires coordination, collaboration and cooperation between the many agencies, organisations and bodies

concerned, including, and perhaps especially, those working at international levels. Such coordination, collaboration and cooperation encourage shared learning which contributes to greater efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability. Thus it is important to look at how interventions are implemented (the processes) as well as what is actually done at all stages of project design, implementation and evaluation.

West Africa as a whole is undergoing a process of democratisation and decentralisation and strategies to end child labour need to be part of this, to benefit from it and contribute to it.

Clearly this kind of change process also requires peace – particularly poignant at the time of writing when the immediate future for Côte d’Ivoire looks so bleak.

This guide to emerging good practice has tried to highlight some of the interventions contributing to the move towards child labour free cocoa growing communities in West Africa. It has raised a number of questions for ongoing debate and made some tentative suggestions. It does not claim to be a definitive and exhaustive guide since it has only been possible to work with the available information and new interventions appear all the time. It ends with many thanks to all those who have contributed in any way – too many to mention individually – and in the hope of having made a small contribution to the thriving West African cocoa growing communities of tomorrow.

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