



NORC Final Report: Assessing Progress in Reducing Child Labor in Cocoa Production in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana

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October 27th 2020

Funding

Funding for this report was provided by the U.S. Department of Labor under Cooperative Agreement number IL-28104-15-75-K-17. One hundred percent of the total costs of the project or program is financed with federal funds, for a total of \$3,458,681.00 dollars. The statements found in the report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the U.S. government.

- **Project background**
 - Harkin-Engel Protocol
 - Previous Survey rounds

Objective 1:

- Conduct a representative survey during the 2018-2019 cocoa harvest season.
- Develop population estimates for the prevalence of working children, child labor, and the worst forms of child labor in the cocoa growing areas of Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.
- Use those estimates to measure changes in the prevalence of the worst forms of child labor compared to data collected in these same areas in previous rounds.

Sample Size and Surveys

2,809 household head surveys

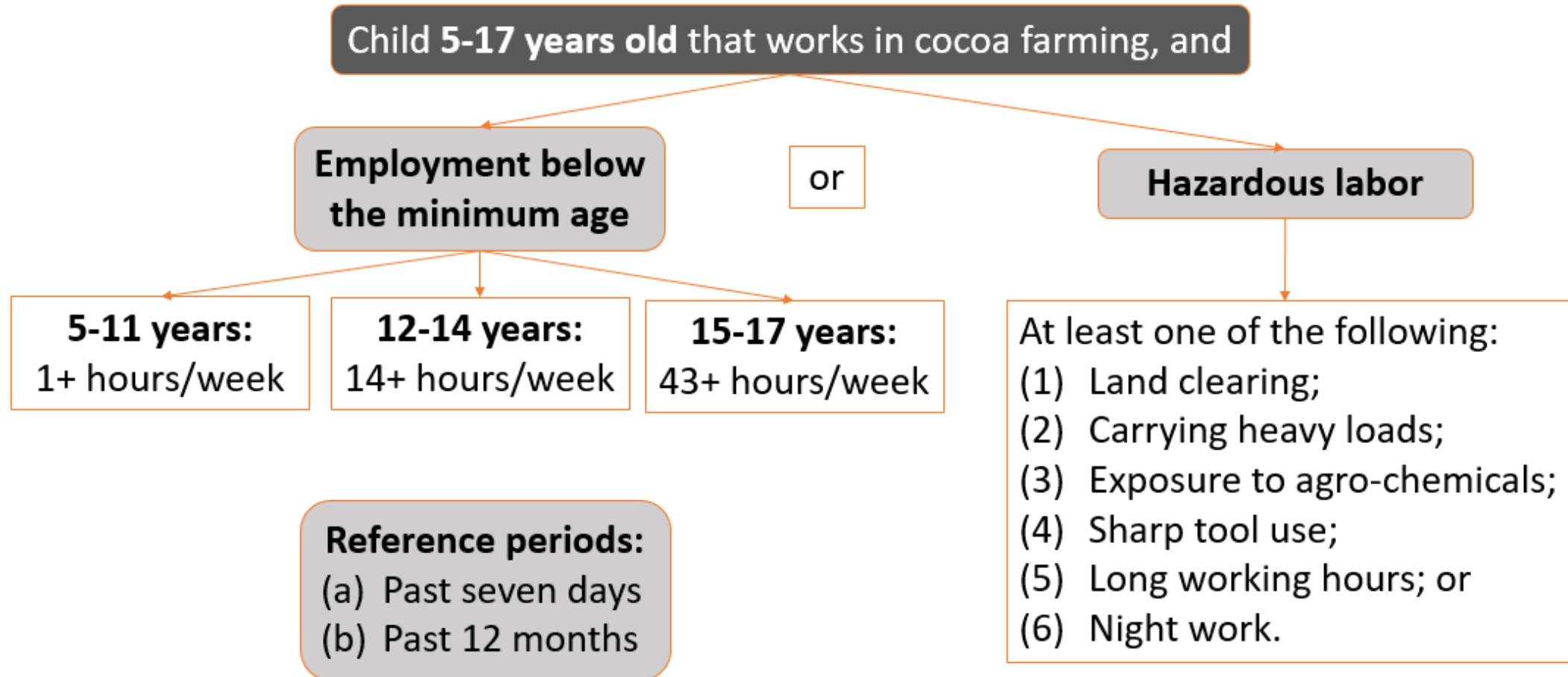
5,543 child surveys

158 community surveys

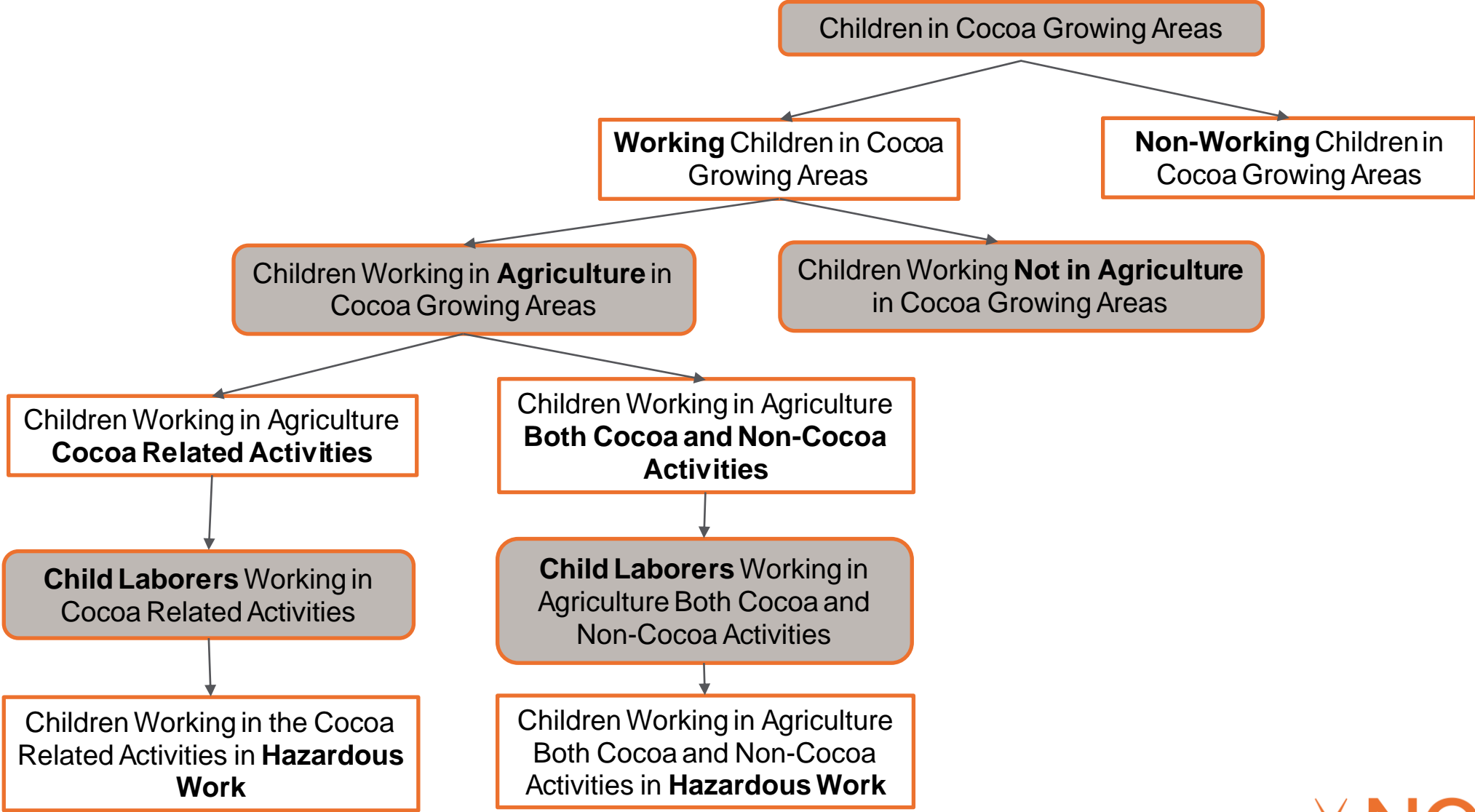
372 cocoa shed surveys

260 school surveys

Definitions – Child Labor and Hazardous Child Labor



Definitions – Child Labor and Hazardous Child Labor



- The statistics in the report are split into two segments; 2008/09-2018/19 comparisons for **agricultural households** and 2013/14-2018/19 for **cocoa growing households**.
 - 2008/09-2018/19 – **Historic Trends (All agricultural households)**
 - 2013/14-2018/19 – **Recent Trends (Cocoa growing households)**

Agricultural vs. Cocoa Growing Households

Table 1: Distribution of Sample*: Agricultural Households, Cocoa Growing Households and Non-Cocoa Growing Agricultural Households, in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, 2018/19

	Total	Côte d'Ivoire	Ghana
All agricultural households	18,058	8,858	9,200
Number of cocoa growing households	15,528	7,547	7,981
Percentage of cocoa growing households	86%	85%	87%
Number of non-cocoa growing agricultural households	2,530	1,311	1,219
Percentage of non-cocoa growing agricultural households	14%	15%	13%

High Level Findings

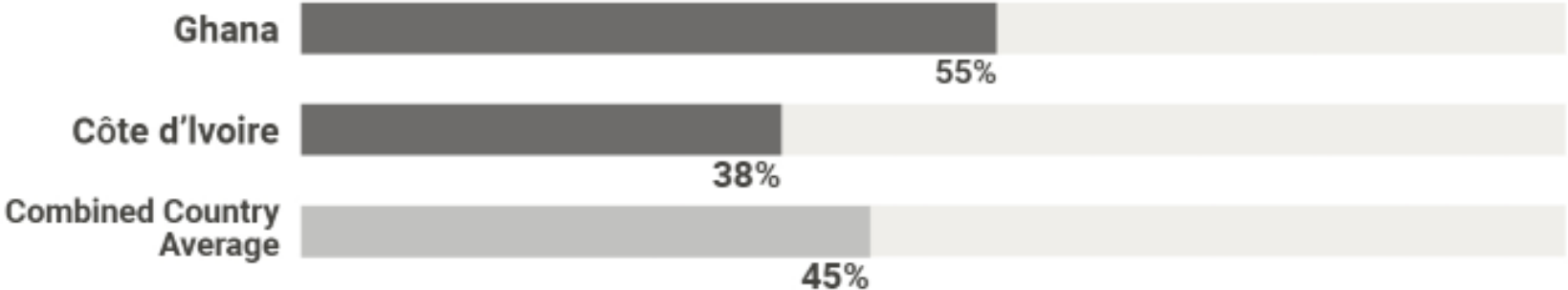
- **Child Labor - 1.56 million children**
 - 790,000 children in Côte d'Ivoire
 - 770,000 children in Ghana.
- **Hazardous Child Labor -1.48 million children**
 - 770,000 children in Côte d'Ivoire
 - 710,000 children in Ghana

Prevalence of Child Labor and Hazardous Child Labor – 2018/19

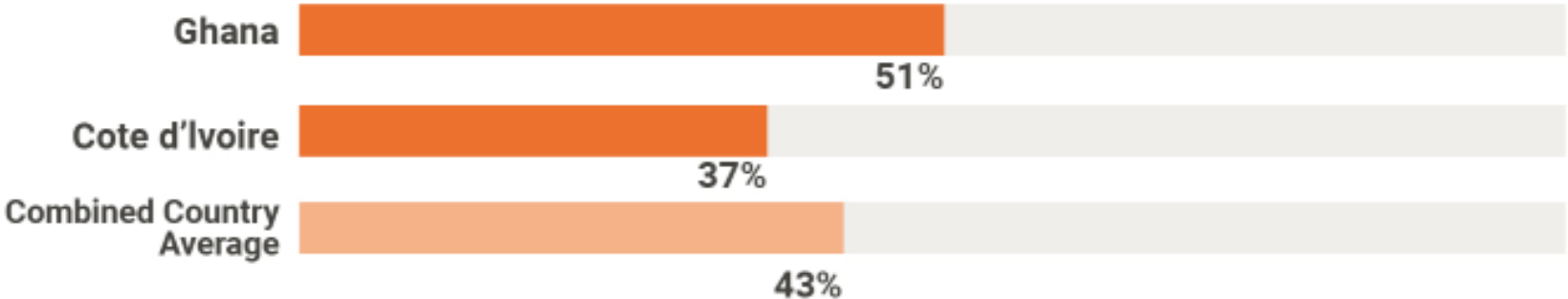
2018/19:
SNAPSHOT

Prevalence of Child & Hazardous Child Labor Rates in Cocoa Production by Country

CHILD LABOR



HAZARDOUS CHILD LABOR



Historic Trends in Cocoa Production and Prevalence

2008/09-2018/19:
HISTORIC TRENDS

Percent Increase of Cocoa Production



Increase in Child Labor and Hazardous Child Labor Rates between 2008/09 and 2018/19 (in Percentage Point (PP)).



Cocoa Production Stratum - Data

2008/09-2018/19:
HISTORIC TRENDS

**“Change in Prevalence Rate of Child Labor Across
Production Stratum in Percentage point (PP)”**

Stable
High Production
Areas

16^{PP} 
Medium Production
Areas

27^{PP} 
Low Production
Areas

Summary: Children in Hazardous Work in Cocoa Production (cont.)

- **Exposure to hazardous work increased in the areas classified as medium and low cocoa producing areas.**
- Prevalence rate of exposure to hazardous work in areas classified as:
 - High producing area, remained stable at around 44% in aggregate
 - Medium producing area, increased from 33% to 46% in aggregate
 - Low producing area, increased from 6% to 32% in aggregate


Summary of Findings and Potential Interplay of Factors

- Interventions aimed at reducing hazardous work primarily focused on the areas where production was high.
- Not many interventions were implemented in the low/medium cocoa producing areas and communities that are relatively new in cocoa farming.



Thank you.

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Component parts of Hazardous Child Labor in Cocoa Production

■ Most common types of hazards

- Use of Sharp tools (e.g. machetes/long cutlasses, harvesting hook, knife, handling motorized equipment or machines)
- Carrying heavy loads (e.g. loads of cocoa beans, load of wood, water)
- Exposure to agro-chemicals (e.g. spraying, carrying water for spraying, working with agro-chemicals, being present or working in the vicinity of farm during pesticide spraying)
- Undertaking land clearing (e.g. felling and chopping, or burning of field)

■ Current exposure to hazards

Children's Current Exposure to the Most Common Hazards Related to Cocoa Production:



36%

Sharp Tools



29%

Carrying Heavy Loads



24%

Agro-chemicals



19%

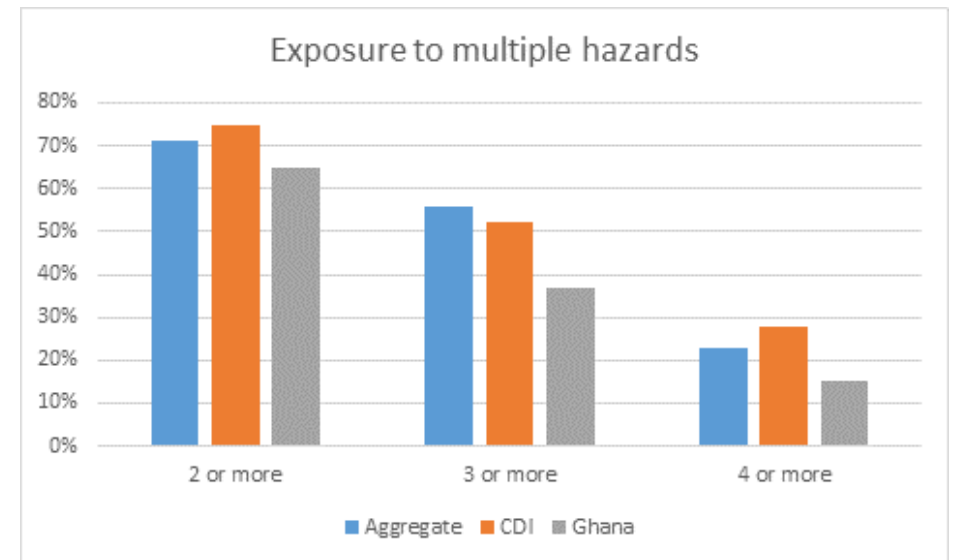
Land Clearing Activities

Component parts of Hazardous Child Labor in Cocoa Production

- **Trend in change in exposure (2008/19-2018/19)**
 - Agro-chemicals exposure increased between 2008/09-2018/19 from **5% to 24% in aggregate.**
 - Exposure to other component parts increased as well, but by a much smaller extent, approximately between **6 to 8 percentage points.**
 - Similar trend in each country with increase in exposure to agro-chemical product
- Usage of agro-chemical products (both, percent using and expenditure per-ton of cocoa produced) among cocoa growing households increased significantly between 2013/14 – 2018/19.

Exposure to Multiple Hazards in Cocoa Production

- Gauging incidence of exposure to multiple hazards is important.
 - Exposure to 4 or more hazards increased between 2008/09-2018/19
 - Those exposed to hazardous work became increasingly vulnerable.
- Need identification and targeting of households with children vulnerable to multiple hazards.



Assessment of Intervention Effectiveness

Objective 2: Assessment of Intervention Effectiveness

- **Conduct an assessment of effectiveness of different types of interventions**
 - Explore overall effectiveness, achievements, lessons learned, and sustainability of interventions using a mixed-methods approach.
- Assessed thematic areas rather than individual projects.

- Addressed a set of research questions using a mixed-methods approach that combines:
 - Quantitative analysis of survey and intervention data, and
 - Qualitative data collected from Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews of different stakeholders.

Intervention Efficacy: Quantitative Analysis

- Used quasi-experimental method to assess
 - Impact of implementation of multiple interventions in a community
 - Impact of a specific type of interventions (educational material assistance, livelihood support, occupational safety and health (OSH) training).
- Based on rigorous statistical analysis of 2018/19 round survey data and intervention data from implementers.

Intervention Efficacy: Quantitative Analysis

- Evaluating impact of **any one type of intervention is** methodologically challenging requiring a large sample size to detect impact.
- Most of the stakeholders implemented not only a particular category, **rather multiple complementary interventions together to generate greater impact.**
- **Assess the impact of multiple types of interventions** implemented by the partners in a community.

Quantitative Assessment: Impact of Multiple Intervention

- **Assess if implementation of complementary interventions in communities led to lower prevalence**
- **Based on data collected from Côte d'Ivoire** (sample size for Ghana was too small for undertaking the analysis of impact of multiple interventions).
- **Used statistical matching and multivariate regression analysis** to control for the household, community, and school characteristics that are expected to influence children's engagement in child labor and in hazardous child labor in a household.

Intervention Efficacy: Findings of Quantitative Analysis: Multiple Intervention

- Multiple interventions in a community led to a statistically significant reduction in the prevalence of child labor and hazardous child labor in cocoa production
 - Households in treatment communities were **25 percentage points less likely to have at least one child engaged in child labor** and
 - **28 percentage points less likely to have at least one child engaged in hazardous child labor** than the households from comparison communities.

Intervention Efficacy: Findings of Quantitative Analysis: Multiple Intervention

- Multiple interventions in a community led to a statistically significant reduction in the prevalence of child labor and hazardous child labor in cocoa production
 - **The rate of child labor among households in treatment communities was 17 percentage points lower** than those in the comparison communities.
 - **The rate of hazardous child labor among households in treatment communities was 17 percentage points lower** than those in the comparison communities.


Intervention Efficacy: Findings of Quantitative Analysis

- Significant efforts through implementation of multiple complementary interventions in a community led to a lower prevalence of child labor and hazardous child labor in cocoa production.
 - Less than 50% **had ANY intervention**
 - Less than 25% **had 4 or more intervention**
 - **Very few communities (<15%) received most categories of intervention.**
- Addressing child labor in cocoa requires scaling up of such interventions in the high, low and medium production stratum.

- **Understand intervention efficacy on incidence of facing multiple hazard and high-frequency hazards by children.**
- **Assess whether statistical model based identification and targeting of households with vulnerable children lead to more effective outcomes in reducing exposure to multiple hazards.**



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Qualitative Objective

- Assess overall effectiveness and sustainability of interventions
- Identify social norms and nuanced conditions of child labor practices
- Develop possible explanations for observed trends and variances in quantitative data
- Collect perspectives from intervention beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries, and community members, in their own words
- Identify success stories and opportunities for improved implementation

Key Findings

- Child labor is dynamic and complex: affected by geographic, gendered, and social factors
- Community knowledge of child labor has improved, while attitudes and practices continue to lag
- Messaging around child labor must be tailored to community context, and supplemented with other intervention activities
- Local stakeholder engagement is critical to informed design, intervention effectiveness, and sustainability

Qualitative Overview

- Focus groups with beneficiary and non-beneficiary:
 - Children and youth
 - Caregivers
- In-depth interviews with beneficiary and non-beneficiary:
 - Community leaders
 - Teachers
- Key informant interviews with program implementers, government stakeholders, and donors

Summary Findings

Awareness Campaigns

- Awareness campaigns have improved knowledge around child labor, especially hazardous labor, but limited change in attitudes and practices around child labor
- Caregivers viewed awareness campaigns more favorably when messaging is focused on the health implications of engaging children in child labor, rather than punitive measures for parents who engage their children in cocoa production activities

Awareness Campaign Messaging

*They said that a child who is not up to the age of 18, someone from 5 years – 15 years, if you let that child carry a bag full of farm produce **the police can arrest you** because it is a form of child labor...**I then decided that I will not do it for the police to arrest me** so I adhere to the advice that the child is giving me so for me I know it has helped me. Caregiver, Ghana, Female*

*First there was a community relay, which was formed against **the worst forms of child labor**. So we were sensitized, and also in training we are told not to use children, that's it! We change because... the weight that the child bears is more than his own strength. **So the child can get sick**. But today, these diseases no longer affect children, so we are still evolving, really it's good. Caregiver, Côte d'Ivoire, Male*

- Boys reported more engagement in cocoa production activities, including sharp tool and agrochemical use
- Girls reported more engagement with auxiliary activities, including fetching water and caring for younger children

Child Labor Practices & Education

- Children perceived working in cocoa as a way to support their families and help caregivers manage education-related costs

“When they sell the cocoa they can support your education with the proceeds.” Beneficiary child, Côte d’Ivoire, Male

“When I think about the fact that my mother will give me money she gets from harvesting the cocoa for school it makes me happy.” Beneficiary child, Ghana, Male

“When I help my mother to pick and gather the cocoa she gives me money for my school fees.” Non-beneficiary child, Ghana, Male

School-Based Interventions

The parent themselves must go to the field. If there is class, the child stays in school, and [the parent] knows that his child is safe with the teachers. But if he leaves him alone in the village, he does not know what his child is doing behind him. So, to be able to have an eye on their child, they prefer to go with them to the field. Primary School Teacher, Côte d'Ivoire

- Improved access to schooling, improved infrastructure, and the provision of school materials contributed to increases in school attendance

We used to fetch water at a longer distance but now we have water in our school, and we can access water easily. Beneficiary Child, Ghana, Female

School Feeding Programs

- Teachers attribute improved performance in school, and rates of attendance among children in beneficiary communities to school feeding programs:

It has really helped the children because before the school feeding started, the class is always bored after 12pm because the children are hungry. The introduction of the school feeding has helped the children to concentrate for the last lesson after they have eaten. It has also encouraged more children to attend school because most of the children were not coming to school due to their parents not giving them pocket money. Primary School Teacher, Ghana

The canteen has helped a lot. It is undeniable that when there is food, it stabilizes the children. So even at noon, when they have eaten here, they don't even find it important to go home. Before, they would go home and did not come back. Primary School Teacher, Côte d'Ivoire

- Unavailability of protective gear affected application of OSH training
- Changes in occupational safety practices were more often reported by boys than girls
- The application of occupational safety training was more likely to be among youth whose caregivers received similar training around OSH

- Households receiving GAP trainings reported:
 - Reduced costs associated with pest and disease management
 - More consistent agro-chemical use
 - Labor-savings practices that reduced the amount of time children spent on farms assisting parents –

With what they taught us concerning how to plant inline, we were able to do these things easier and faster on our own without engaging the children. Beneficiary caregiver, Côte d'Ivoire, Male

- Communities participating in Village Savings and Loan Association (VSLA) programs reported:
 - Improved access to agricultural financing
 - Improved ability to hire day laborers to support farming activities

Yes, [my child's] time in the farm reduced because I was able to hire laborers instead of using the kids, so the children were not always going to the farm. Beneficiary caregiver, Ghana, Male

Beneficiary & Community Ownership Facilitates Effectiveness

- Interventions that promote beneficiary participation in planning and implementation were most effective
 - Community-funded supplements to sponsored interventions facilitated increased impact and efficacy of school-based interventions.
 - Child protection and monitoring committees were critical to amplifying messages promoted by awareness-raising efforts
 - Engaging existing leadership within community structures (faith leaders, youth leaders, and women leaders) helped to promote awareness-raising efforts in a personalized manner
- Interventions that took a top-down approach were less effective, and less likely to gain buy-in from community members

Intervention Coordination Facilitates Effectiveness

- Community leaders, implementers, and government officials report interventions conducting similar activities within the same community
 - Most pronounced in activities promoting livelihood services
- NGOs should work more closely with local authorities and one another to mobilize resources, avoid duplication, and increase intervention activity reach

Sustainability

- School-based interventions:
 - Community resource mobilization to supplement material support
 - Opportunity for collective conversations and trainings with caregivers on child wellbeing
- Child protection committees
 - Facilitate community-specific messaging around child labor
- National plans of action and steering communities on child labor:
 - Promote dialogue on effective and ineffective methods of child labor prevention and remediation

- Incorporate awareness-raising efforts into other activities to support farmers
- More material investment in income-generating activity interventions
- Careful consideration of the types of activities that can generate income within the community

The people from [Implementer] taught us to make soap. If all of us are doing the soap who will buy from someone? Community leader, Ghana


Promoting Sustainability

- Engage community leaders, including representatives for women and youth early in the design of the intervention to ensure that objectives and implementation plans are realistic and relevant to the community
- Create open and early relationships with government partners at national and regional levels was key to enabling government actors are well-positioned to move intervention activities forward
- Maintain and participate in national action plans and steering committees on child labor and child protection



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