IPEC Evaluation

West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project to combat Hazardous and Exploitative child labour (WACAP)

P.34000100050 - RAF/00/51/USA

An independent mid-term project evaluation by a team of external consultants

Final report: August 2005
NOTE ON THE EVALUATION PROCESS AND REPORT

This independent evaluation was managed by ILO-IPEC’s Design, Evaluation and Documentation Section (DED) following a consultative and participatory approach. DED has ensured that all major stakeholders were consulted and informed throughout the evaluation and that the evaluation was carried out to the highest degree of credibility and independence and in line with established evaluation standards.

The evaluation was carried out by a team of external consultants. The field mission took place in March 2005. The opinions and recommendations included in this report are those of the authors and as such serve as an important contribution to learning and planning without necessarily constituting the perspective of the ILO or any other organization involved in the project.

This evaluation includes an annex (n° 5) with a selection of substantial comments made to the draft report and the response provided by the evaluation team. This has been included with the agreement of all major stakeholders to illustrate some of the major debates provoked by the evaluation and the intervention of ILO-IPEC to eliminate child labour in the cocoa sector.

Funding for this project evaluation was provided by the United States Department of Labor. This report does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

* John Krijnen and Charles Tesar (international consultants), with support from Blaise Nkamleu, Konaté Sékou, Charles Bamfo, Immanuel Tettey and Augustin Broh (national consultants).
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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ANAPROCI</td>
<td>Association Nationale des Producteurs de Cacao-Café de Côte d’Ivoire</td>
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<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>Action Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>APSO</td>
<td>Action Program Summary Outline</td>
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<td>BPS</td>
<td>Baseline Producers Surveys</td>
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<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organisation</td>
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<td>CCLC</td>
<td>Community Child Labour Committee</td>
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<td>CDI</td>
<td>Côte d’Ivoire</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDEP</td>
<td>Centre for the Development of People (Ghana)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEPIC</td>
<td>Coopérative d’Epargne et d’Investissements des Chrétiens</td>
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<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>CLMS</td>
<td>Child Labour Monitoring System</td>
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<td>CLU</td>
<td>Child Labour Unit</td>
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<td>COCOBOD</td>
<td>Ghana Cocoa Board</td>
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<td>CONAPROCAM</td>
<td>Confédération Nationale des Producteurs de Cacao du Cameroun</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPC</td>
<td>Country Project Coordinator</td>
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<td>CS</td>
<td>Community Survey</td>
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<td>CTA</td>
<td>Chief Technical Advisor</td>
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<td>DCLC</td>
<td>District Child Labour Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIGNITE</td>
<td>Ivorian Trade Union</td>
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<td>EIB</td>
<td>Employment Information Branch (Ghana)</td>
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<td>EPA</td>
<td>External Payment Authorization</td>
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<td>EPAG</td>
<td>Environmental Protection Agency of Ghana</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organisation (UN)</td>
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<td>FEMAD</td>
<td>NGO from CDI</td>
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<td>FENTEDCAM</td>
<td>Fédération Nationale des Syndicats des Travailleurs au Cameroun</td>
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<td>FFS</td>
<td>Farmer Field School</td>
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<td>FOB</td>
<td>Free-on-Board</td>
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<td>FRADE</td>
<td>NGO from Guinea</td>
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<td>GAWU</td>
<td>General Agriculture Workers’ Union (Ghana)</td>
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<td>GIG</td>
<td>Global Issues Group</td>
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<td>IA</td>
<td>Implementing agency</td>
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<td>ICES</td>
<td>Integrated Centers for Employment Skills (Ghana)</td>
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<td>ICI</td>
<td>International Cocoa Initiative</td>
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<td>ICLP</td>
<td>International Child Labour Program (USDOL)</td>
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<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Computer Technology</td>
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<td>IITA</td>
<td>International Institute for Tropical Agriculture</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<td>ILO-COOP</td>
<td>Cooperative Department of the ILO</td>
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<td>IPEC</td>
<td>International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour</td>
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<td>KAP</td>
<td>Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices</td>
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<tr>
<td>LUTRENA</td>
<td>Lutte Contre le Travail des Enfants en Afrique de l’Ouest et Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Mini Program</td>
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<td>MTR</td>
<td>Mid-Term Review</td>
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<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Steering Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>OFSAD</td>
<td>Organisation des Femmes pour la Santé, la Sécurité Alimentaire et le Développement (Cameroon)</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSH</td>
<td>Occupational Safety and Health</td>
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<td>PTAC</td>
<td>Project Technical Advisory Committee</td>
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<td>PWS</td>
<td>Producers/Workers Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>REDEF</td>
<td>Resource Development Foundation (Cameroon)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SABOU</td>
<td>NGO from Guinea (initially working with street children)</td>
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<td>SIMPOC</td>
<td>Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMART</td>
<td>Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPCIA</td>
<td>Société de Production et de Commercialisation d’Intrants Agricoles (Guinea)</td>
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<td>SPIF</td>
<td>Strategic Program Impact Framework</td>
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<td>STCP</td>
<td>Sustainable Tree Crop Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>TFU</td>
<td>Tonikoko Farmers Union (Nigeria)</td>
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ILO-IPEC Evaluation Report

UCL/COPICO  Coopérative des producteurs ivoiriens de café-cacao
UGTCI      Union Générale des Travailleurs de Côte d'Ivoire
UNDP        United Nations Development Program
UNICEF    United Nations Children’s Fund
USAID      United States Agency for International Development
USDOL     United States Department of Labor
USTG      Union Syndicale des Travailleurs de Guinée
WACAP    West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child Labour
WFCL    Worst Forms of Child Labour
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The evaluation team is grateful to ILO and ILO/IPEC staff in Geneva and Yaoundé for their cooperation and support. Anh Ly, Beatrice Fri Bimé, Roger Kalonon Yassy, Rita Owusu – Amankwaah, and support staff thanks for your hospitality and full cooperation. We apologize to Nadine Assemien Koffi and Godson Ogbuji that we could not visit your countries and thank you for traveling to Accra to share your experiences. We were impressed by your commitment. We also would like to express our gratitude to the national consultants, who accompanied us in the field and whose reports have given more depth to our birds-eye view. Thank you so much Blaise Nkamleu, Konaté Sékou, Charles Bamfo, Immanuel Tettey and Augustin Broh. Your collective effort has made this mission into another interesting learning experience. Thanks to you all for your openness, frankness, perfect organization and kind hospitality.

We would like to address a special word of thanks to interviewed resource persons, host governments, staff of implementing agencies and partners. Wherever we met, you found time and energy to patiently answer our questions. We equally would like to express our appreciation to cocoa producers and children who convinced us of their eagerness for better education access and quality and that the problem of child labour is not any longer a taboo.

Last but not least, we wish to express our thanks to Deepa Ramesh and Brad Stilwell, as well as to Jeffrey Morgan, for representing the donors.

We wish you all the best in your future endeavours to make this world a more knowledgeable and child labour free place.

Whereas the evaluation report is written in a positive spirit, by necessity it equally has presented several conclusions in a negative tone. Our intent is that be used as a constructive document since WACAP merits successful implementation. We accept full responsibility for any factual discrepancies that may have slipped into our observations.

Geneva – Austin
15th August 2005

John F. A. Krijnen
Charles J. Tesar
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. BACKGROUND

Following extensive media exposure in mid-2000 of the alleged use of slaves as labourers in hazardous conditions on cocoa plantations in West Africa, representatives of the cocoa industry met with international organizations, government officials, trade unions, consumer groups and non-governmental organizations to develop a strategy to address the problem of child Labour. This resulted, in September 2001, in the elaboration of a protocol to eliminate the worst forms of child Labour (WFCL) from the cocoa and chocolate sector in West Africa. The protocol was witnessed by two U.S. Senators, a member of the US House of Representatives, the Ambassador of Côte d’Ivoire, ILO-IPEC and other stakeholders. The protocol contains key action elements: (based on ILO convention C.182, Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the WFCL, 1999) (1) to establish a joint action program to eliminate the WFCL in the growing and processing of cocoa, (2) to create the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) working towards responsible Labour standards in cocoa growing, and (3) to establish by July 1, 2005 a public certification system, verifying that cocoa has been grown without use of the worst forms of child Labour.

In line with the protocol, ILO/IPEC was invited to design and implement the West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child Labour (WACAP). WACAP formally started in September 2002 and is to be executed until January 2006. A no-cost extension until April 2006 has been requested by ILO-IPEC. The project is managed by ILO/IPEC and funded by the U.S. Department of Labor (USD 5 million), with an additional contribution from the chocolate industry’s Global Issues Group, through the International Confectionary Association (USD 1 million). The operation is intended to complement parallel efforts undertaken by the cocoa/chocolate industry in the field of environmental protection, improvement of agricultural production and marketing, and promoting socially, economically and environmentally sound cocoa growing. The most notable of these efforts is the USAID-financed Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP), implemented by the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA). STCP operates in the same countries as WACAP, namely Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria. WACAP equally collaborates with other ILO/IPEC programs to combat child labour and trafficking in the region.

WACAP is rooted in ILO/IPEC’s standard model of intervention, which for WACAP, contains five mutually supporting components: (1) Capacity Building, (2) Social Protection, (3) Establishment of a Child Labour Monitoring System, (4) Awareness Raising/Social Mobilization and (5) Establishment of a Knowledge Base and Information System. The project’s success will depend on a well-coordinated effort to implement these components in a balanced manner. The Social Protection component for WACAP specifies the delivery of direct services to a target of 9,700 children aged below 13 years so that they may be retrieved from labour exploitation and reintegrated into formal or alternative training programs. In addition, a total of 500 families are targeted to receive benefits through programs such as training, income generation and credit. Besides the aforementioned beneficiaries, 70,000 children aged 13 to 18 years, involved in hazardous or exploitative child labour, are targeted to reduce vulnerability to exploitation and dangerous work through occupational safety and health outreach interventions. Action programs are being implemented by public and private institutions (e.g. NGO’s, public ministries and universities), and include ILO tripartite constituents (government, trade unions and employers’ organizations).

2. FINDINGS

2.1 Problem analysis, project concept and approach

The problem analysis, which draws extensively from baseline estimates of child labour that are of questionable statistical validity and merit, figures importantly in the design of the program. Here we draw attention to the limitations of baseline studies that rely extensively on limited and dated census information in five countries represented in WACAP. Based on information gleaned during the course of the evaluation, estimates of children working in cocoa fields are likely grossly under-reported
(source: IPEC/WACAP’s rapid assessments), while the extent of child exploitation in dangerous work may be exaggerated (reference: IITA studies and surveys). Despite the acquisition of much information about child labour in the cocoa industry, there remain serious and significant gaps in our understanding to the nature, extent and incidence of the phenomenon.

The project document nevertheless reflects the best information available, is informative and puts the incidence of child labour into its economic and social context. Figures on the incidence of child labour in cocoa are based on surveys that STCP/IITA conducted in 2002. These surveys highlight that children working in the worst forms of labour in cocoa production are mainly children of migrants, sharecroppers, and children without a family tie to farm owners. Other studies indicate that the overwhelming majority of children work on their own family farms. Figures from the STCP/IITA surveys appear to be incomplete and, at times, contradictory. No clear distinction is made between child workers, unconditional forms of WFCL and other hazardous forms of child labour. These surveys have not demystified the confusion on the nature and the incidence of the problem of child labour, which followed the September 2000 media coverage.

Mostly for economic reasons, millions of children, often below working age, are compelled to work either part-time or full-time, on family cocoa farms. This is done at the expense of their educational development, and physical and mental health. This phenomenon should not be confused with voluntary migration or unconditional WFCL, such as trafficking. Voluntary migration figures prominently in Nigeria (important seasonal in-country migration from the South-East to the cocoa producing areas in Ondo State) and Côte d’Ivoire (where children are drawn to cocoa plantations from neighbouring nations). The incidence of trafficking seems to be restricted (Anti-Slavery International quotes the figures from the IITA surveys), which indicate the presence of some 17,000 children without family ties. The surveys infer, with little validity, that these children are either voluntary workers or victims of trafficking.

Since educational alternatives are at the heart of WACAP’s interventions in social protection, it is regrettable that the IITA problem analysis only very roughly reflects on the quality and/or absence of public educational and vocational training services in all five nations. To the extent that children in rural settings lack access to any form of quality primary and life skills training, children have no viable alternative but to work in family endeavours. Where educational programs are provided and are within the budgetary reach of families, children tend to enrol in school and remain out of cocoa production.

A realistic time-frame appears to be missing from the project design. The current project phase appears to be a “stand-alone” operation with little consideration for follow on of activities. There is all but unanimous accord that it is highly unrealistic to assume that in such a short time-span (37 months) such ambitious project objectives can be achieved. Nevertheless, it appears that is has been tacitly assumed that the present phase will be extended, since no exit-strategy has been drawn up. This might complicate the continuation of activities, most of which were initiated very late in the operations, in case WACAP lapses in January 2006.

2.2 Implementation arrangements, administrative, financial and reporting systems

In spite of delays in the project start-up, caused by the security situation in Côte d’Ivoire and the resulting relocation of the sub-regional management unit to Ghana, the project is well on its way. Project staff at sub-regional and national levels is highly committed to the cause of WACAP. Administrative ILO arrangements, however, are exceptionally complex and delaying. The project is technically and administratively centralized. External payment authorizations are authorized by ILO/IPEC Geneva. Area Offices in Dakar (Guinea, Côte d’Ivoire), Abuja (Ghana, Nigeria) and Yaoundé (Cameroon) are actively involved in the administrative procedures. All Action Programs and other proposals are extensively reviewed and commented on from IPEC Geneva. Support has also been provided with reports to donor, and other issues. The CLMS design and consultation process had intensive IPEC HQ involvement, together with that of expert consultants. Synergy with ILO’s multidisciplinary teams mainly depends on physical proximity (e.g. excellent in Yaoundé, where WACAP shares the office premises of the ILO Sub-Regional Office).
The workflow for the approval of action programs and external payment authorizations, despite efforts to improve the process, remains unreasonably complex and lengthy. Country Coordinators and project partner NGOs have been required to reformulate action program proposals so they conform to the regulations stated in the IPEC’s Program Operations Manual. Changes in the manual have prompted major delays in the execution of programs for beneficiaries.

Project planning, monitoring and reporting absorbs considerable time and energy. From donor-side the demanding reporting requirements are justified due to the “high visibility” of the project. Although WACAP staff perceives reporting requirements to be excessive, donors justifiably feel the flow of information does not provide a comprehensive description of project activities and accomplishments.

Whereas the evaluation team was initially of the impression that delays in the implementation of action programs were caused by budgetary constraints, a budget-expenses comparison shows that funds have been under-spent. This is the consequence of several factors. In the Cote d’Ivoire, for example, the security situation and lack of fiscal controls have rendered the ILO hesitant to disburse funds in the face of civil instability. Equally, validation of country-specific baseline and OSH studies, which are critical inputs for further action, has been delayed due to the late start of the project and flaws in design and instrumentation. It may well be that the execution capacity of the very small project staff and implementing NGOs has been stretched to the maximum. This is even more so the case if one looks at their time-consuming involvement in program development, preparation and monitoring of action programs and reporting, according to demanding administrative and financial procedures.

There are differences in ownership and commitment of the Project Technical Advisory Committees between the five countries. In all participating nations, ministries of labour have been charged with leadership of PTACs. These ministries possess varying degrees of capacity; where they are strong, WACAP project advisory committees appear to play a dynamic role, and vice versa. Substantive collaborations have been observed between STCP and WACAP, especially at the planning and policy level. The two projects are represented on each other’s program advisory boards and have established an excellent cooperation in the training of master trainers of STCP Farmer Field Schools. The project document anticipated that STCP would serve as a link between WACAP project management and producers. Although the evaluation team noted collaboration between WACAP and STCP projects at the policy level, little coordination was observed in linking improved cocoa/cashew production (STCP) to Social Action schemes or Community Child Labour Monitoring Systems (WACAP). STCP management is of the opinion that its members should not get involved in the withdrawal of child labour, since their task is perceived to be a facilitating one and not a policing one. The expectation that STCP members would increase the incomes of cocoa farming families from which WACAP would withdraw and rehabilitate child labour (as a compensation of economic loss) has not materialized.

2.3 **Achievement and appraisal of project components**

Project objectives are relevant and consistent with the eradication of child labour in commercial agriculture / cocoa farming as defined by International Labour Conventions C.138, C.182 and C.184. In spite of delayed implementation, funds have been spent in an efficient and cost-effective manner. Given the scope and breadth of WACAP, good value has been obtained for relatively few resources, especially considering that the project has succeeded in placing a highly complex and daunting subject on the agenda of so many stakeholders.

The effectiveness in the implementation of the five project components is as appraised as follows:

1. **Increased awareness and social mobilization**: The training of labour inspectors, other ministerial staff, trade unions, employers’ organizations, FFS master trainers and implementing agencies has substantially contributed to an increased awareness of the problem of child labour. Around project interventions, such as action programs and child labour monitoring systems, a critical mass has been built up through which a social dialogue has been initiated on the elimination of child labour. However modest the changes in these deeply rooted practices, an attitude is developing showing that society at large recognizes the problem and perceives the need for viable alternatives.
(2) **Capacity building:** The project has succeeded in strengthening the partner organization capacities to address the issue of child labour and to plan action. Implementing NGO staff is appreciative of training by ILO/WACAP in the preparation of project proposals. For most of these organizations child labour now belongs to their core-business. WACAP has equally contributed to the preparation or implementation of national action plans for the elimination of child labour and to the furthering of legal measures. The piloting of the CLMS and the Farmer Field School child labour training (in collaboration with STCP); require mention as successful examples of capacity strengthening.

(3) **Social protection:** Overall achievement in this central thrust has been modest. Awaiting the validation of OSH studies, the project has yet to begin extending benefits to the 70,000 children to age 18 years targeted in the project document. It is probable that the modest quantitative target (9,700 children) for withdrawal/prevention and their integration into education schemes will be met before the end of this phase of the project. It was observed that in social protection action programming, the number of targeted children per village was much lower than demand. In all too many villages, support is offered to the very few children who meet criteria for assistance. A complex selection procedure used by local committees to the exclusion of an important number of children has provoked feelings of resentment, exclusion and consternation on the part of children and parents overlooked for participation in direct services. Whereas in all countries visited this was attributed to budgetary constraints, it was learnt that country budgets for social action remain under-spent.

Social protection schemes are implemented in a standardized manner, following more or less the same template in all countries. Apart from a few positive exceptions, the quality of educational alternatives, primary school or vocational skill training, appears to vary from sub-optimal to marginal. In Nigeria, classes have been reported of 300 children into whom WACAP children were “successfully integrated”. In the field the team observed multi-grade classes that surpass 90 students, with appalling teaching and learning conditions. In vocational skills training, services are mostly provided by so-called “master trainers”, who have committed themselves to accept a few youngsters as an apprentice, for a period of two to four years, without recompense for the children. As an incentive for the master, the project has provided equipment, such as sewing machines and tools. With few exceptions, instructors do not dispose of any industrial training skills. In most nations, WACAP has failed to reintegrate older students into public or NGO sponsored vocational and life skills programs, despite much potential for collaboration.

Education is at the heart of WACAP’s interventions. WACAP has begun to work with the ministries and departments of education to help them develop plans of action for improving educational quality, with a focus on the target sites and districts, but with the aim that interventions might be scaled up. In spite of these inchoate efforts, the project has had little or no impact on educational programming. In spite of multiple opportunities to collaborate with international donors such as Aide et Action, Save the Children, UNICEF and Winrock, WACAP has not advanced the adoption of innovative child-centred education, either in primary, informal/alternative, or vocational education (one notable and positive exception: cooperation with CARE Ghana). Given that most of the children will later join the family farm, and that the present educational system has no capacity for agriculture training, an opportunity is missed to extend variations of Farmer Field Schools to project target villages. A cocoa industry observer noted that WACAP has succeeded in improving opportunities for children to pass from a “bad to a futile situation.” The statement describes conditions that take children from harmful child labour to dismal and ineffective formal schooling.

(4) **Child Labour Monitoring System:** The CLMS, piloted in Ghana, at no small cost, is gaining acceptance in other WACAP nations. The system incorporates latest practices in information technology and has benefited from significant ILO support. The Ghana pilot includes working-place data of some 600 farms, on which working children have been identified. The database contains detailed individual data about working children, whereas data on the remainder are not sufficiently detailed for follow up purposes. According to the database there would be 985 beneficiaries: 544 children have been withdrawn, 277 prevented, 21 reintegrated and 143 adult members have benefited from social protection schemes. The evaluation team noted that the system is complex (far too many questions), cumbersome (too many persons at the community, district and national levels involved in collecting data) and costly to develop and pilot (US$ 518,000 budgeted for the development of the
system). At this pilot stage, the effective cost per beneficiary is in the order of US$ 525 per person. Of course, as the number of children included in the CLMS increases, costs will diminish. But even if the charges per beneficiary would be reduced by an exponential magnitude, scaling the operation of the system remains costly.

(5) Knowledge base and information: There are considerable differences in methodology, concepts and the overall quality of the rapid assessments and studies of the impact of action programs. Country-specific rapid assessments provide interesting background information which can orient future country-wise priorities, but they do not provide a valid assessment of the incidence and nature of child labour in commercial agriculture in West Africa. There has been an absence of sharing of methods and approaches in community development methods among project staff. Technical assistance extended to implementing NGOs has emphasized regulatory orientation (how to prepare proposals and budgets) rather than the more critical learning needed to design and implement innovative interventions and synergies.

(6) Special concerns: The project has not only respected the international labour codes, it has been actively promoting a better understanding of the conventions pertaining to child labour. With regards to the respect of the gender-balance, also the working girl has been given due attention, as reflected in their representation in social protection schemes. With regards to a promotion of sustainable development, there is an apparent need for ILO and FAO to work together with the concerned governments on the definition of officially probated agro-chemicals.

(7) Sustainability and scalability: The project document indicates that one of the basic mechanisms for sustaining WACAP is its integration into agriculture sector policies. This was expected to be done through linkages with STCP members, where the key for successful cooperation is defined as reducing economic pressure to employ cheap child labour. In the field, this potential for synergy has not been adequately addressed.

Interviewed stakeholders seem to be rather optimistic on their future capacity to sustain the project activities. However, given the incapacity of farmers to pay for school fees, and the modest government resources available for development, there is little cause to expect that project interventions can be sustained upon project closure, or that services are sufficiently attractive to expect a cost-sharing by the community members.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

3.1 Strategic issues and implementation arrangements

♦ Organization of a collaborative regional validation workshop of all child labour surveys and baselines, the result of which should be fed into one sample-based study on the incidence and nature of child labour in commercial agriculture. The proposed approach must take into account the absence of public finance, the paucity of census information, and the extreme isolation of large populations in each of the five nations. The process should be overseen by an organization with broad experience in the region and in social accounting for clandestine populations in resource scarce nations. Concerned institutions such as Anti-Slavery International should participate in this process.

♦ With the support of UNICEF and under the guidance of an international expert in education and vocational training, country-wise inventory of the quality of education systems should be undertaken. This inventory should address cost-effective child-centred educational alternatives for the rural areas, especially those approaches being used by international donors and specialized organizations. The expected output is the establishment of a number of joint partnerships with the later institutions for application in a limited number of model villages.

♦ Instead of pursuing the development of a certification system, the cocoa/chocolate industry might consider shifting its support to STCP, with particular reference to increased productivity and the improvement of marketing structure, both aimed at small-farms. Industry should equally be invited to contribute to the development of educational programs for WACAP that aim to prepare
children to become responsible and productive farmers. It is expected that this would have more effect on the elimination of child labour than the use of a certification system.

- ILO and its donors are invited to negotiate and develop a medium-term time-line for project implementation. The expected output is a project-cycle broken down in logical implementation steps, like model testing, monitoring and validation, scaling up, consolidation and phasing out.

- It is recommended to strengthen the national project staff in all countries with additional staff, which would have the responsibility for networking and the development of joint-partnerships with third parties involved in innovative educational programs, and with STCP members, involved in promoting productive measures.

- Mechanisms for the coordination of field activities between STCP and WACAP need to be reviewed to gear the activities of both projects to at least a limited number of model villages (see below).

- The project’s financial and program management needs to be streamlined. Where possible, workflows for operational and financial decisions need to be kept at the local level and as simple as possible.

- In view of the under-spending on action programs, it would not be wise to accelerate the project cycle and encourage implementing agencies to pursue more innovative approaches rather than repeating the same model. To prepare better quality interventions, as suggested in the present recommendations, it would be advisable to opt for a budget-neutral extension of one year.

### 3.2 Project components

- In short order, validate all OSH studies and mandate suitable implementing agencies to prepare and implement country-wide OSH outreach programs. These interventions should be implemented in the same communities where social protection schemes are being executed.

- Prioritize the development of innovative, income generating activities for adult members of the families from which children have been withdrawn/prevented. It is important to aim for good quality training in the production of marketable items. Avoid subsidizing inputs and discourage granting credit unless these services can be availed by a highly experienced credit institution.

- Fund social protection interventions that support more innovation, collaboration, enterprise and joint-partnerships. Such interventions should offer more applicable designs that, for the sake of increased commitment and local ownership, include sharing costs with communities, integrated development schemes with governments and other funding agencies.

- Select in each country a number of model villages for the implementation of a more comprehensive and integrated approach, stressing complementarities between project components and inclusiveness of all identified child labour. It is of major importance that the model village will be part of the STCP scheme and disposes of a Farmer Field School (and if not available there should be at least a producers/marketing cooperative, or an institution actively involved in agriculture extension; all should have a permanent presence in the district).

#### Proposed interventions for a model village

1. For children under working age the project components may include:
   - Identification of all child labour, (b) Withdrawal of all identified child labour and complement with those of school-age who are not attending school and placement in either formal or informal education scheme, (c) Enrichment of existing formal or informal education schemes with child-centred approaches from joint partners, with elements from FFS training and OSH outreach program. Adopt a flexible curriculum in order to accommodate children doing light field work and older students.

2. For children of legal working age, the project components may include:
   - Referral to IPEC/Trafficking project (if trafficked), (b) Placement in innovative vocational
skill training scheme, in joint-partnership with specialized institutions (if at high risk of being exploited), (c) Placement in FFS through technical assistance and OSH outreach program (if subject to health hazards only). Follow flexible timing to accommodate for continued agricultural activity. In principle all adolescents should be part of either (b) and/or (c).

3. For adult family members the project components may include:
   (a) Identification of all families from which child labour under working age has been permanently withdrawn, (b) Inclusion in FFS/other extension activities, (c) Provision of direct support for income generating activities (particularly geared to sharecroppers/migrants and self-operated small farming family members).

4. All children found working in agriculture, residing in the community up to the age of 18 years of age should be included in a simplified and affordable CLMS, which will be the responsibility of the Community Child Labour Committee, equally supervising the implementation of the social protection activities.

- The results of the model village approach should be closely coordinated and monitored by the national WACAP offices. In the meantime, the other social protection schemes should continue. A comparison of qualitative results between the approaches should provide valuable insight into the validity of ILO/IPEC’s Area-of-Impact Framework (AIF). A better understanding of the AIF’s potential to eliminate the WFCL in commercial agriculture, as well as its recurrent costs and opportunities for the establishment of cost-sharing mechanisms, is essential for the development of a replicable model and the further development of national policies for the elimination of WFCL. The model village approach should be the start of a process of systematic sharing of innovative experiences among partners, which aim at the development of more sustainable and pertinent programs.

- Apart from the comprehensive model village approach ongoing AP’s opportunities should be extended through technical assistance to improve their impact and quality. This is particularly important to encourage collaborative actions and partnerships with institutions specialized in innovative educational approaches, or for sharing examples successfully tried out in WACAP projects in e.g. Côte d’Ivoire (école nouvelle) or in Guinea (SABOU). A second opportunity for developing joint-partnerships is the development of closer field linkages with STCP members, FFS’s and cooperatives, in order to create synergy between increase in productivity and social protection schemes.

- It is recommended to include the assessment of all child labour in the CLMS, currently piloted in Ghana and replicated in other WACAP nations. The system should not only include rehabilitated (withdrawn/prevented) children but also serve to document broad measures of social development among youth. It will be important to reformulate the CLMS into a sustainable and replicable model, one that can be implemented at minimal costs that are shared between concerned stakeholders, national and local government, as well as community committees. Whereas ILO/IPEC is of the opinion that, for a successful continuation of the CLMS there should be a “compelling reason”, the evaluators would rather see shared concern for quality basic services provision as the primary incentives for its continuation. From experience it is learned, that villagers are willing to financially contribute to services, provided that these prove to be of good quality. If the CLMS would be part of a development scheme, aiming at improved service provision, it can be expected that villagers share in its cost. This conviction is at the core of the model village approach.

- From stakeholder comments on the above recommendation it was understood that the model village would be a new approach altogether, and that such a recommendation should not be part of the current evaluation but rather of a new project proposal. By making the above suggestion the evaluators strictly respect the ILO intervention model which stipulates that several project components ought to be implemented in mutual support. This is particularly the case for the relation between increased well-being through improved productivity (a major reason to link to STCP) and social protection schemes supported by WACAP.
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In September 2000, British television aired a documentary on the alleged use of child slaves as labourers in hazardous conditions on cocoa plantations in West Africa. The film alleged that up to 90 percent of cocoa farms in Côte d’Ivoire exploited children, who were abducted or trafficked in from Mali and other neighbouring nations, many as young as ten years old. The claims were refuted by the Ivorian ambassador to the UK as an “absurdity”. Regional cocoa traders and the British chocolate industry also complained that the farms included in the documentary were not representative of the region. The impact of the documentary and following media exposure on trafficking of children in West Africa has strongly influenced public opinion, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States. Faced with the possibility of boycotts and/or sanctions against chocolate products in these countries, representatives of the cocoa industry met with West African governments, trade unions, cocoa cooperatives, consumer and non-governmental organizations and the international donor community to outline a response to the problem.

Above strategy culminated in a protocol to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in the cocoa and chocolate sector. The agreement was signed in September 2001 by the Chocolate Manufacturers Association and the World Cocoa Foundation and witnessed by major representatives of stakeholders: two US Senators, a Congressman, the Ambassador of Côte d’Ivoire, ILO-IPEC, the International Union of Food, the National Consumers League, the Child labour Coalition and Free the Slaves. The Protocol laid out an accord to eliminate both child labour and forced Labour in cocoa growing and set a timeline for the creation of a foundation to lead the process (the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI), created in July 2002). It also foresaw the establishment of a viable and credible monitoring and certification system by July 2005. Relevant to the present evaluation is the fact that the Protocol contains a key action plan, stipulating, among others, that by May 2002 there would be a binding memorandum of cooperation among major stakeholders to establish “a joint action program of research, information exchange, and action to enforce the internationally-recognized and mutually agreed upon standards to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in the growing and processing of cocoa beans and their derivative products and to establish independent means of monitoring and public reporting on compliance with those standards”.

The cocoa/chocolate industry supports parallel efforts in the field of environmental protection, improvement of agricultural productivity and marketing, as well as strengthening of farmers organizations toward the promotion of socially, economically and environmentally responsible cocoa growing. These efforts are embodied in the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP), which operates in five West-African countries: Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Côte d’Ivoire and Nigeria. STCP is implemented by the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA), and funded by various USAID Missions. During the first semester of 2002, the IITA conducted a regional survey to analyze the magnitude and nature of hazardous child labour in the above countries. ILO-IPEC supported these surveys in an advisory capacity.

In line with the Protocol, the ILO serves as an advisor to the above mentioned stakeholders and to the ICI with regards to consultations, the development of partnership structures, and to execute programs that address the problem of child labour on the ground. With regards to the later function, ILO-IPEC

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1 Source: [http://www.afrol.com/News/civ002_slavery.htm](http://www.afrol.com/News/civ002_slavery.htm).
3 International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour of the International Labour Organisation
4 ILO-IPEC: Combating child labour in cocoa growing (ILO-IPEC’s contribution); Geneva, 2005.
5 Protocol; Key Action Plan and Steps to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour; Vienna, Virginia; 2001.
designed and is implementing an action project: the West Africa Cocoa and Commercial Agriculture Project to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child labour (WACAP).

The operation is funded by the United States Department of Labor (USD 5 million) with an additional contribution (USD 1 million) from the chocolate industry (International Confectionary Association and the World Cocoa Foundation). WACAP formally started in September 2002 and is due to terminate in early 2006. In the meantime ILO/IPEC has requested a cost-neutral extension until April 2006. The program is being implemented in the same five countries where STCP is operating (Cameroon, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire, Ghana and Guinea-Conakry), with the aim to eliminate of worst forms of child labour through more socially responsible cocoa growing. Close collaboration between WACAP and STCP is also expected to contribute to increased productivity in cocoa cultivation, improved family incomes, and withdrawal of children from field work and supporting their education.

WACAP operates in consort with other ILO-IPEC and USDOL programs to combat child about and trafficking in the region, including the ILO/IPEC Trafficking project, also now as LUTRENA (Lutte Contre le Traffic des Enfants en Afrique de l’Ouest et Central, a regional program operating in eight West African countries). Of the five countries in which WACAP is operating, three (Nigeria, Guinea and Ghana) are being supported by USDOL to conduct comprehensive programs for the elimination of child labour. In Côte d’Ivoire a national plan is being drawn up to address child labour.

1.2 Magnitude of child labour in cocoa cultivation

A. Global and regional incidence of child labour

A 2002 ILO report suggest that out of 352 million children engaged in economic activity worldwide, 246 million – one in every six children aged 5 to 17 – are involved in child labour. The report also concludes that some 106 million are engaged in types of work acceptable for children: light work or household chores. One in every eight children in the world – some 179 million children aged 5 – 17 – is still exposed to the worst form of child labour which endanger the child’s physical, mental or moral well-being. Out of these, some 8.4 million are exploited in unconditional worst forms of child labour, including slavery, trafficking, debt bondage and other forms of forced labour, forced recruitment for armed conflict, prostitution, pornography and other illicit activities.

According to the ILO, more than 80 million children between the age of 5 and 14 are economically active in Africa, 70 to 95% of who are found in the agricultural sector. Sector specific research indicates that child labour often assumes serious proportions in commercial agriculture and in particular, cocoa, coffee, rubber, sisal, tea and other commodities (with children below 15 years of age constituting between 25 and 30% of the total labour force).

B. Surveys undertaken in the commercial agricultural sector in West Africa

In support of the interventions planned under the Cocoa Protocol, and at the request of the Ivorian government, two studies were undertaken targeting the issue of child labour abuses in Côte d’Ivoire. These studies complemented the Survey on Child labour in the Cocoa Sector of West-Africa, undertaken in 2002 by the STCP/IITA in cocoa cultivation in Cameroon, Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire and Nigeria (cocoa and coffee) and Guinea (cashew). The details of this survey have not been released, apparently since the validity of the data was put into question. Therefore ILO-IPEC had planned further baseline studies in the area in order to develop a more reliable knowledge base. These rapid assessments were expected to serve the design of adequate policies and action programs to combat

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8 *Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector of West-Africa: A Synthesis of Findings in Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria*; under the auspices of USAID/USDOL/ILO; STCP/IITA, 2002 (Summary version).
child labour effectively, including the provision of alternatives for children and their families. At present, rapid assessments on child labour have been conducted by WACAP, in Cameroon, Ghana and Nigeria (cocoa) and Guinea (cocoa/cashew). None of them has been finalized as yet, either because of questionable conceptual and methodological issues or because they have been completed only recently (Nigeria)⁹.

C. IITA survey in West Africa

Methodological framework

The summary version of the IITA survey indicates that the guiding framework has been ILO convention 182, Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child labour. The portions of the Convention pertinent to child labour practices in the cocoa sector of West Africa are article 3(a), which proscribes “all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour”, and 3(d), which focuses on “work which, by its nature of the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children”. Three surveys were designed and implemented: (i) the Baseline Producers Surveys (BPS); (ii) the Producers/Workers Survey (PWS), and (iii) the Community Surveys (CS). The PWS and CS were implemented in Côte d’Ivoire only.

Major findings of the IITA surveys are presented in three different chapters: (i) Children at high risk; (ii) Children as a factor of production; and (iii) Child labour and education. The total number of working children reflected in the surveys was around 870,000 (63.9% below 15 years of age and 71.4% working in Côte d’Ivoire).

Children at high risk

Children at high risk, subject to unconditional worst forms of child labour, are mainly found among salaried workers and children without family ties to the farm owner. Another category of concern is hazardous work, likely to threaten the health and safety of children. The survey showed that the recruitment and employment of both children and adults from outside the family as permanent salaried workers was relatively uncommon. (0.94% of farmers in CDI and 1.1% in Nigeria’s Ondo State indicated that they employed children as permanent full-time workers; with absolute numbers of 5,120 and 1,220 children, respectively). Around forty percent of farmers found to employ permanent child labour in Côte d’Ivoire were immigrant farmers from neighbouring countries like Burkina Faso. The number of children without family ties in Côte d’Ivoire was estimated at 12,000, employed by 1.8% of the cocoa growing farmers.

Despite postulating a precise number of children in exploitation, the IITA study is extremely limited in both internal and external validity. The approach for data gathering was based primarily on dated and incomplete census information, with very modest efforts to validate the accuracy of findings. Relying on older government censuses and a smattering of field visits, the IITA study contains enormous errors in enumeration, definitions, and assumptions. While it was outside the purview of this evaluation to document the incidence of child labour in West Africa, we can only draw attention to one example of the shortcomings of the IITA study: the case of Ghana...

In Ghana (for which no data were included in the IITA study), the national cocoa co-operative - COCOBOD- reports that there are more than 800,000 cocoa producers. These producers account for about one-sixth of West African cocoa. Because most cocoa growing operations are similar throughout the region, one might safely assume that the total number of cocoa producers approaches 5 million (800,000 by 6). Rapid assessment studies conducted by WACAP indicate that cocoa farmers have two to eight children who work alongside parents, of whom three are estimated to be of school age.

⁹ Since the Rapid Assessments have been implemented under auspices of WACAP, they will be briefly discussed in the chapter on findings.
Thus a conservative estimate would place the number of school age children in cocoa production at or near 15 million. Whether these children work in hazardous functions of cocoa farms is not known. But given the enormous absence of educational services in rural West Africa, it is safe to assume that at least one-half (5 to 7 million children) do not attend school and are vulnerable to work on family enterprises. Clearly there is a need for a more comprehensive assessment of the problem.

### 1.3 Description of the project

Pursuant to the initiatives and commitment of the Governments of Côte d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria and of the cocoa and chocolate industry to eliminate child labour, a three year sub-regional program is being undertaken, entitled West Africa Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Program to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child labour (WACAP). The project is implemented by ILO-IPEC within the framework of the IPEC regional program and in collaboration with the USAID financed Sustainable Tree Crop Project (STCP).

For a summarized description of Project Concept, Approach, Development and Immediate Objectives, Target Groups and Partners, Institutional and Management Framework and Project Budget, one is referred to Annex 4.
2. EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

The Terms of Reference of the present Mid-Term Evaluation are found in Annex 1. Following is a description of the proposed methodology for conducting the mid-term evaluation of WACAP. It comprises four phases: 1) orientation and desk review; 2) country/site visits and observations; 3) stakeholder consultations and workshops; and 4) report preparation.

Phase I: Desk review and preliminary interviews (February 20-28, 2005)

Meetings in Geneva with ILO-IPEC/DED staff to specify scheduling, evaluation methodology, reporting format and travel schedule. Discussions and interviews with WACAP project managers, USDOL/ICLP personnel and with representatives of the Cocoa Global Issues Group.

Phase II: Country/site visits (March 3-25, 2005)

Travel to Cameroon, Guinea and Ghana to conduct field observations in WACAP project intervention/target zones, meet with stakeholders and WACAP management staff, and assess the impact of project activities on child labour in cacao and cashew production.

- **Cameroon. March 5-10:** Briefings with WACAP Country Project Coordinator and national evaluation consultant. Desk review of local reports. Field visits to inspect the impact of Action and Mini Programs. Visits with individual NGOs involved in the operation. Meetings with: Director and staff of ILO’s Central African Regional Office (Yaoundé); STCP Chief of Party and pertinent personnel; United States Embassy staff; LUTRENA project country director; Ministerial representatives of collaborating agencies, Project Technical Advisory Committee. Stakeholders workshop to present preliminary findings.

- **Guinea. March 10-15:** Briefings with WACAP Country Project Coordinator and national evaluation consultant. Desk review of Action and Mini Programs. Field visit to project target areas to assess impact of WACAP project direct interventions; site visits to executing NGO offices and target villages; meetings with participating ministry personnel; STCP field staff and country coordinators; UNDP direction; NGOs overseeing projects in other WACAP areas of intervention; US Embassy and USAID personnel; Project Technical Advisory Committee. Stakeholders workshop to present preliminary evaluation findings.

- **Ghana. March 15-23:** Briefings with WACAP Acting CTA (Director of regional project activities for the five participating nations). Desk review of regional procedures and reports. Interview with Country Project Coordinator and national evaluation consultant. Desk review of regional documents and reports. Field visits to zones targeted for WACAP/STCP intervention. Meetings with executing NGOs; STCP personnel; ministry representatives; US Embassy staff; participating international NGOs involved in elimination of child labour; and collaborating project management. Presentation of findings to Ghana stakeholders.

- **Côte d’Ivoire** (in Accra, Ghana) Desk review and interviews with Country Project Coordinator and national evaluation consultant from Côte d’Ivoire. Review of documents from the Côte d’Ivoire and analysis of impact of WACAP activities.

- **Nigeria** (in Accra, Ghana) Interview with Country Project Director from Nigeria. Desk review of WACAP documents and reports and analysis of impact of WACAP activities. Meetings with representatives from USDOL/Washington, ILO-IPEC Geneva, and the Cocoa Global Issues Group. Presentation and workshop of preliminary, five-country evaluation findings to WACAP staff and the international stakeholders group.

Phase III: Preparation of Report

Deadline agreed: 22 April 2005; Followed by circulation to stakeholders for comments.
3. FINDINGS

3.1 Program approach and strategy

3.1.1 Problem analysis

The problem analysis, figuring in the project document, was indeed based on the best information available, in spite of shortcomings of previous research. Estimates as to the incidence of child labour in commercial agriculture and its importance as an economic asset in strategies coping with low productivity and income are duly highlighted. This is put in perspective against the background of a deterioration of producer prices for cocoa on the world market. In 2000, the world-market price for cocoa reached an historical low. Under influence of the liberalization of the cocoa trade, prices on the world-market have since increased; presently they fluctuate between USD 1.500 and 2.000 per metric ton. This does not automatically mean that the lot of small cocoa producers has improved. Unfortunately, the problem analysis did not assess that the impact of increased FOB prices that has coincided with decreased farm-gate prices, which is an indicator for systemic shortcomings in national marketing structures.

![Figure 1: Evolution worldmarket price cocoa](http://www.econstats.com/fut/xnb_ea2.htm)

Low farm-gate prices (around USD 0.60 in WACAP nations) compel small-holding farmers to low-input – low-output agriculture, which is characterized by deteriorating production conditions (aging plantations, exhausted soils, diseases). On the other hand, market liberalization has led to consolidation and an increase in larger scale, more commercial plantation operations. This trend is especially prevalent in Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea, where owner-operated small holdings are increasingly transformed into large plantations. Both categories, owner-operated holdings and plantations, have their own particularities in terms of labour requirements. Whereas the former mainly depend on family labour, the later depend primarily on hired labour.

*Educational Trends*

The five WACAP have experienced an increase in gross and net enrolment figures for primary education since 1990. In spite of this upward trend, various reports, corroborated by the evaluation team’s site visits indicate that children in cocoa-producing areas have less access to education than those in urban settings. The problem is especially acute in cocoa farming communities with high migrant populations (CDI and Nigeria); where only about a third of school-age children were enrolled versus children from local farmers. Sharecroppers were particularly disadvantaged, with only 25% of their children enrolled. Eighty-eight percent of the sharecroppers themselves had never attended any
school. Also the degree of affiliation between the child and the head of household impacted on schooling in Côte d’Ivoire: 45% enrolment, against 57% for the farmer’s own children.\textsuperscript{10}

Given the importance of educational alternatives in the mitigation and eradication of child labour, it is unfortunate that project preparation research failed to analyze public educational systems, particularly patterns and programs that would prepare children for the labour market. During the evaluation mission, knowledge was shared on a number of interesting educational experiments underway in the region of intervention (mostly implemented by international organizations not affiliated with WACAP but also, within the framework of WACAP, by CARE in Ghana), which add life skills value to existing educational curricula.

Except for positive experiences reported from Côte d’Ivoire (mobile schools and community learning centre program) and observed in Guinea (SABOU) and Ghana (curriculum by CARE), WACAP’s programming has not sufficiently dealt with inequities and poor quality of public education. The project has undertaken few experimental initiatives that aim to impact failing basic education systems. Social protection activities supported by WACAP are completely dependent on dysfunctional public primary schools and poorly organized vocational training facilities. In the former congested classes average more than sixty children, and sometimes surpass 300 students. School lack instructional materials trained teachers’ adequate facilities, and the language of instruction (French or Spanish) is not acquired at levels sufficient to engage the curriculum. The marginal efforts devoted to vocational training have relied on local proprietary workshops that offer few educational amenities. Whereas a positive strength in the project’s design has been the encouragement of integration with the agricultural sector (via STCP), its principal weakness is that the same has not been attempted with regards to the education sector.

\textit{Incidence of the worst forms of child labour}

Figures on hazardous child labour are incomplete and contradictory\textsuperscript{11} and therefore can only serve an indicative purpose. The number of children applying pesticides, for example, in the category “child labour” is 23,300 and in the category “children at high risk” 152,710. Apparently the definition of the later category is not univocal and goes beyond unconditional worst forms of child labour (trafficking, debt bondage, slavery). Trafficked children (C.182 art. 3a) can simply not be put in the same category as children manipulating machetes (C.182 art. 3d). This lack of clarity in the application of the definition of working children, child labour and children at high risk, has contributed to an ongoing confusion with regards to the nature and incidence of the problem\textsuperscript{12}.

\textbf{3.1.2 Project design}

The design of the project follows the logic model for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour, the so-called Strategic Program Impact Framework (SPIF). Based on this the project has been put into context and has been designed following a logical framework approach. The overall quality of the design is quite satisfactory, in terms of structure and logic. The document is very informative and puts the nature and incidence of child labour into its economic and social context. Throughout the document reference is made to the relevant conventions and synergy is sought with ongoing IPEC

\textsuperscript{10} Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector of west Africa; STCP/IITA, 2002, page 22.

\textsuperscript{11} The categories “Child labour” (children whose tasks are likely to be harmful to their physical, mental, moral development and as well affect their education) and “Children at High Risk” (children in potentially dangerous situations) have not been defined in a mutually exclusive manner. Both contain the same figure for “children without family ties”.

\textsuperscript{12} Chocolate Makers Hit on Child Labour in Africa, Washington Post, 15 February 2005: “Sen. Tom Harkin said yesterday: Human rights activists estimate as many of many 90 percent of cocoa farms in the Côte d’Ivoire use forced child labour”. Based on the IITA estimation of the total number of children working in Côte d’Ivoire cocoa farming, this would mean some 560,000 children. In contrast, the IITA survey indicates a total number of non-family children and salaried workers of 17,115 (the remainder being family children working on their parents’ farm: 97.2% of all working children).
projects (in particular the ILO Trafficking project) and national programs. Equally program linkages are highlighted with STCP, as is the need to strengthen the organizational and institutional capacities of a multitude of public and private partners.

With the exception of Côte d’Ivoire, which accounts for more than 50 percent of the region’s cocoa production, WACAP budgetary allocations for other countries are quite modest (around USD 100,000 per year). These limitations raise the question as to whether the ambitions of the program are sufficiently supported by the level of funding.

The ILO-IPEC approach is a holistic one. Its intervention model consists of mutually reinforcing components. The Area of Impact Structure has been translated into these program components; which are articulated as concrete actions. However, given the limited time-span for implementation and the restricted budget, the WACAP program appears to be over-ambitious. Social action/protection operations are short-term, tend to be repetitive, implemented by too many implementing agencies, and scattered around in a vast geographical area. As a result, the thinly spread resources limit the number of children who are effectively served. Moreover, WACAP programming has show to have only limited positive impact on the strengthening of partner NGOs.

Given the time and alleged budgetary constraints, the project is not in a position to directly and substantially contribute to the elimination of child labour in the broader national context. The direct quantitative contribution is relatively small considering the scope of the problem. It is rather the policy of ILO/IPEC to develop models for the elimination of child labour which, after proven successful, are to be scaled up by other means. In the face of slow economic growth, the rare availability of public resources, the likelihood of programs being sustained by governments is dubious. A more promising prospect might be to involve the private sector, which are some instances is willing to take to scale project activities that have proved to be successful13.

While developing such intervention models, it seems important to remain focused on a limited number of implementing agencies and geographical areas, as well as on quality and to avoid geographical dispersion, social exclusion and sub-optimal educational standards. This dispersed manner of operation may be explained by the desire to create a critical mass of organizations that can contribute to ongoing dialogue around social protection and child labour monitoring components. Although it was noted that this dialogue has affected increased public awareness of the dangers and consequences of child labour, in the medium term, the fact that children are withdrawn from labour through outside support does not appear sufficient to keep the momentum, for the long term.

On the other hand, however, the project design offers potential for synergy and coordinated efforts that are needed to mitigate the complexities of child exploitation from many mutually supportive angles. The question remains as to what extent intervention models that have been developed and tested, have a potential for scalability and for sustainable continuation, and how these models can be accommodated within the context of falling family income, reduced governmental services and a growing population.

At first reading of the project document it becomes obvious that a realistic time-frame is lacking. Normally interventions of this magnitude are composed of various phases that address data-gathering, preparation, start up, establishing coordination mechanisms, developing, testing and validating intervention models, and provision for scaling up successful models. Normally, exit strategies define a gradual withdrawal of the international agency from project structures and support. This is particularly relevant for the elimination of child labour, a task that necessitates profound change in institutional and economic parameters, as well in knowledge, attitudes and practices.14 The

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13 In spring 2005, resources from the private sector in Cote d’Ivoire became available to take to scale the CLMS model developed by WACAP.

14 ILO/IPEC’s *Towards a Theory of Change for the Elimination of Child Labour*, p. 56-61, shows the complexity of the methodology and of the narrow interrelatedness between the several program components, in *IPEC Action against Child Labour*, Geneva, October 2004.
development of scalable and sustainable solutions from scratch would need a considerably longer implementation period than three years.

As noted in other sections of this report, quantitative targets have been set for children to be prevented, withdrawn or protected, as well for family members expected to benefit from direct action programs (training, income-generation, credit/loans). A country-wise distribution of these targets has placed the most project resources and largest share of targeted beneficiaries in Côte d’Ivoire (5,000 beneficiaries to be served, as compared with 1,000 for each other nation). ILO/IPEC justifies the relative difference in by the fact that Côte d’Ivoire’s government requested the ILO/IPEC to provide support, and on the magnitude of child labour in that nation.

3.1.3 Program development

The WACAP program was prepared by a program formulation team consisting of IPEC HQ-staff in Geneva and the Regional Office in Abidjan. During the process, multi-stakeholder consultations were held with the STCP National Network in Abidjan, representatives from key governmental and non-governmental agencies and ILO’s tripartite constituents (Ministries of Labour, workers’ and employers’ representatives), as well as with representatives of USDOL, USAID and the cocoa/chocolate industry. Stakeholder meetings in Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria were only held when WACAP had already started. As planned in the project document, this was to take place within six months after the start up of the project in Côte d’Ivoire, when the take-off in the other countries was foreseen. Baseline information on the cocoa sector in Côte d’Ivoire was provided by the USDOL-funded child labour community survey, and the STCP workers and producers surveys. All key public and private sector agencies, including potential implementing agencies, participated in WACAP planning meetings in all five countries. Farmers were represented by farmers’ and producers’ associations and trade unions, e.g. ANAPROCI in Cote d’Ivoire and GAWU in Ghana. Once specific sites were selected, the implementing agencies consulted with all key stakeholders in those areas, including the farmers, concerned children, as well as village leaders and others. No information is available on the manner in which the consultative process was organized, but from information received during the evaluation it is believed that no participatory assessment and planning methods have been used.

3.1.4 ILO-IPEC’s intervention model

The five components of the ILO-IPEC’s intervention model: 1) capacity building, 2) social protection, 3) child labour monitoring system, 4) awareness raising/social mobilization and 5) knowledge base and information are supposed to be mutually reinforcing. The project document rightly states that WACAP can only be successful if several other outcomes are reached at the same time. In this respect, particular reference is made to the increased income of rural families, an extended capacity and relevance in the education systems, the implementation of IPEC strategies to combat child labour (in particular trafficking) and a better legal framework and enforcement system. All these outcomes form an integrated part of IPEC’s Area of Impact Framework (showing a graphic presentation of the outcomes needed to eliminate child labour in the area of the project) and are reflected in the diagram on next page:

The advantage of this flow-chart is that it graphically illustrates the interrelatedness of the outcomes within the ILO/IPEC approach in the region. A weakness is the assumed logical sequence between certain components, in terms of cause and effect. The following examples might serve as an illustration:

- The improved well-being of cocoa farmers is a necessary condition for the elimination of child labour. This implies that the success of the WACAP will to a large extent depend on the increase of incomes of those farms from which child labour is withdrawn. The project’s design addressed the need to augment the income generating capacity of adult members of families from which children are to be withdrawn. For that reason, the project was expected to search synergy with STCP, which is one of the strong points of the entire project concept. Those goals have failed to translate into WACAP operational objectives, since merely 500 adults were targeted for WACAP support, along with 9,700 working children.
Model interventions in social protection do not necessarily result in increased educational performance unless such interventions have the prospects of being accepted for scalability by public education authorities. WACAP’s reintegration of withdrawn children into the existing formal and non-formal education system, for example, should be viewed in the context of ongoing efforts to improve the quality of education, as a socialization mechanism and in preparation for children’s future position in the labour market. In the present situation, this is particularly relevant for the agriculture sector, in which a large share of the children is expected to find their way. Since primary and vocational training systems in the region do not address these outcomes\(^\text{15}\), social protection efforts through model interventions offer an obvious opportunity to integrate innovative educational strategies, but have failed to do so.

Figure 2: Diagram Area of Impact Framework (source: Project Document)

### 3.1.5 Relevant ILO conventions

It is essential that member countries that have ratified the ILO 138 and 182 conventions translate its content into national legislation and through tripartite consultation with employers’ and workers’ organizations design and implement provisions and programs to eliminate the WFCL (article 6) and establish or designate appropriate mechanisms to monitor the implementation of the provisions giving effect to this Convention (article 5). The provisions to be monitored comprise, inter alia, measures for prevention, removal and rehabilitation of children working in the worst forms of child labour (see article 7).

Tripartism is reflected in the structure of the ILO itself: both the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body are composed of equal numbers of government, workers’ and employers' representatives. Tripartism at the national level is enshrined in a number of ILO Conventions and

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\(^{15}\) Moulton Jeanne: Improving the Quality of Primary Education in Africa, ADEA, Mauritius, December 2003.
Recommendations, e.g., the elimination of the worst forms of child labour – which foresees consultation between government, workers' and employers' organizations in their implementation.16

3.2 Implementation arrangements

3.2.1 Institutional framework and linkages

Sub-regional level

At the sub-regional level, the project management was to be situated in Abidjan, where the ILO Regional Office, the IPEC Sub-regional Coordination and the regional Coordination of the ILO IPEC Trafficking project were all based. Project implementation was delayed because of the crisis in Côte d'Ivoire that resulted in the relocation of the sub-regional base to Accra, Ghana. The offer of appointment of the Project Director (CTA) was withheld until then; he effectively started his assignment in January 2003 and by mid-2003 the staff of national WACAP offices was employed. In Abidjan the staff was recruited in January 2004, after which the office became operational. Despite delays caused in start-up, the sub-regional project management team has managed to effectively coordinate the operation in Accra.

The WACAP project management operates under the technical guidance of IPEC Management in Geneva and the administrative supervision of the ILO Directors responsible for the respective countries, i.e. ILO-Dakar for Guinea, ILO-Abuja for Ghana and Nigeria, ILO-Yaoundé for Cameroon, and ILO-Abidjan, (since moved to ILO-Dakar for Cote d'Ivoire). WACAP country operations are overseen by Country Project Coordinators (CPCs) under the technical guidance of the project sub-regional management, with support from IPEC Geneva and ILO specialists based in the respective sub-regional offices.

Support is also provided by IPEC units, primary among them being the Program Support Unit, but also the Design and Evaluation Unit (e.g. for managing the present evaluation), the legal Unit, and the Hazardous Work and Child labour Monitoring Unit. Collaboration also occurs with ILO’s Cooperatives Program Unit; ACTRAV, and with MULTI for use of the Global Compact Child labour Training module for the corporate sector. With the focus now on enhancing education and families’ economic empowerment, expertise will be utilized from IPEC’s Education Unit and the ILO’s programs on Skills and Social Finance.

National level

In all WACAP countries, project advisory committees have been formed and are operational. These PTACs were installed under the aegis of national ministries of labour and composed of STCP national networks and other organization relevant and significant for project goals. PTAC’s are functional, although differences were observed in degree of commitment and ownership. During the evaluation team’s debriefing workshop in Cameroon, for example, the PTAC was first officially installed, although it had been meeting already at several occasions during the preceding year. In Guinea, the PTAC had not played a very dynamic role in project decisions. The situation is different in Ghana, where the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment and other stakeholders play an active role in coordinating the PTAC. This may well be inspired by the role the Ministry has played in piloting the CLMS, for which the Ministry has received significant funding from WACAP. As a general rule, the expectation that PTAC’s would play a coordinating role among implementing agencies, partners and donors has not materialized throughout the region.

The Sustainable Tree Crops Program, is a USAID/USDOL funded operation that provides services to cocoa and other tree crop producers in each of the five nations, served by WACAP. STCP is headquartered in Yaoundé, Cameroon, and is being implemented by the IITA, through a variety of

local institutional arrangements in the participating countries. It was foreseen in the WACAP project document that the two projects would work in close collaboration, consort and interaction with STCP implementing agencies, as both share the goal of mitigating child labour in cocoa production.

The STCP has adopted a strategy to improve productivity and marketing of cocoa products, with the goal of improving family income through better cultivation and distribution techniques. A cornerstone of the program is to engage farmers in Farmer Field Schools (FFS) that demonstrate improved and less hazardous practices, and to organize individuals into stronger cooperatives to maximize economic return on investment. STCP comprises five intermediate goals:

1) Strengthen cocoa farmer organizations, namely cooperatives or smaller common initiative groups;
2) Research and field training, primarily through the Farmer Field School program;
3) Marketing information management, that conveys news, trends and fluctuations in price, distribution and transport of cocoa beans;
4) Policy development initiatives; and
5) Address social issues.

STCP and WACAP maintain substantive collaborations, especially at the project planning, advisory and strategy development level in each of the five project countries. Programmatic linkages are most manifest in Farmer Field School operations, where WACAP has taken the lead in developing a training module for reducing exposure to children in hazardous cocoa production activities. The FFS manual\(^{17}\) comprises learning activities that outline the dangers child involvement in excessive weight handling, pesticide and other chemicals handling, and the use of dangerous equipment used in cocoa fields. WACAP involvement has also contributed to occupational and safety training for all farm workers, and has highlighted awareness of and importance of maintaining children in schools.

At the programmatic level, the two projects share mutual places on program advisory boards, collaborate in raising awareness of child labour, and have significant combined presence in field and action program operations, especially in Cote d’Ivoire, Nigeria and Guinea. This framework, despite the separate mandates and funding agency program accounting requirements, aims to integrate activities that are mutually beneficial to both operations. However, with the exception of Côte d’Ivoire and Guinea, the evaluation team could discern little field collaboration between WACAP’s social protection schemes for beneficiaries and STCP implementing agencies: producer cooperatives or other network partners. This separation jeopardizes the validity of the Intervention model (see page 11, example 1); withdrawal of children from labour and improvement of income from the same families has not been well-coordinated between the two projects.

In countries where there is a presence of an ILO Sub-Regional Office (e.g. in Cameroon), there is a good coordination with other ILO projects and with the ILO multidisciplinary team. Absent ILO offices, the CPC works in a more isolated and unsupported manner. Since trafficking of children and hazardous and exploitative child labour in commercial agriculture are covered under the same convention (C.182), it is of utmost importance that the ILO Trafficking project and WACAP work together in a well-coordinated manner. In Cameroon and Ghana, the national project coordinators of both projects share the same premises and are other informed on activities. In practice and in fifed, however, although coordination mechanisms have been developed on local reintegration programs, projects mostly work in different regions. During the evaluation, it was noted that only a small number of trafficked children have been identified, served or referred by WACAP’s implementing agencies to the ILO Trafficking project.

Child labour Monitoring Systems (CLMS) have been developed and piloted in Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire (as a separate project in CDI). Replication in other countries is still in its initial stages. The system is being piloted under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour, district government and

\(^{17}\) STCP: Learning about Sustainable Cocoa Production; A guide for Participatory Farmer Training, Yaoundé, March 2005.
district/community child labour committees. Whereas certain stakeholders have stated that the CLMS was not designed to involve specific cooperatives, the evaluators are of the opinion that, in the long run, the institutional anchorage of the social protection schemes and the CLMS within producer cooperatives would stand a better chance of sustained continuation, as compared to the community child labour committees. This opinion is supported in the project document, which identifies an opportunity to involve STCP-supported producer cooperatives in the child labour monitoring process. One of the communities visited in the field in Ghana, was serviced by the Kuapa Koko Cooperative, which is part of the fair-trade movement. An impressive number of community development schemes were undertaken by this cooperative from the fair-trade movement’s social development fund, showing its ability to work on social issues. Unfortunately no coordination with this cooperative was identified in the implementation of the social protection scheme and the CLMS, since the scheme is set to be operated through newly created community child labour monitoring committees. The situation appears to be somewhat different in Côte d’Ivoire and Cameroon, where producer cooperatives, supported by STCP, are active in the area of operations covered by the action programs.

Government institutions are actively involved in all WACAP countries. This is particularly true for ministries of Employment (Labour), Education, Health, Agriculture and Social Affairs, be it in different degrees in the PTAC’s or in the implementation of Action Programs at a national or decentralized level. The evaluators were especially pleased with the quality of cooperation between implementing agencies and line ministries in Guinea, where particularly the Ministry of Education made a strong and committed impression. As noted earlier, in Ghana the project collaborates closely with the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment in close cooperation with district governments. In all countries visited, WACAP contributes actively to a revision of labour codes, either indirectly, through an ILO representation (Abidjan, Abuja, Yaoundé), or where the later is not present, in coordination with other ILO projects (Guinea and Ghana).

In line with ILO’s tripartite institutional foundation, employers’ and workers’ organizations are equally represented with public ministries on PTAC’s in all five participating countries. In almost all countries they are also found among the implementing agencies, e.g., Cameroon (FENTEDCAM), Ghana (GAWU), Côte d’Ivoire (ANAPROCI, DIGNITE, UGTCT, and UCL/COPICO), Guinea (USTG) and Nigeria (TFU).18

Good quality support was provided in action program preparation to national implementing agencies, and also local NGO’s have been involved in raising awareness. With a few positive exceptions (SABOU, Guinea; mobile schools, CDI; CARE, Ghana), substantive collaboration between ILO and international NGO’s (ICI, Ghana; Plan International and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Cameroon; ICI, Côte d’Ivoire; Save the Children, IRC, Terre des Hommes, ICRC, Guinea), has not materialized in social protection schemes. Since the magnitude of these schemes is modest in terms of numerical targets, collaboration will be necessary for sustainability and scaling up of pilot trials.

The majority of Action and Mini Programs is contracted to national, and mostly small NGO’s, mainly in the fields of social protection and awareness raising, whereas academic research institutions have been contracted for baseline studies and surveys in OSH. These partners were selected in consultation with national ministries of labour, using ILO criteria (e.g. relevance and quality of experience, professional capability, technical/financial/administrative experience in working with the target group, etc.). In some instances, negotiations, discussions and pre-award assessments of NGO capacities did not permit an objective appraisal of their strengths/weaknesses. In all too many instances, NGOs are local in scope and mission, and of limited financial and program management capability. Many reported that their involvement with the WACAP process brought new capacities, but difficulties in obtaining timely ILO funding had caused many difficulties. In several cases, NGO partners noted that the WACAP relationship had strained their budgetary capacity and weakened credibility. As a general

18 See List of Abbreviations for an explanation of the acronyms.
rule, WACAP has relied on NGOs with varying and often limited capacities, while failing to harmonies field approaches for more consistent operational quality from site to site.19

3.2.2 Administrative, financial and reporting systems

Procedures for administrative and financial workflow, as reflected in IPEC’s Program Operational Manual, have been well defined and installed. Although the workflow for the approval of AP Proposals has been described by many NGO partners as complicated, cumbersome and lengthy, at least it is logical, transparent and standardized for all AP’s. This minimizes arbitrary decisions and favoritism and maximizes financial accountability. Whereas certain CPC’s complain about the duration of the approval process, others do not perceive any particular problem. The difference between the two perceptions may be attributed to: (1) the degree in which the procedures for the preparation of the Action Program Summary Outline (APSO) has been internalized and respected by both the CPC’s and the implementing agencies, and (2) the CPC’s radius of foresight. Those encountering few problems have prioritized advance planning. This is also relevant for the planning of disbursements for operational expenses. A number of examples were brought to the attention of the evaluation team indicating that in certain exceptional cases a shortcut procedure was needed to speed up the delivery of an external payment authorization. In sharp contrast to such delays, the evaluation team noted the ease with which per diems are provided to members of the PTAC and stakeholder and implementing agencies who attended debriefing workshops. Although this practice is permissible as per ILO regulations, it is our opinion that this practice should be discouraged.

The reporting system absorbs considerable time for all involved (on the one hand: CTA, implementing agencies and CPC’s, and on the other USDOL and ILO/IPEC). The rhythm of reporting is not the same for all ILO/IPEC projects; for WACAP, technical progress reports are due every semester, alternated by semester-wise status reports for the USDOL. Donor representatives noted that status reports rarely contain more than minimal summary information and provide limit descriptions of project activities, as per ILO regulations.

3.2.3 Resource allocation

Forty-four percent of the budget is geared to sub-regional and national management costs, planning, monitoring and evaluation costs, program support costs and miscellaneous provisions for cost increase. The remaining 56% has been budgeted for Action Programs. The evaluators were encouraged to note that the Action Programs in Côte d’Ivoire are now in execution, in spite of civil disruptions in large parts of the country. As is obvious from the following table and information, the initial delay has caused a substantial delay in spending on Action Programs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Budget line</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>2002-2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Project Personnel</td>
<td>1.778.015</td>
<td>852.597</td>
<td>814.023</td>
<td>111.395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sub-contracts</td>
<td>2.803.164</td>
<td>497.612</td>
<td>2.305.552</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Training</td>
<td>264.000</td>
<td>125.402</td>
<td>138.598</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>152.000</td>
<td>143.512</td>
<td>8.488</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>161.650</td>
<td>65.932</td>
<td>91.117</td>
<td>4.601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Support costs</td>
<td>670.648</td>
<td>219.057</td>
<td>436.512</td>
<td>15.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Provision cost increase</td>
<td>170.523</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>163.966</td>
<td>6.557</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 6.000.000 | 1.904.112 | 3.958.256 | 137.632 |

Source: FISEXT/BPS d.d. 15.02.2005

The budget for APs has been modified because of events in Côte d’Ivoire. According to the project’s tracking sheets, by mid-February 2005 the amount of approved funds for APs (code 29) was US$ 1,349,576 (48% of modified budget), whereas, by that time, some US$ 600,000 (21% of modified budget) should have been transferred. Consequently, according to figures of the modified budget and tracking sheets, made available to the mission, approximately 31% of the budget for AP’s would not yet have been committed by 11 February 2005.

The events in Côte d’Ivoire have substantially influenced the progress of the entire program; however, this can only be a partial explanation of the slow rate in which funds for APs are allocated and disbursed. Another possible explanation is that much time has been invested in awareness raising to overcome initial reservations at government level and in the rural communities. Moreover, it is normal that the development of institutional arrangements and capacity strengthening of partners take quite some time.

Timing of execution has also been delayed by slowness in validating baseline and OSH studies. The CLMS, now being piloted in Ghana, is being validated before it is taken to the other countries. Thus, implementation has been delayed because of external events and the need to establish a platform for program execution. In a life-cycle of most development projects at least a year is required before frame-conditions and institutional arrangements are in place. WACAP has not been immune from that rule. Finally the minimal capacities of implementing NGOs should be cited as a delaying factor.

3.2.4 Project Time-frame

It was originally foreseen that WACAP would have a duration of 37 months, until October 2005. Because of a delayed start-up, the project life has been extended to January 2006, and a cost neutral extension has been requested until April 2006. As foreseen in the project document, national programs were to begin six months after the project launch. This had indeed materialized. By mid-2003, the national project teams were in place and in due course of the second semester, except for Côte d’Ivoire, all national projects became operational. The penultimate program was in Guinea, which began in November 2003, and the last in Côte d’Ivoire in January 2004. During the first semester of project operations at the national level, relations were established with all involved stakeholders and implementing agencies were identified and supported in the preparation of proposals for AP’s and MP’s. Implementation of the majority of AP’s started only in mid-2004. Since ILO regulations prohibit a contract period exceeding the project end date, the maximum duration of the AP’s was therefore limited to one and a half years. This may be of sufficient duration for short-term and unique events, such as workshops, but is rather short for social protection schemes. As discussed above, no project-cycle duration/exit strategy has been defined. According to recent information from stakeholders the elaboration of an exit strategy is due in September 2005 for execution by March 2006. At the time of this evaluation, action programs were in their very initial stages: hardly the basis for the elaboration of exit plans.

3.2.5 External factors

Civil conflict in Côte d’Ivoire made it impossible to install WACAP staff and direct action programs to areas served by STCP. When operations were allowed to resumed, it was decided to shift the focus to the eastern areas that were not affected by the conflict. The recruitment of national staff was delayed and field activities in Côte d’Ivoire could not start until January 2004.

WACAP interventions have been constrained by the continuing and in some cases intense deterioration of basic education services. There is a uniform absence of educational opportunity in all cocoa growing areas, where instruction is minimal and costs of enrolment beyond the financial reach of most families. In Cameroon, for example, it is estimated that children must pay up to $200 per year

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20 In response to USDOL comments to the December 2003 Status Report, on the length of AP’s, the project indicates an expected duration of 20-22- months for the longer term AP’s.
to attend public school. This, in the face of classes often exceeding 100 children, in limited space and seating, an absence of teachers, and instructional practices of the most inferior order.

Except for Ghana, where some decentralization is occurring, public ministries remain intractably inefficient and under-performing. Few nations dedicate resources to address child labour prevention and or for primary and secondary education. Where decentralization is being attempted, local entities have no taxing authority, receive little public funding and have no clear legal mandate to mitigate child labour. These factors bear especial importance towards the scalability and sustainability of the CLMS, which has been developed, piloted and replicated almost entirely with WACAP funding.

The situation has progressed farthest in Ghana, where District Assemblies receive revenue through the taxation of local businesses and the national government allocates five per cent of the common fund to the District Assemblies. Here also, the Children’s Act of 1998 clearly states that it is the obligation of District Assemblies to deal with issues involving child protection. Otherwise all dimensions of enforcing child labour laws or supporting public education rest with central ministries, whose service delivery capacities range from limited to nil, especially as regards child labour mitigation.

Economic and political conditions continue to impede WACAP interventions. Cocoa revenues are static and falling for lack of production investments. Liberalization of cocoa marketing in all countries other than Ghana has led to increased exploitation by private buyers and the loss of credit facilities. In Ghana, where the COCOBOD continues to monopolies cocoa marketing, farmers complain of receiving much less-than-market prices.

The rural population continues to grow at crisis levels and family support structures have been greatly impact by the loss of life due to HIV-AIDS. Further, polygamy is growing in popularity, even among the non-Muslim population with the attendant dilution of family resources available for investing in children’s’ schooling.

The combined effect of these factors frames the prospects for eliminating, much less mitigating child labour in a most pessimistic light. Unless social and economic conditions can be improved, the goals of WACAP and the cocoa protocol have little likelihood of being achieved: that is to say that WACAP’s contribution to the elimination of child labour might be only very modest, irrespective of how well the project is implemented.

3.3 Achievement of project components

3.3.1 Social awareness

In all countries the project has managed to build a critical level of awareness through a multi-stakeholder dialogue on the issue of child labour. This has substantially increased the knowledge of concerned government institutions at national and district level, academic institutions, specialized NGO’s, employers’ and workers’ organizations, village committees, community child labour committees, and producer cooperatives on the issue. In the course of the evaluation, not one instance was noted in defense of the \textit{status quo ante}, where child labour was an expected rite of passage. All acknowledged the magnitude of the problem, as well as the necessity to look for viable solutions. This shows that a change in attitude is gradually developing, however modest the changes in these deeply rooted practices.

These sentiments have materialized in the elaboration of a national Plan for Action for prevention and elimination of hazardous and exploitative child labour in the Côte d’Ivoire. Other national strategies are under development in Cameroon (through the Confederation of Trade Unions) and in Guinea. In Cameroon, a workshop for the Ministry of Education was facilitated in order to draw up a work plan for the inclusion of the fight against child labour into the national curriculum.

3.3.2 Capacity Building

Through the limited collaborations between STCP and WACAP, the capacities of “master trainers” and STCP Pilot Project Managers have been strengthened through the program for Farmer Field Schools. ILO/IPEC has contributed to a \textit{Training of Trainers Manual}, first piloted in Ghana. WACAP
has been involved with training master trainers in Cameroon, Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire and Guinea. Training in Nigeria is due for April 2005. The manual itself is comprehensive and contains relevant information on the use of Integrated Pest Management methods, and a wealth of information on ILO Conventions 101 (Holidays with Pay), 170 (Safety in the Use of Chemicals at Work), 182 (Worst Forms of Child labour) and 184 (Safety and Health in Agriculture), as well as on Recommendation 192, supporting the latter. The strength of the training is its integrated approach comprising production and child labour issues. No information provided the evaluation team as to the impact of this training on attitudes and practices because of Farmer Field Schools.

WACAP offices have provided training in program design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and reporting to implementing NGO partner agencies. Reactions to this support received from NGO trainees were very positive. Without exception they were of the opinion that their improved proposal designing skills would also help them handing in similar project proposals to other donors. In Guinea, for example, 150 members of implementing agencies and their partners were trained in identification techniques, and community training/sensitization sessions on child labour. In all countries labour inspectors have been trained and sensitized on the relevant ILO conventions and national legislation.

3.3.3 Social Protection

At the heart of the ILO/IPEC approach, as reflected in its intervention model, is the development and testing of model (pilot) interventions for withdrawal of children and provision of social protection services. Since the spring of 2004, an impressive number of AP’s and MP’s have been approved and implemented with a target of altogether 9,700 children aged below 13 years, to be withdrawn or prevented from entering labour through the provision of education or training opportunities. The identification of these children is followed by their (re)integration into the formal education system, or for those who have never enrolled or are too old for primary school years, by providing vocational skills training.

For children older than primary school or those of legal working age, (between 13 and 18), and involved in hazardous and exploitative child labour, a target has been fixed of 70,000 children to be protected/prevented through occupational safety and health outreach interventions. A final beneficiary group includes a target of 500 families with vulnerable children who are to receive benefits of direct action programs (training, income generation, credit-loans).

The table here below refers to the cumulative achievements during the entire project duration (in most cases from mid-2004 onwards).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Education/training</th>
<th>Non-educ.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Achievement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per March 2005</td>
<td>Withdrawn</td>
<td>Prevented</td>
<td>Prevented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Côte d'Ivoire</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,159</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>578</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,475</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>3,653</td>
<td>9,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The low overall achievement is impacted by the slow start of WACAP in Côte d’Ivoire. Nevertheless, the CPC from that nation has reported that projects are in execution, but not yet executed, that will permit achievement of project goals.
### Box 1: Site Visits in Cameroon

Field operations of three NGOs conducting Action Programs were visited in southwest and south Cameroon. The projects are responsible to reintegrating children into formal primary and non-formal vocational training schools. Each also has a small component for revenue generation enhancement. All NGOs follow the same approach: 1) dispatching field agents to conduct sensitization and awareness training in local villages; 2) supporting the creation of village child labour monitoring committees, who are charged with identifying children who are at work in cocoa farms and out of school, placing special focus on the neediest and most vulnerable children; 3) identifying village groups (mostly women’s cooperatives) that will receive assistance for developing revenue generation activities; and, 4) providing direct financial support to schools and vocational trainers to train children.

CEPIC, Combating Child labour in the Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture Sector, in Meme Division, targets 100 children in 13 villages. The NGO has 10 years experience in assisting cocoa cooperatives and conducting environmental and other community development projects. In each village visited, child labour committees were well developed and had participated in awareness and mobilization training, and very knowledgeable of the WACAP project. The project is supported by the Ministries of Labour, Social Affairs and Education; however, there was no evidence of resource commitment to target children, as all were supported only by ILO funds. Most children are reintegrated into primary schools; about 15 percent are in vocational training. In primary schools, project beneficiaries are placed in various grades, mostly according to age, and according to reports are achieving at grade level expectations. Four schools were visited. Here, large class size (50-80 students), inadequate learning materials, poor teacher preparation and inordinate public school fees (approaching $200 per student) have rendered the quality of instruction to a marginal experience, with little noticeable impact on children’s language or academic achievements. Vocational training activities are directed toward children above 14 years old and comprise placement with a “master” trainer. These are private individuals who operate mechanic garages, woodworking, and sewing and hairdressing operations. The NGO contracts with trainers to provide apprenticeships of, on average, 3 years. During this time, children are expected to work alongside trainers 5 days a week, with no recompense. The NGO also provides children with tools of the trade they are acquiring. In most instances, trainers have no formal, industrial experience.

CEPIC is engaged in supporting revenue generation efforts with village women’s groups. In this instance, the project supports palm oil soap-making, support for roadside markets and kitchens and has generated much enthusiasm for WACAP objectives.

REDEF brings four years of gender and ICT training experience to work with WACAP in two target communities, where services are provided to reintegrate 100 out of school children into formal and informal schools. Target village members have formed child labour committees and have identified some 300 children who are eligible for WACAP support. Because of funding limitations, only 100 have been selected for direct assistance, which comes in the form of school fees, uniforms, school kits and book rentals. In public primary schools this assistance amounts to about $250 per child.

The same costs are incurred for vocational training recipients who are assigned to master trainers, provided tools and expected to work as apprentices for up to three years, without pay. Several vocational participants were interviewed and each expressed concern that as full time worker/apprentices who received no salary, they were becoming burdensome to parents because they could not contribute to household income, and actually had to draw down on family resources for sustenance, food and transport expenses. As older household members, their contribution to family welfare had been important, yet most expressed satisfaction with the WACAP project. Revenue generation focuses on crude, palm oil soap-making. Women participating in the project were most happy to be involved and reported that sales of their product is local markets have begun to expand; nevertheless, production has not reached a point of profitability.

In Central Province, a visit was made to OFSAD: l’Organisation des Femmes pour la Santé, le Sécurité Alimentaire et le Développement. This NGO is involved in sensitizing groups of small farmers, who are members of a large cocoa-producers cooperative, CONAPROCAM (supervised by STCP). In this area 1,300 identified working children have been identified, out of which 1,032 between 5 and 14 years of age. 7 children have been found victim of internal trafficking. 112 adolescent children have been selected for a life-skills program (out of which 70 literate), comprising carpentry, auto-mechanic for the boys and hairdressing, stitching and catering for the girls. Moreover, information is given on sexually transmissible diseases. Training is given in OFSAD’s training centre in Lékié. In the future OFSAD intends to open similar training centres in five other districts. The mission has recommended availing the services of a primary school teacher to organize remedial courses after official school hours and has provided references on multilevel curricula.
According to the report of the national MTR consultant in Ghana, the total of 588\textsuperscript{21} children, so far withdrawn, has been achieved by three implementing agencies and in 43 different communities, (but according to ILO records, the children would have been withdrawn from 52 communities). This gives an average of 12.1 (11.3) children per community who are following formal education, and 1.6 (1.3) who follow vocational training.\textsuperscript{22} During field visits (and as substantiated by the CLMS), it was observed that this was only a small proportion of children involved in exploitative and hazardous child labour. Although such a detailed breakdown has not been made available for the other countries, a similar trend has been observed with regards to the number of children targeted for withdrawal.\textsuperscript{23} It was understood from the implementing agencies that they “had been given” a certain target for withdrawal, which stood in no relation to the magnitude of the problem but which was thought to be related to the available financial resources. This implies that a selection was made based on the basis of WACAP criteria. This also means that an important number of children involved in exploitative and hazardous work in the concerned communities were left out from the social protection activities, which has, as could be observed in the field, at times has caused a feeling of consternation and exclusion. During implementation, some implementing agencies found more children in need of withdrawal. Some implementing agencies submitted second proposals to WACAP to cover the additional identified children and these proposals were approved (e.g. SAA and FEMAD in Côte d’Ivoire).

\textbf{Box 2: Site visits in Guinea}

Field visits were made to the region of Boké, where two implementing agencies are operating, SABOU and FRADE. Both of them are actively involved in a sensitization campaign among the communities, in identifying child labour and in reintegrating a relatively small number in social protection schemes.

SABOU is operating in district Tamarensi at 7 km. from Boké. This community did not have a school and for that reason the \textit{Association de Ressortissants de Tamarensi} (mainly composed of migrants working abroad) has financed the construction of a school. The construction is well advanced but not yet finished through lack of funds. One of the classrooms has been laid out to serve the implementation of remedial courses for children in schooling age, which have been withdrawn from cocoa farms. Since the demand exceeded by far the initial target of 30, the number of admitted children was increased to 60. The mission was particularly touched by the pleasant spatial outlay of the classroom in which multilevel grades were working together. A demonstration was given of skills in writing, elementary mathematics, theatre/declamation and singing. The teacher used a children-centered approach. The children were well equipped with uniforms, training materials and text books. After having visited so many overcrowded and badly equipped classrooms, this experience was a pleasant one. Community representatives interviewed showed a high commitment to continuing this experience even after closure of the project. The construction of a house for the teacher is on its way. Although primary education in Guinea is free of charge, parents are responsible for providing school utensils and uniforms (at approximately USD 100 per year). SABOU is subsidizing these charges. SABOU is being financed by \textit{Terre des Hommes}. Its financial support is regressive and presently amounts to 20% of the initial level. According to the direction of SABOU, the benefits of cooperation with WACAP are as follows: (1) intervention methodology, (2) clearly formulated working program, (3) formulation of project proposal, (4) planning and monitoring skills.

FRADE is operating in three rural communities, Kolaboui, Bintoumodia and Tanènè. The NGO has signed collaborative agreements with decentralized technical services (communal radio, social affairs, and education) and works actively together with parent-teachers associations. FRADE has started its AP since October 2004. From 100 children identified, 20 have been reintegrated in the formal primary school system, of which 9 in the state-managed primary school, which was visited in Kolaboui. Unlike the “private school” supervised by SABOU, this crowded classroom contained approximately between 80 and 90 students. It is doubtful whether this is convenient for a good

\textsuperscript{21} There is a difference of ten children as compared to the last Technical Progress Report (578).
\textsuperscript{22} The total quantitative target for withdrawal and social protection into either education or vocational training in Ghana is 1.000 for 52 communities. The baseline study, reflecting the incidence of child labour in 42 communities, indicated an average of 42 children per village.
\textsuperscript{23} Other examples: FEMAD (CDI): 113 children targeted on 217 identified.
quality of instruction.

Twenty-five adolescents withdrawn from hazardous labour have been placed by FRADE as an apprentice in vocational skill training. A number of them were visited, working in workshops in carpentry, tailoring and motor mechanics. The implementing agency provides all trainees with a basic set of working tools, which is supposed to function as an incentive for the workshop master. Girls received a sewing machine and the boys a set of tools. For the initially modestly equipped master trainer in tailoring, this meant an increase in means of production. The duration of the apprenticeship was defined as approximately three years. During this time, the apprentices would not receive a salary. Apart from the modest working conditions (the motor-cycle mechanic workshop mainly consisted of a simple thatched hut containing one motor cycle and a toolkit), it should be understood that master teachers do not have any particular pedagogical and vocational skills. The vocational training itself probably consisted in participating in the production process under supervision of the master. Although this is a laudable initiative, it appears at the same time sub-optimal in terms of quality education and it is questionable whether the children will continue upon project termination, without appropriate incentives and with modest skills acquired. Isn’t this another cheap form of labour?

In Boké, a public vocational training centre was visited, set up with the help of CIDA. The centre has a capacity of approximately 500 students (actual enrolment: 402 boys and 55 girls). It offers various courses, e.g. in masonry (18 months), electricity (3 years), carpentry, etc. The centre is equipped with state of the art technology. Around the premises a number of former students have created small (cooperative) workshops producing good quality items, e.g. in carpentry. The entry requirements of the centre stipulate that students need to have finished primary school. This regulation hinders the admittance of drop-outs into formal programs. During discussions with the evaluation mission, the school director agreed to accommodate WACAP beneficiaries after official school hours. Although this would require a special program and the support by the centre’s teaching staff, both, WACAP and the direction of the training centre showed a keen interest to follow up this recommendation.

Particularly instructive was a meeting with the STCP coordinator for Guinée Maritime. It was acknowledged that STCP in Guinea is particularly involved in the implementation of C.182 (hazardous and exploitative child labour) and not much in C.138. Information was provided on the vulnerability of migrant workers from Guinée Buissau, the use of children on cocoa farms by Koranic teachers, and on the fact that many isolated communities do not have any school at all. These situations form a potential hazard and need further investigation. Trafficking is not known in cashew cultivation in this part of the country.

In addition to general information on occupational, safety and health issues, figuring in the STCP Field Farmers Handbooks, research has been undertaken on country specific OSH issues in four countries (see chapter on knowledge base). Based on this information, the project is to develop preventive strategies that aim to remove or minimize hazards for those of appropriate working age and to prevent young children from child labour. The OSH studies are presently being validated and therefore this program still is in its initial stages.

Box 3: Site visits in Ghana

In Ghana, field visits were paid to two different areas in the vicinity of Koumassi, where AP’s are being implemented by CEDEP (Centre for the Development of People) and EPAG (Environmental Protection Agency of Ghana), two well-established NGO’s. Moreover, the office premises of GAWU (Ghana Agriculture Workers Union) were visited in Accra, the project site itself being situated in the extreme north-eastern part of the country.

CEDEP operates in 4 districts (38 villages) in which initially 660 and more recently an additional 200 working children have been identified. Out of these 500 have been placed in school. Two children have been placed in the Integrated Centers for Employment Skills (ICES). EPAG has identified 300 working children in two different districts, from which 82 placed in primary school and the remaining 18 are targeted to benefit from vocational training. EPAG’s total target was limited by WACAP’s budgetary constraints. In its area of operations, in the North East, GAWU has a target of 300 working children to be withdrawn from irrigated rice production, from which 150 have been achieved. Hazards in the GAWU area are mainly identified as the use of hazardous agro-chemicals and “bird-scaring” during the cold season (with an alleged risk of pneumonia). From the 300 children, 30 adolescents are targeted to follow vocational training, through apprenticeships. All three programs work via a community entry

24 The ICES are run by the Ministry of Manpower. In principle, every 8 communities have one centre.
approach which forms the basis for the Child labour Monitoring System, piloted in Ghana, in cooperation with the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment and with concerned district assemblies. Altogether the social protection and child monitoring activities operate in 52 communities. Only recently and after an initial hesitation, the COCOBOD, has joint as a donor COCOBOD is not withdrawing the children directly but would assist (provide funds to cater for school fees, uniforms etc.) through implementing agencies. In a first period 100 children will be withdrawn.

The visit to CEDEP and EPAG project sites was split up in two groups. A CEDEP-supervised community was visited in Amansie West. The visit took place during the weekend and for that reason no regular classes could be attended. On the occasion of our visit, children were requested to join the meeting with the Community Child labour Committee. In this community, 20 children had been put into the first grade of primary school. The accompanying CEDEP staff made it clear that they were only a small part of the children found working or potentially at risk of starting to work and that the target was restricted due to budgetary constraints. In primary school children follow lessons in English, mathematics, sciences, social studies, music and dance, which are the subjects according to the official primary school curriculum. The circumstances were not very convenient to measure the children’s academic skills, which was restricted to counting to 20 and to singing a few songs. CEDEP is paying the fees for school material and uniforms at a cost of approximately USD 45 per child per year.

The Kuapa Koko Cooperative (fair trade movement) is active in the village with the construction of schools, toilets, oil processing units, and water-pumps and soap-making for women and a saving-credit scheme for its members. These activities are financed from social premium according to fair-trade standards. Child labour free production is one of the fair-trade standards. Claims from farmers that the fair-trade movement effectively monitors the child labour free production of cocoa could not be verified on the spot. No formal relation exists between CEDEP and the Kuapa Koko Cooperative.

The activities of STCP were neither known in this area, nor, as reported by EPAG, in their area of operations. GAWU is involved in rice-production which is not covered under STCP either.

In other operations, the same pattern of selection of project participants framed WACAP in communities. Here, it was noted that more than 400 children were deemed eligible for direct support, yet only a handful of less than 100 were selected for support. Local schools, while having six classrooms, were staffed by only three teachers, each having to rotate from class to class with as many as 85 students, and no visible didactic support.

The importance of the social protection schemes is the process followed, in which community child labour committees have been formed, trained and involved in the identification, withdrawal and social protection of child labour. From interviews with committee members it was noted they are aware of the temporary character of the project intervention. At the same time, they show a positive attitude towards continuation of these activities beyond the limits of the project. Also implementing agencies acknowledge the vulnerability of being dependent on temporary project funding. In Guinea a number of them informed the evaluators that they consider themselves to be “wacaped” by now, meaning that the elimination of child labour has become part of their core-business. With the help of improved project proposal preparation skills (trained by WACAP) they intend to contact other donors in order to solicit additional financial support for the sake of stepping up and/or guaranteeing the continuity of the activities started under WACAP.

**Table 3: Direct services to family members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services Per March 2005</th>
<th>Income generation</th>
<th>Credit Schemes</th>
<th>Literacy training</th>
<th>Medical check-ups</th>
<th>Other Services</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Minimal target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Côte d'Ivoire</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>1,165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>113</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>500</strong></td>
<td><strong>668</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,281</strong></td>
<td><strong>500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above table, the achievement of direct services to family members (target=500), has remained underexposed, particularly with regards to the strengthening of incomes of concerned adult family members. This is unfortunate, because it does not optimally use the mutually reinforcing potential of the project components. The original idea was to compensate the economic loss caused by the withdrawal of children by an increase of family income, either through STCP facilitated increase in productivity, or through the development of income generating activities. The only activity, which the mission has observed in the field (Cameroon), was support to women in soap-making, roadside markets and kitchens.

3.3.4 Child labour Monitoring System (CLMS)

Considerable project resources (approximately US$518,000) have been budgeted for the development of a CLMS in the five countries. Whereas in Côte d’Ivoire IPEC has provided technical advise in the development of a certification system for the chocolate industry, the WACAP CLMS is first being piloted in Ghana, from where it is to be spread and adapted to the other four countries. The pilot system in Ghana is integrated with the social protection component, working through the same 52 communities, through which three implementing agencies that are overseeing social protection schemes. Community Child labour Committees (CCLC) have been set up in 52 villages. Each community has a paid (by WACAP) monitor and supervisor, trained by the project in collecting baseline and follow up data on identified children. The other members of the CCLC work on a voluntary basis. CCLCs are supervised by District Child labour Committees, which work under the authority of five district governments. From this level, data are forwarded to the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment’s computerized data-base for compilations at the national level.

The monitoring system itself comprises a sophisticated data-base, programmed in Microsoft-Acces. It was developed with technical support from ILO/IPEC. At a national level, the Employment Information Branch (EIB) and the Child labour Unit (CLU) of the Ghanaian Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment, are responsible for the development and coordination of the CLMS. During the initial baseline study, 1,451 child workers have been identified by WACAP in the five selected areas out of which (at the date of monitoring) 578 had received WACAP assistance. The first CLMS report was presented to the National Steering Committee in February 2005.

Recently, the CLMS workshops have been held in the other WACAP nations. Funding proposal to install the CLMS in Nigeria and Cameroon, to be implemented the respective Ministries of Labour have been submitted to ILO/IPEC for approval. In Guinea an MP will shortly be implemented for inspectors and Labour administrators to identify a coherent framework for monitoring and inspection of child labourers working in plantations. The Ghana data-base expert will shortly be sent to Côte d’Ivoire to assist in setting up the CLMS data-base system. The locally-developed data-base system contains 5,000 names of children targeted for withdrawal and/or social protection activities.

Box 4: Observations on the Child labour Monitoring System, piloted in Ghana

The CLMS addresses child labour individually. It is mainly focused on working children who receive WACAP support (578) but equally includes around 154 children who have not yet received support. Presently the data-base contains the baseline data (based on four separate questionnaires) of 709 children, the ones receiving WACAP support (CEDEP: 493, EPAG: 111, GAWU: 91 and non-identified 14). These children have been identified in 52 communities spread over 5 districts. The baseline study is a benchmark for follow up through quarterly monitoring questionnaires. As from now on the baseline study will only be utilized for newly identified working children who qualify for social protection measures.

Since WACAP’s resource allocation is limited and the number of child labourers relatively high, a selection was made based on the following criteria: (1) degree of vulnerability, (2) target group for schooling from 7 to 13 years of age, (3) target group for vocational training from 14 to 18 years of age, (4) priority to out of school children, (5) priority to drop outs, (6) priority to those who never attended school, (7) priority to those originating from extremely poor families. A major restriction of the CLMS is that the database mainly contains the child labourers who have
been selected for social protection, based on the above criteria, as well as only part of the remaining working children (154 out of 896 identified). Be it true that this is sufficient to make rough estimations on the incidence of child labour in the concerned districts, by not including individual data of all identified child labour, neither general conclusions may be drawn on the character of child labour, nor may such results be extrapolated to the entire population of working children. The database incorporates the latest information technologies, is well conceived, well structured and logical in its set-up. CLU and EIB personnel manage the system and also the monitors, supervisors and district level staff of the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment as well as district councils have given proof of evidence that the system works smoothly. It plays a role in documenting targeted working children out of hazardous child labour.

A very important reservation deals with the scalability and sustainability of the system at affordable cost (so far approximately US$ 525 per beneficiary, system development costs and operational charges included). Its cost and complexity may mitigate extension to other areas. In order to justify a future investment from government side, it is desirable that, in a next project stage, the detailed data of all child labourers in the pilot areas will be included in the database; that all will have an individual record. This will provide a more complete picture of the characteristics of worst forms of child labour.

3.3.5 Knowledge Base and Information

The project intends to provide space for collection and dissemination of information generated by shared lesions and research. To that effect, country experiences were to be documented, analyzed, synthesized and widely disseminated. Databases are to share information from the CLMS as well as from other project components. The project aim was also to share these databases and information with STCP and the ILO/IPEC Trafficking project.

OSH studies and baseline surveys have been completed in the region and are presently being validated in WACAP countries. Results anticipated from these studies include: protocols concerning the OSH risk for children in the cocoa/commercial agriculture sector; preparation of a list of national institutions and experts involved in the evaluation of dangerous activities with regard to OSH; and the establishment of a plan of action with a view to eliminating associated hazards.

Box 5: Observations on Rapid Assessments

Rapid assessments have been done by the project in four countries: Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria. To what extent have these studies succeeded in providing additional data on the incidence of child labour in commercial agriculture?

The baseline in Cameroon only considers the population of working children on cocoa farms. Based on the last population census (1987) the number of children working in cocoa farms has been assumed equal to the total population of children in the concerned regions. The study provides descriptive demographic information on hazardous forms of child labour but also makes unsubstantiated extrapolations. It omits any analysis of public education and interaction between schooling and work. Moreover, no clear distinction is made between chronic and transitory child labour and child work.

The Ghana baseline study only considers the population of working children on cocoa farms and makes inferences drawing from a sample of 158 children, which is too little to meet standards for validity. The study estimates that 90% of rural children work on their family farms. It indicates that 8.7% (average 42 children per community) of respondents are child labourers originating from the North and that 70% should be categorized as child workers. The study renders little demographic or census information of any value.

The baseline in Guinea puts the incidence of child labour in a more accurate and valid perspective with respect to enrolment rates. The study documents a dismal picture with a low schooling rate, particularly in the rural areas (34.8% for boys and 16.9% for girls). It is estimated that 77.8% of the entire population over 7 years of age has never attended any school at all. Unfortunately also this study misses out an opportunity to stress the interaction between schooling and work and neither makes a distinction between chronic and transitory child labour.

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25 Out of 1,451 working children (767<12 years and 684-12/18 years) who have been identified, data have been included in individual records of the data-base for 709 of them (out of which 578 have been withdrawn, and 277 prevented). All withdrawn children have an individual record in the data-base but not all prevented ones have one.
An interesting development observed in the Nigeria baseline study is the considerable out-migration of adult men to the urban centers, leaving work in cocoa farms to older people and children. Of labour force in cocoa farms, 26% consists of non-family children and 13% of owners/sharecropper’s own children. The study also concluded that 53.6% of all working children in Ondo state (the principal cocoa growing region) originate from other parts of the country, indicating a substantial migration of working children. More than 40% of all working children dropped out from primary school. The percentage of working children/child labour who never attended school at all is not known. The report also argues that 43% of the children not attending school admit that their parents do not have the necessary financial means, whereas 35% has deceased parents. Provided that the above figures are justified, there is a strong indication that the proportion of working children at risk is relatively higher in Nigeria as compared to other countries.

As can be noted from these observations, baseline studies provide anecdotal and demographic information, but implementing agencies continue to struggle with definitions of child labour and its magnitude and composition. By most accounts gleaned from field observations and reports, the incidence of trafficked child labour appears to be modest. However, based only on the available and presented evidence, the situation in Nigeria and Cote d’Ivoire is sufficiently critical to warrant an immediate and reliable assessment.

Box 6: Observations on OSH studies

The OSH study in Cameroon, using an experimental and a control group, indicates that among 228 children interviewed, 50 were permanent workers (22%), whereas 27% of them never attended school at all. Major health risk identified was the use of agro-chemicals. A medical check-up of all interviewed children showed a high incidence of disease caused by the direct use of, or exposure to, agro-chemicals (respiratory and skin diseases affected between 30 and 50%). Recommendations have been formulated referring to improved health standards/legislation in the agriculture sector, protection measures (security kits) and the incorporation of occupational health standards in collective conventions between trade unions and employers’ organizations.

In Côte d’Ivoire a representative sample was drawn of 120 children, of which 25% proved to be illiterate and only 48% pursue schooling. The study shows that mainly adolescents manipulate agro-chemicals but, seen their higher level of risk-perception, they protect themselves better than the smaller children who, therefore are much more exposed to the risks. The same goes for protection in cleaning operations, in which, again and for the same reasons, smaller children are at higher risk. Recommended actions have been clearly defined in terms of responsibilities.

The OSH study in Ghana comprised a small sample (138 children). At odds with data in the rapid assessment, only one child was found who never attended any school at all, and between half and two-thirds of the children interviewed was in Junior Secondary School and the remainder in primary school. At the same time, permanent child labour was indicated as varying between 18 and 25%, which is neither consistent with the above indicated educational status, nor with the finding that between 86 and 96% of the interviewed children would be the farm owners’ own children. Researchers found that 65% of the children using or being exposed to agro-chemicals do not use any form of protection. About three-quarters of the children had experienced injuries from hazardous tools or snake-bites. Recommendations concentrate on the need to deal with of risk hazards in educational curricula.

The study in Guinea compares the incidence of child labour in different geographical areas of the country. Whereas the school enrolment rates in Guinée Forestière are rated high, it is believed that the ones in Guinée Maritime are much lower. From children interviewed on cocoa farms, 55% was attending primary school, whereas 41% did not follow any schooling. Principal occupational health hazards related to commercial agriculture were identified as accidents (60%). Because of deep family poverty and the high cost of agro-chemicals, phyto-sanitary treatments are rarely practiced. Recommendations advocate the integration of OSH issues in the formal school curricula, broader participation of international NGO’s, and need for a decentralized political system.

As compared to the other countries, the study in Nigeria is still in its initial stages.
3.3.6 Country-specific Strategies

In all five countries, STCP surveys have been undertaken. However, only in Côte d’Ivoire has a qualitative child labour community survey been done. Rapid assessments / base-lines in the other countries were expected to be conducted prior to the start of the direct action activities. The project document specifies that, seen their vulnerable position, special attention would be paid to sharecroppers’ working children. In Côte d’Ivoire and Nigeria sharecropping arrangements are known to be the most important type of labour supply. In Côte d’Ivoire they are predominantly of foreign origin and it is believed that their lack of documents impedes enrolment in formal schools. Language differences no doubt play a factor, since many migrant children arrive at their destinations with only maternal language skills, and cannot understand the language of instruction. Since these two countries were not being visited to verify to what extent sharecroppers and migrants have been prioritized in the social protection programs in these two countries. From information reported by national evaluation consultants, children from migrant and sharecropper families, drop outs, and those who have never enrolled in school, are the primary targets of WACAP social protection schemes.

3.4 Appraisal of performance

3.4.1 Relevance

While analyzing the relevance of the project, we seek to appraise to what extent the project’s objectives are consistent with the requirements of the beneficiaries, country needs, global priorities and donor policies.

Given the incidence and magnitude of child labour in commercial agriculture in West Africa, the Development Objective of the project (Contribute to the effective prevention and elimination of hazardous and exploitative child labour in commercial agriculture in West Africa) is fully relevant. It should, however, be said that the appraisal of hazardous and exploitative child labour, as reflected in C.182, comprises two distinct categories: (a) the so-called “unconditional” worst forms of child labour, like trafficking, debt bondage and slavery), as well as (b) children who are subject to hazardous working conditions. From the data provided in the IITA/STCP study it can be observed that in the five concerned countries only some 17,115 children have been identified who are non-family workers, part of which can certainly be classified as victims of “unconditional” WFCL. As substantiated through independent reports and other information collected in the course of the evaluation, the magnitude of child labour in commercial agriculture in the region may number as many as 5-6 million children. The overwhelming preponderance of this phenomenon consists of children working on family farms where hazardous activities are common. The extent to which these children are subject to WFCL is not known.

The Immediate Objectives of WACAP are equally relevant. The five objectives are mutually supporting each other and form part of ILO/IPEC’s Intervention model, which has been tested at length in other parts of the world and which has proved to be highly relevant for the elimination of the WFCL. While evaluating the achievement of these objectives, it has been observed that, for a multitude of reasons, there are considerable delays in a balanced implementation, which goes at the expense of their combined relevance.

3.4.2 Efficiency

The security situation Côte d’Ivoire has caused disruptions in project development; the decision to locate management to Accra was a logical one. But the action has had disadvantages. Accra does not have an official ILO representation, the presence of which might have contributed to more synergy with other ILO programs. On the other hand, since the technical and administrative backstopping of WACAP is centralized in Geneva, the changed location in Accra merely meant an extra administrative echelon. Since the Accra office now disposes of a disbursement account, expenditure process are no longer a major bottleneck.

Processing and approval process for subcontracting is logical, transparent and standardized for all ILO/IPEC projects and is shown to be zero tolerant of irregularities. One may argue that the lack of
procurement has impeded the operations, but the procedures have reportedly minimized arbitrary decisions and favouritism and maximized financial accountability. In exceptional cases, external payment authorizations for activities continue to be delayed; the number of instances brought to the attention of the evaluation mission was sufficient to merit a review of the financial management process.

As shown in chapter 3.2.3, project expenses on AP’s are seriously delayed. It is questionable whether it would wise to speed up their implementation since this would go at the expense of quality in supervision (the capacity of project staff is already stretched to the maximum) and implementation (implementing agencies may have a limited implementation capacity).

Funds have been spent in an economical manner. The total expenses on AP’s are presently in the order of magnitude of USD 600,000. For relatively little money devoted to this budget category much has been achieved given the agenda’s vast geographical area. Social dialogue has been advanced, motivating a multitude of stakeholders to recognize the problem and seek viable solutions.

3.4.3 Effectiveness

*Increased awareness and social mobilization*

The WACAP project has succeeded in developing a critical mass of stakeholders involved in the social dialogue on the elimination of child labour. In spite of initial hesitance, probably due to the fact that, with the exception of Côte d’Ivoire, concerned governments did not invite ILO/IPEC to implement this project in their countries, the increase in awareness has been palpable.

There are some differences in the degree of commitment to WACAP among countries, which is reflected in the involvement of the PTAC’s and the respective Ministries of Labour. In Ghana the PTAC functions well, while in others only marginally. This might be related to the fact that the Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment receives substantial WACAP financial support for piloting of the CLMS.

Because most international pressure has focused on in the Côte d’Ivoire and the country is the world’s leading cocoa producer, the Ivorian government gives high priority to the issue. There, a certification system supported by the cocoa industry has involved the Prime Minister’s office. Without exception, ministries of labour serve as interlocutors of WACAP and preside over the PTAC’s. In all instances, Labour ministries are responsible for child labour inspections, but their staffing and resources are universally limited and play at best a marginal role in mitigating child labour, especially in the agriculture sector.

To overcome these weaknesses, WACAP has trained labour inspectors and staff in other pertinent ministries, with the aim to increase their knowledge on relevant ILO conventions and national legislation. Numerous workshops have been organized for representatives of workers’ and employers’ organizations. During visits with stakeholders and other persons impacted by WACAP, hardly ever a defensive or justifying attitude was found. However modest the changes in deeply rooted child labour practices, an attitude is gradually taking root that condemns these practices, most importantly among concerned farmers who are seeing the need to develop viable alternatives for their children.

*Capacity building*

Another strength of WACAP has been its role in the strengthening of government capacities to address child labour through advancing national legal measures. In countries where no national action plan for the elimination of child labour existed, WACAP has been instrumental in supporting the definition of frame-conditions for such a plan. Hurdles remain to be overcome; in Cameroon, for example, the civil code is in need of revision and the penal code dealing with child labour is in an incipient state.

In many instances, especially in Guinea and Nigeria an excellent collaboration has been observed / reported between STCP and WACAP at all levels. WACAP has been instrumental in developing a training module on child labour and for occupational safety and health in agriculture. WACAP staff
has facilitated training courses for master trainers of Farmer Field Schools and in the case of Guinea, subcontracts with the STCP implementing agency, SPCIA, to oversee an Action Program. The strength of this training is its integrated manner to teach issues on agricultural production, respecting environmental considerations (integrated pest management) and child labour (with an accent on occupational, safety and health in commercial agriculture).

Effort has been put into the strengthening of implementing NGO agencies to plan and monitor action programs and this training has been well appreciated. It has served the purpose of better WACAP project preparation, implementation, and operational and administrative monitoring. Notably lacking in these institutional strengthening measures is any evidence of disseminating innovative community development measures to partner NGOs aimed at either economic development or improved education, which are at the root of the problem of child labour. The general pattern is that in the implementation of social protection schemes, subcontractors have followed lock-step with short term, numbers-driven activities. These agencies are short on capacity, staff and resources to work on contextual variables relating to root causes. The immediate and long-term survival or programmatic effectiveness of these organizations has not been a priority of ILO-WACAP, and that reality has diminished the project’s impact, especially in the area of social protection. Despite the lack of support to NGO partners, the evaluation team applauds their efforts to meet immediate WACAP objectives, particularly in light of difficult administrative circumstances and the limited support provided by ILO in the field of improved education.

Social protection

The overall achievement in this central thrust, in terms of quantitative output, is best characterized as modest and driven by short-term goals. It has been noted elsewhere that the conflict in Côte d’Ivoire and its impact on project implementation may be the cause of delayed spending. Although it was initially believed that budgetary constraints were at the origin of low numbers of targeted children, the figures in table 2 demonstrate that, half-way the phase, committed but not yet transferred funds for remaining AP implementation, as reflected in the modified project budget, amount to approximately 48% of the budget whereas, by that time, according to the tracking sheets, 21% had already been effectively transferred.

Another reason for delayed spending might well be that the supervision of AP planning (including decision and financial workflow), monitoring and, in particular, reporting are highly time consuming for the limited project staff. Equally the limited capacities of implementing agency staff and the huge distances to be covered in the field are other plausible explanations. The situation no doubt was aggravated by a change in WACAP project management. The decision to not renew the CTA’s contract left a vacancy in a critical position that was only filled after half a year. During the absence of a CTA, the sub-regional project officer was designated as Officer-in-Charge, with signatory authority and other responsibilities as Project Manager. As records show, this was the project’s most intense period in terms of Action Program planning, development and approval, as well as the period when it became clear that the focus of the project was shifting to Ghana and more intensified effort would be needed there. To support the Officer-in-Charge, a local program assistant was engaged on a temporary basis. Support from IPEC Geneva was considerably intensified during this period as well. After going vacant for nearly half a year, the CTA post was filled in March 2005. To ILO’s credit, interim management performed most effectively, and under much pressure and duress.

Wherever the evaluation mission went, community members and implementing agencies complained of the low target numbers children who were served. NGOs responded that they “were given a specific target”, normally 100 children or less. WACAP field staff confirmed the strategy by explaining to the mission that in this manner they could keep disbursement below the USD 20,000. Below this level, disbursements were said to be less complex and demanding of multiple tiers of approval. In contrast with above explanations, ILO/IPEC justifies the strategy by pointing out that many of the implementing agencies had not tested the strategies before and without this experience it would be more efficient to do smaller-scale Action Programs as pilots and in the meantime assess their performance and assist them with developing larger-scale programs. ILO/IPEC has quoted various
examples of implementing agencies starting their first AP with a small budget and who, after having given proof of evidence of their management capacity, were authorized to deal with substantially larger budgeted APs. ILO/IPEC equally put on record that, although the process for approval differs, the process for disbursement to implementing agencies does not depend on the budget of the Action Program. It was equally stated that there is no guarantee that smaller-scale ones will take less time than larger ones but that this would mainly depend on meeting the various technical and procurement requirements.

Notwithstanding the above explanations, numerous procurement protocols have made it necessary to reduce the magnitude of APs, resulting in a situation that excludes considerable numbers of vulnerable children from participation in the social protection schemes. In most target communities visited, this has led to consternation, resentment and in some instances, outright hostilities against implementing NGOs. Also from a perspective of efficiency in field monitoring, the thin spread of activities over such broad geographical areas is difficult to manage and support from WACAP offices.

The ILO/IPEC approach of “rescue and reintegration” of exploited children consists of identification, withdrawal, and reintegration of children into mostly primary education and, at times in vocational training activities. Fees are paid by implementing agencies to schools or master trainers for tuition, school material and uniforms; cost for vocational training often include a set of utensils/tools given to the students or a sewing machine provided to the master trainer.

In most cases observed, the quality of education varied from sub-optimal to marginal. Public primary schools located in cocoa areas are on the fringes of failure, costly and offer little prospects for long term scholastic success. The team noted that the project relied almost exclusively on public schooling with but few instances of exploring alternative, community-based, mixed grade programs that are needed to address the large numbers of children (up to and beyond 70 percent who never enrol in schools). Visits to school classes with working children in Cameroon and Guinea generally showed a picture of overcrowded multilevel classes with outspoken poor learning and teaching conditions.

In a few cases, however, (in the SABOU project in Guinea and, according to reports from Côte d’Ivoire, also in the “école nouvelle”, and in the “école mobile”) the project is assisting in the improvement of educational standards or in the development of programs for out of school and working children.

Vocational skills training for older children who cannot be reintegrated back in to a formal school system also follows a similar pattern. The team visited a number of apprenticeship workshops and was not impressed by the standards or conditions of instruction. There was no instance in which WACAP has attempted to subcontract or collaborate with government or NGO-run vocational schools. For example, at a few kilometres distance from WACAP “vocational centres” in Boké, Guinea, there is a well equipped and under-utilized public vocational training institute. Apparently no WACAP beneficiaries had attended the centre, even though the centre director indicated a desire to offer flexible vocational training to the project. As observed during field visits in all WACAP nations, the evaluation mission found no evidence to support the ILO/IPEC formula for vocational training. Placing children with so-called “master trainers” in unpaid apprenticeship adds little quality value to their skills and is perceived as a costly, myopic and futile solution.

Throughout the region, innovative educational schemes are being tested by a number of national and international donors and organizations, specialized in either primary education (e.g. UNDP, European Union/Commission, USAID, Cooperation Française, Coopération Suisse, JICA, CIDA, SNV and GTZ, and by NGOS such as CARE, World Education, Aide et Action, Plan International or Tostan) and/or vocational training (e.g. Don Bosco in Togo, or Songhai in Bénin). These schemes have advanced community based, child-centred education systems to quite impressive levels, but have not been consulted or leveraged by WACAP programs. In most instances, CPCs and partner NGO personnel are completely uninformed of these innovations, reflecting a degree of negligence on the part of ILO, USDOL, and the ICI. Too, despite the fact that most of children will later join the family farm there has no effort to integrate Farmer Field School operations with formal and informal schooling supported by WACAP. The evaluation team regards this as a rich resource gone unexploited to the detriment of children beneficiaries.
It is obvious that the project cannot improve the quality of the public education system overnight but at least it could have provided more space for innovations in its pilot interventions. The evaluators were informed of ministerial plans to improve the quality both in immediate and the long-term, and discussions with UNICEF and other agencies to bring them on-board to work with the Governments to improve rural public education, starting with WACAP target areas. These are laudable initiatives; however with less than one year remaining, the horizon approaches rapidly, too much so to expect a lasting effect. Given the strategic importance of good quality education in fighting child labour, the mission would have preferred that the project would have prioritized good quality education and vocational training from the outset.

Direct services to family members have similarly languished. For the most part these investments consist of soap-making, roadside or market kiosk kitchens or provision of merchandise for small stands. The project has supported some 200 operations. Unfortunately, collaboration in the field, as reflected in the project design, between STCP and WACAP has not materialized to a significant degree. The situation may be best represented by a STCP official’s comment that it, “is not the role of the project or cooperatives to get involved in the withdrawal of child labour and that they should keep an arm-length from extracting children […] and that their role should be a facilitating one and not a policing one”. With the exception of a few activities, economic losses resulting from the withdrawal of child labourers have not figured in the design and delivery of services for higher productivity or alternate income generation.

**Child labour Monitoring System**

The objective of the CLMS is:

- Raise public awareness and enhance the understanding of the problem of child labour;
- Identify child labourers engaged in cocoa and commercial agriculture farming and determine the risks they are exposed to;
- Refer the children to social protection service providers;
- Verify that the children so engaged are removed from the labour situation or that the risk has been removed (for those children who are at a legally working age);
- Track children removed from child labour to ensure they have satisfactory alternatives, and that workplaces (farms or plantations) that engages children are progressively free of the practice; and
- Make the system available to partners and stakeholders working on child labour issues who desire to carry out CLM.

As noted earlier in this report, a CLMS system piloted with ILO support in Ghana is being adapted in other WACAP nations. The system comprises a comprehensive data base, but at this stage in its development, only for beneficiaries of WACAP assistance. Its comprehensiveness may be a delimiting factor in broader expansion and sustainability. The system’s questionnaire contains over 40 pages of close-ended questions and according to at least one village enumerator, it is quite difficult and time consuming to administer. WACAP management has confirmed that the central questionnaire is to be reduced for more relevance and ease of administration.

The system as designed unites various stakeholders in its implementation: communities, local government and district and central ministry of labour offices. It is intended to monitor all working children in targeted areas. One strength of the CLMS is that it is has forged commitment and ownership at all levels, translating into an increased awareness of child labour and stimulating communities to plan action for the identification and elimination of child labour.

Despite the abundance of information generated by the CLMS system, the evaluation team remains concerned about the limited scope and application of the system, its cost of administration and maintenance and basic operating assumptions. With respect to administration, a streamlined questionnaire will facilitate local data gathering, but the process will continue to be managed by local functionaries, remuneration for whom will be in short supply after the life of WACAP. At this critical point of data collection, there will be need for ongoing training and continuous supervision and monitoring of enumerator skills and products. The system at present only deals with beneficiaries of
WACAP, and a noted, there are a great number of children involved in labour who have not been served by the project.

Our major preoccupation resides in the scarcity of program resources to install the CLMS system in West Africa. We have noted the scarce resources dedicated to child labour, rights and welfare by governments. The absence of program and personnel support will negatively impact the scalability and sustainability of any centralized system; irrespective of how rooted it may be at the village level. A more feasible approach may be to engage communities in a national effort for self monitoring and make that process contingent upon benefiting from WACAP action programs or STCP Farmer Field Schools.

While the present version of the CLMS goes far in describing and monitoring working places, families and part of the identified child labourers, it is recommended to shortly simplify the process and redirect focus to the village level for purposes of replication and sustainability.

Knowledge base and information

The major input for the WACAP knowledge base consists of the validated results of (1) the CLMS, (2) Rapid Assessments, (3) OSH studies and (4) the KAP study foreseen for Ghana. The CLMS is in its initial stages of implementation but benchmark data are now available in the form of a report to the NSC. Neither the country-specific rapid assessments nor the OSH studies have been finalized. They are presently being validated. From above observations on both sets of studies it appears that there are large differences in methodology and quality and output is not always reliable. Taken as a composite, they provide some useful information, particularly with regards to OSH. They have proved very valuable in helping to get the key stakeholders in the country to engage in a debate on the issue and are essential steps in moving towards policy action and further quantitative research. ILO/IPEC did explain to the evaluators that it was assessing the studies to determine which useful and valid finding might frame a synthesis report.

As a compliment to the IITA/STCP surveys, which similarly suffer from threats to validity, rapid assessments only have a restricted value. As a consequence, no reliable figures are available on the incidence of child labour in the commercial agriculture in West Africa. The issue is further clouded by unclear definitions of the different categories of child labour, the complexity of the issue, the vast geographic area covered, to the limited funds made available and, last but not least, to the limited implementation capacity of the involved research institutions. It is of utmost importance that a region-wide assessment predicates any future efforts to mitigate child labour in the targeted countries. There are a number of alternative survey methodologies available to guide such research. The intent here is to establish a universal understanding of the nature and magnitude of the problem, clarify definitions of child labour in line with relevant conventions, and to identify emerging labour force patterns so that appropriate strategies might be designed.

3.4.4 Special concerns

Respect of international labour codes

By default, ILO projects further international labour conventions and recommendations relevant to its field of operations. With the exception of Ghana, (which has not ratified C.138) the remaining WACP countries, Côte d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Guinea and Nigeria, have ratified both conventions. ILO/IPEC has now signed Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) with all five countries. Through these MoU’s governments pledge to ensure that children are not exploited or involved in WCFL through formulating safeguard policies and legislation. WACAP Guinea has assisted in this process by supporting the establishment of a protocol of cooperation between Guinea and Mali on child trafficking, as part of the ILO Trafficking project. WACAP Cameroon has participated in the drafting of a family and children law. In Nigeria, WACAP has been instrumental in the passing into law the
Child Rights Act by the National Assembly and in enacting the Trafficking in Persons Law Enforcement and Administration Act. In Ghana, USDOL’s Time-Bound program started in January 2005 and is co-officed with WACAP.

**Gender balance**

According to ILO policies, working girls are given priority consideration in the implementation of their activities. Cocoa farming mainly involves boys but certain tasks are implemented by girls. According to data from the baseline studies, approximately a quarter of the child labour in commercial agriculture consists of girls. From the 2,475 children reported to have been withdrawn and provided with educational opportunities, 46% were girls. From the 589 children reported to have been prevented and provided with educational opportunities, 40% were girls. From the children, reported to have been prevented from entering child labour and provided with non-educational services, 59% were girls. These percentages indicate that girls have been given a more than proportional attention in the social protection schemes. Direct action to adult members, in Cameroon and Guinea, was entirely targeted to adult women. Given the specific cultural context of the area of operations, in which the majority of cocoa farms is managed by male heads of household, this is an outstanding achievement. The fact that the ILO/IPEC program manager and three out of five WACAP country coordinators are women themselves might provide a plausible explanation for this success.

**Sustainable development**

In contributing to STCP’s manual of the Farmer Field Schools, WACAP has advanced the use of Integrated Pest Management, mitigation of child labour and OSH. The notion here is that reduced reliance on insecticides and better cocoa cultivation practices will mitigate children’s exposure to environmental contaminants and enhance family income to cover the costs of schooling. During field visits, the evaluation team noted that farmers confirmed intensive use agro-chemicals; many were concerned that their children were exposed to chemicals and involved in their application. Wide use of insecticides, with the attendant exposure of children to dangerous chemicals is further documented in OSH studies. Unfortunately, STCP’s FFS has been offered only on a very limited basis. The evaluation team found not one instance of WACAP NGOs or Action Programs incorporating FFS in the repertory of interventions. Besides the need to intertwine these programs at the field level, there is also an urgent need for ILO, FAO and the national governments and the cocoa industry to collaborate on the definition and prohibition of harmful agro-chemicals.

**3.4.5 Scalability and sustainability**

As one of the opportunities for increased sustainability the project document identifies the integration of WACAP activities into the agricultural sector policy of the participating countries. This was expected to be done mainly through direct linkages with the agricultural ministries and departments, through the National Steering Committee and PTAC meetings, as well as through collaborating agencies and programs, such as the STCP. Where the project is working with agriculture workers’ groups, such as GAWU in Ghana, this link is being promoted.

The aim of STCP is to reduce economic pressure to employ cheap child labour. WACAP has joined with STCP to elaborate the child-labour module in the FFS training manual and various, but limited field activities. However, the potential for synergy with WACAP has not been utilized in an optimal manner; in most countries there is either no geographical overlap between the areas of operation, or if there is, opportunities for a formalized cooperation have not been sufficiently leveraged. If the idea is to reduce economic pressure to employ cheap child labour, one would have expected the two projects to develop a strategy for targeting the same communities and, in particular, families with children at risk in these communities. This has not been the case.

As another opportunity for sustainability the project document identifies stakeholder commitment and ownership. It is acknowledged that the project has been very successful in promoting both; without any doubt, social awareness has been raised in order to keep this momentum, but project efforts have
not integrated social protection and other initiatives, such as the CLMS or direct services to parents and children. To what extent this approach can be expected to continue after project termination remains an open question. Interviewed villagers seem to be rather optimistic about their capacity to continue the activities with their own resources and several district governments (in Ghana) are optimistic about financial resources to continue addressing the CLMS in the future. But given the modest resources available outside the WACAP project, there either must be a compelling reason to continue the system in the future, or the quality of the associated services (education, vocational skill training, income generation, increased productivity, improved marketing, higher farm-gate prices) must be sufficiently attractive to expect a cost-sharing by the communities. These conditions were not noted during the evaluation.

Another assumption of sustainability is that the promotion of education will impact the supply of child labour, based on the premise that when children go to school they are not engaged in work, and hence contribute to sustainability. Equally, the provision of training and income-generation opportunities to those of legal working age is perceived as contributing to sustainability, since this would decrease the need for children to work because of economic necessity. In theory, this argument is plausible, but in practice the quality of both sets of interventions has remained sub-optimal. Be it true that the project had plans (initiated in Ghana and Cameroon) whereby support will be provided to the relevant government agencies to develop a framework for short and long-term strategies for improving access and quality of education in rural farm areas, opportunities to link up to institutions experienced in both primary education and vocational skills in rural areas have not been sufficiently availed. Education is at the core of WACAP interventions but this has not translated into a long term strategy and/or space for piloting child-centred educational innovations.

As to the scalability of project interventions, the project document is quite specific: “The intervention models tested and demonstrated under WACAP will be replicable so that the Governments or other donors can take them to scale.” The CLMS, centrepiece of WACAP has been piloted in 5 out of 113 districts in Ghana. It is highly improbable that the intensive monitoring that defines the system cannot be scaled up at affordable costs.

With respect to withdrawal of children from labour, WACAP social protection schemes (cost for CLMS and awareness initiatives excluded), aiming to withdraw or prevent children from entering or integrate children into primary school or vocational skills training effectively costs more than USD 200 per child. Considering that lack of family resources are the principal obstacle to enrolling children in school, it is doubtful if poor families can marshal resources or whether sufficient government resources will emerge to broaden access to learning.

### 3.4.6 Alternative strategies

ILO/IPEC’s model of intervention has shown little comprehension of the systemic deficiencies in public sector capacities or the delimiting forces of family poverty in WACAP nations. A number of factors have contributed to this situation that might have been addressed by:

- **Improved problem analysis**

  The fact that both the IITA/STCP surveys as well as the country baseline studies on the incidence of child labour have not yet been finalized illustrates the challenges to the design of a coherent and cogent strategy to deal with child labour. It may have been preferable to devise a Region-wide investigation that used rapid, valid and economic sampling and field research techniques. These designs are prolific in literature on social accounting, and their use would have avoided the methodological and conceptual flaws that have confounded program planners and managers.

- **Process vs. quantitative output**

  The project logical framework concentrates on quantitative outputs and undervalues the importance of qualitative aspects. It would have been preferable to conceive well-defined process steps and involve the end user in developing indicators to measure the quality of the interventions. Attitudes among WACAP field staff differ; some managers view the assignment to “rescue and reintegrate, as quickly as possible” 9,700 children, while others stress the importance of long-term systemic changes.
Educational strategy

According to ILO/IPEC, WACAP is confronted with a choice between working with a poor quality public education system, that is largely available and accessible and will continue beyond the project period, or establishing higher quality centers for which there was no prospect of continuation after project’s short duration. There are no local resources for educational programming readily available; the project duration was very limited; and there was no commitment of second phase funding from the project’s donors. Thus WACAP management made the decision to work with public educational systems and is using its scant funding to stimulate central governments toward improvement of the broader education framework.

Given the primordial importance of educational interventions, it would have been advisable to further assess the value of public education before committing resources to those services. Rather than rely on these failing and fragile institutions and provide support to governments on developing an education framework, alternative strategies might have focused on creating linkages with innovative child-centred educational options, responding to the specific needs of working children. First hand experiences with such innovative experiences at play in West Africa could have provided a valuable input into the development of educational strategies to meet WACAP goals. The team was most disappointed with the lack of involvement of producer cooperatives whose program delivery infrastructure and collective weight may have contributed to a feasible and sustainable solution to address continuity issues and resource generation.

Geographical focus

Resources for AP’s have been spread thin. This has not only led to social exclusion and to insufficient and sub-optimal quality interventions, it also has lead to multiple repetitions of the same “social protection model” in all countries (except in several excellent alternatives). Models have been applied without testing, monitoring and evaluation. The geographic dispersal of programming has limited program sharing, coordinated training and supervision, and left most action programs without WACAP field oversight.

Decentralized strategy development

In the case of the CLMS, ILO/IPEC has opted to centralize the development of the model, which is to serve as a blueprint for the other countries. Although this is a cost-effective method for developing the system, a successful replication in other countries will depend on the degree in which the specific context in other countries resembles Ghana’s (committed ministry and implementing agencies, decentralized local government). The commitment and ownership in Ghana have been remarkably high, because the implementing partners have been associated to the development and testing of the system. A parallel development and testing in other countries of a low-key system, in a restricted geographical area, modestly financed and simplified, might be a more viable alternative.

Gradual phasing in and out

It may have been fruitful to launch a development phase in which pilot interventions could be tested, in which all components would have been implemented in a balanced manner. The project document lacks any indication of the expected life-cycle of the project. If by summer 2005, there will be no clear indication that donors are willing to extend the project; an exit strategy will be developed for implementation during the last six months of the project.

Flexibility in using local opportunities

In all countries there are a plethora of development programs in execution, many of which could have added considerable value to the quality of WACAP APs. Whereas in a few countries (Guinea, Cote d’Ivoire and Nigeria) opportunities for collaboration with international NGO’s and/or producer cooperatives have been availed, in others, WACAP has tended towards working only with small NGOs or public agencies. IPEC has made an effort to inform and link with other international agencies; however the evaluators note the absence of collaborative partnerships with specialized NGOs, adding quality to social protection schemes (in particular in the field of education) has not sufficiently materialized. ILO/IPEC management has commented that such partnerships do not
necessarily result in collaboration or complementary programming unless the other agencies are obliged to do so. Given the storehouse of experience and resources these NGOs could bring to bear in mitigating child labour through improved education, it is disappointing that WACAP has chosen to rely only on smaller, weaker and less capable NGO partners.
4. CONCLUSIONS

4.1 Problem analysis

- The project design is based on information from IITA/STCP surveys done in four countries. These surveys highlight children at risk, e.g., children of migrants and sharecroppers, or children without family ties with the employer and permanent salaried child labour. Figures from these surveys are incomplete, based on dates and faulty statistics, contradictory and misleading with regard to the magnitude of the problem.

- Above surveys fail to distinguish between child workers, unconditional WFCL, children at risk and hazardous child labour. They are supported by sketchy field work that extrapolates from data bases of dubious provenance. Research on child labour is contradictory: human rights reports quoted by a US senator, for example, state that 90% of the cocoa farms in the Côte d’Ivoire use forced child labour. Applying this finding to the IITA estimate of children working in Côte d’Ivoire cocoa farming, this would mean some 560,000 children are enslaved, which is clearly not the case. Definitions of child labour and its unconditional worst (trafficking, debt bondage, slavery) and hazardous (manipulating machetes and applying pesticides) forms are not readily applied to cocoa production. Ten year old trafficked children cannot simply be put in the same category as a 17 year-old using a machete to clear grass. This lack of clarity in the application of the definition of working children, child labour, children at high risk and hazardous labour, has contributed to an ongoing confusion with regards to the nature and incidence of the problem.

- Given the deteriorating economic conditions of life in cocoa production, the ever rising population and the incapacity of the public and private sector to respond to children’s needs, WACAP is hardly in a position to challenge the root causes of child labour. However encouraging the emphasis on awareness raising and the efforts to work on a change in accompanying frame-conditions and legislation, in order to be effective in the long term, project activities must support broader systemic actions challenging the root causes of child labour. However modestly the project might contribute to that goal, strategic alliances with institutions addressing educational, social and economic development have been as yet an untapped potential.

- It is well documented that hundreds of thousands of children, often below legal working age are compelled to work in sometimes hazardous conditions on family farms. It is obvious that this goes at the expense of their educational development, physical and mental health. That phenomenon should not be confused with itinerant voluntary or involuntary migration and unconditional forms of worst child labour which also exists in the region. There is mounting evidence that the former category (involuntary migrants) takes worrying proportions in Nigeria and Cote d’Ivoire).

- Problem analyses rightly emphasize poverty as the main cause of child labour. This would is aggravated by the drop in world market prices and has compelled farmers to increasingly use child labour on small unproductive farms. Since trade liberalization policies have taken effect, the world prices have steadily increased; however, farm-gate prices in West Africa are significantly lower than in the rest of the world. This is likely an indicator of an inefficient marketing structure in which benefits between farmers and intermediaries are unequally distributed. Hence the importance to strengthen producer and marketing cooperatives (one of the objectives of the STCP), as well as trade unions for plantation workers (one of the objectives of the ILO). Whatever the real cause of poverty, it is an undeniable fact that children on small farms have to stand in order to make both ends meet.

- The problem analysis has not sufficiently reflected on the quality of existing public primary, secondary and vocational training services. Although gross enrolment in primary school in West Africa has steadily increased, capacity is outstripped by population growth. Given the high rate of illiteracy and unemployment in cocoa growing areas, even those who attend school likely come away with few skills for a prosperous life. Schools do little in preparing children for the labour market or to become more responsible and productive farmers. Education is at the heart of ILO/IPEC’s social protection schemes and for that reason ILO/IPEC needs to draw lessons from
innovative approaches to child-centred programs throughout the developing world by international and national NGOs.

- Whereas the problem analysis states that in large majority cocoa cultivation takes place on small holdings, the liberalization of cocoa trade, started since the end of the nineties, has lead to the establishment of large scale plantations. This has been reported from both Côte d’Ivoire as from the western part of Guinea. The type of child labour found on large scale plantations is generally non-family related which carries a potential risk for the involvement of trafficked child labour.

4.2 Project concept and approach

- Throughout the project document, reference is made to the relevant conventions, C.182 and C.184. The project concept is sound. ILO/IPEC’s intervention model is holistic in outlook and contains five mutually reinforcing components, the concurrent implementation of which is a necessary condition for success. Its inherent weakness might well be situated in the assumed logical sequence between cause and effect (e.g. what is the independent variable in the relation between improved well-being and awareness raising?).

- Although WACAP’s overall goal has been defined in terms of its contribution to the elimination of hazardous child labour, the definition of the immediate objectives lacks specificity, which makes the measurement of their achievement difficult. They are defined in relative terms like: strengthening awareness, appropriate social protection options, credible CLMS and an enhanced knowledge base.

- The institutional and management frameworks are well established. In spite of the relocation of WACAP project management to Ghana, and a critical change in management at mid-project, the project has been well managed. STCP is defined as a key partner, and expected to serve as a link between project management and producers. The project concept equally emphasizes a close cooperation with the ILO Trafficking project as well as operational support from ILO headquarters and regional multidisciplinary teams.

- A realistic time-frame seems to be lacking. The current project phase features no mid-term project cycle duration or exit preparation. It is highly unrealistic to assume that in such a short time-span, with major disruptions, substantial progress can be achieved. There was no commitment in principle from any of the donors for a second phase; if by July, 2005 the situation remains the same, the project will plan a phase-out strategy, which will begin in fall 2005.

- The evaluators were informed that the focus of the project was clearly Côte d’Ivoire, the world’s largest producer of cocoa. The country requested the ILO and donor assistance, had started the groundwork for dealing with child labour; the problem had been acknowledged by the government and the key stakeholders. None of these features existed for the other countries, even after the project started. In spite of this explanation, targets and the underpinning budgets for social programming seem quite very modest in countries other than Côte d’Ivoire. With the exception of significant investments to develop the CLMS in Ghana, other nations have received rather limited allocations for social programming.

4.3 Implementation arrangements

4.3.1 Project management

- The project sub-regional management operates under the technical guidance of IPEC Management in Geneva and the administrative supervision of the ILO Directors responsible for the respective countries, i.e. ILO Dakar for Guinea, ILO Abuja for Ghana and Nigeria, Yaoundé for Cameroon, initially ILO Abidjan, now ILO Dakar for Cote d’Ivoire. Project country level management (i.e. CPCs) operates mainly under the technical guidance of the project sub-regional management, with support from IPEC Geneva and ILO specialists based in the respective sub-regional offices.

- Ongoing support is provided by various IPEC units, primary among them being the Program Support Unit, but also the Design and Evaluation Unit (e.g. for managing the present evaluation),
the Legal Unit, and the Hazardous Work and Child labour Monitoring Unit. Collaboration was planned in the initial stages with the ILO’s Cooperatives program; close consultations have taken place with ACTRAV, successful collaborative work on the Farmers’ Training manual has taken place with ACTRAV, and consultations have been ongoing with MULTI for use of the Global Compact child labour training module for the corporate sector. With the focus now on enhancing the education and families’ economic empowerment aspects expertise will be sought from IPEC’s education unit and the ILO’s programs on Skills and Social Finance.

♦ Despite delays and cumbersome procurement procedures, the project is likely to meet numerical objectives. Without exception, project staff in Geneva, at sub-regional and national levels, is highly committed to the cause of the project. Administrative ILO arrangements are often needlessly complex due to its centralized financial and administrative procedures. There are numerous complaints that the system is particularly difficult in granting external payment authorizations.

♦ There are differences in involvement and commitment of the project technical advisory committees between the five countries. Ministries of labour were requested to take the lead in establishing the PTACs and to a large degree, PTACs reflect the capacities those ministries. Where labour activities are spread over multiple entities, such as in Cameroon, the WACAP interlocutor institution is rather weak. Generally speaking, trade unions and employers’ organizations active only in an advisory capacity; in other instances, they participate in the implementation of AP’s.

♦ Substantive collaborations have been observed between STCP and WACAP at the policy and advisory level and with Farmer Field Schools. The child labour module for the FFS manual was prepared by WACAP with the support of various technical units of ILO/IPEC and is of good quality. Expectations that STCP would link with WACAP programs, and generated participation of cooperatives and producers has not broadly materialized. Although there is excellent operation between WACAP and STCP partners (e.g. SPCIA in Guinea, OFSAD in Cameroon and in Côte d’Ivoire and Nigeria) there has been no WACAP-wide coordination in linking an increase in productivity and strengthening of producer cooperatives (STCP) with the social protection schemes and CLMS. The hope that STCP would increase the incomes of cocoa farming families from which WACAP would withdraw and rehabilitate child labour has not been realized.

4.3.2 Administrative, financial and reporting systems

♦ Project management processes followed ILO/IPEC’s Project Operational Manual; however, the workflow for approval of AP’s and external payment authorizations appears to be complex and lengthy. As a consequence, regional staff and CPC’s have had to adopt strategies to cope with this lengthy and serpentine process. Several examples were brought to the attention of the evaluators on unnecessary delays in granting disbursement authority that have had deleterious effects on the execution of activities. Project monitoring and reporting absorbs considerable time and energy for all involved, yet fails to provide information expected by donors. Some detail provided in the status reports go well beyond the donor requirements, while more pertinent information is left un-reported. The unexpected termination of the WACAP regional director’s contract has also had a profound and negative impact on implementation. That position was permanently filled only during the evaluator’s debriefing in Ghana, with less than a year remaining in the operation.

4.3.3 Resource allocation

♦ As noted, the Côte d’Ivoire was allocated the majority of funds available for social protection efforts. Despite barriers posed by civil instability, there has been no redistribution of funds to other nations. Because the evaluation team was not permitted into CDI we had to rely on secondary reports from the CPC and the national consultant, neither of whom have spent significant time in areas targeted by WACAP. There remain ongoing concerns as to the quality of social action programs in that country. Respecting disbursement of funds at the country specific level, the validation of rapid assessments and OSH studies, meant as an input for further action, has been severely delayed due to a late start and methodological and conceptual flaws.
Because of these delays, the effective expenditure for action programs has only taken off in 2004. Whereas the evaluation team was of the impression that social protection targets had been kept low because of “budgetary restrictions”, by mid-February 2005, 21% of the modified AP budget had been transferred and another 48% committed.

4.4 Achievement and appraisal of project components

4.4.1 Relevance

- Project objectives are relevant and consistent with the incidence of child labour in commercial agriculture/cocoa farming and relate to the international labour conventions C.138, C.182 and C.184. The fact that C.182 articles 3(a) and 3(d) mention different forms of WFCL has not been well reflected in the problem analysis. The project’s immediate objectives are relevant for any operation addressing the problem of hazardous child labour.

4.4.2 Efficiency

- In spite of late start-up and management change, funds have been spent in an efficient and cost-effective manner. The evaluation team wishes to commend the WACAP management team for significant accomplishments in the face of limited resources and a challenging operating environment.
- In view of its ambitious objectives the project appears to be critically understaffed. With the exception of Côte d’Ivoire, quantitative targets for withdrawal/prevention and social protection will probably be achieved; however, WACAP goals go well beyond this expectation.

4.4.3 Effectiveness

Increased awareness and social mobilization

- The training of labour inspectors, other ministerial staff, trade unions, employers’ organizations, FFS master trainers and implementing agencies has substantially contributed to an increased awareness on the problem of child labour.
- Around project interventions, such social protection schemes and CLMS, a critical mass has been built up through which a social dialogue has been initiated on the elimination of child labour. As a consequence, this has elevated the issue as a priority where before it was largely ignored.
- Little resistance was found that characterizes hazardous child labour as a justified socialization mechanism. However modest the changes in these deeply rooted practices, an attitude has developed through society that recognizes the problem and perceives the need for developing viable alternatives.

Capacity building

- The project has succeeded in strengthening the partner capacities to address the issue of child labour and to plan actions. Implementing agencies praise the training in preparation of project proposals. For most of them child labour belongs now to their core business. Beyond the elaboration of proposals, budgets and work plans, WACAP has had made no palpable contribution to strengthening local NGOs.
- WACAP has equally contributed to the preparation or implementation of national action plans for the elimination of child labour and to the further development of legal measures.
- The piloting of the CLMS, training of FFS master trainers and the strengthening of project proposal preparation by implementing agencies, need to be mentioned as successful examples of capacity strengthening.
- Since pilot programs are of such limited impact and duration, it is unlikely that interventions have had a broad impact on local and regional governments, community-based organizations, or on basic education systems.
Overall achievement in this core activity has been modest. The WACAP project has not yet started the protection and prevention of indirect beneficiaries: 70,000 children aged to 13 to 18 years, through OSH outreach interventions. Only those action programs in Cameroon and Guinea include OSH outreach activities/campaigns. The project has mainly concentrated on the social protection of children below 13 years. With the possible exception of Côte d’Ivoire, quantitative targets for withdrawal from child labour and prevention of younger siblings and others at risk, and their integration into educational alternatives will be achieved. Direct action programs targeted to families, whose working children have been rehabilitated through project interventions, remain poorly implemented.

It was expected that the project would go beyond numbers and address program quality. However, quantitative targets for action programs have aimed at, and only met, minimum expectations, so that only a very small number of the identified children have been served, and likely without long-term benefits. Based on these restricted targets, implementing agencies and community committees had to discriminate in the selection of participating children. There is no doubt about the quality of the selection criteria, but numerous children have been left out from social protection which, in many situations has led to parental and child anger and a sense of social exclusion.

In all countries visited, implementing agencies justified this selection by referring to budgetary constraints. However, from the comparison of effective transfers and committed funds against modified budget it becomes clear that such was by far not the case. ILO/IPEC justifies the strategy by pointing out that many of the implementing agencies had not tested the strategies before and without this experience. The logic follows that it would be more efficient to do smaller-scale Action Programs as pilots before assessing their value and extending to other areas. The evaluation team noted no provisions in place for this approach, since there was little if any monitoring and evaluation built into the action programs observed.

It was noted that social protection efforts were implemented as a standardized model; the same pattern was followed in all countries. With a few notable and positive exceptions, the quality of educational alternatives, primary school or vocational skill training varies between sub-optimal and marginal. In Nigeria, classes in public schools have been reported to exceed 300 children; in other countries visited, classes were filled to overcapacity with apparent consequences. Of some 180 children (WACAP beneficiaries) interviewed during the evaluation, only a very few were able to converse in the language of instruction (French or English): this, despite the fact that most respondents were in advanced grades.

In vocational skill training the services, the services of local artisans are being availed to accept a few youngsters as unpaid apprentices for periods of two to four years (the evaluators saw this as little more than a form of cheap labour). None of these masters appeared to have any industrial or pedagogical training skills themselves and the learning conditions in the workshops were, to say the least, bereft of any instructional resources.

Although education is at the heart of WACAP’s intervention in social protection, no comprehensive educational initiatives have been developed to overcome the failing public service delivery. Equally, efforts have been lacking to reach out to international donors and organizations which might contribute to advancing WACAP goals in child-centred education, basic education or informal and vocational skills training. Most of the children will later join the family farm, and the present educational system hardly prepares them to become more responsible and better performing farmers. One cocoa industry observer remarked that “rehabilitated” children have only evolved from a “worst to a futile situation” because of WACAP interventions.

In terms of implementation arrangements with STCP, WACAP has not established grass-roots interactions except in a few nations. Farmer Field Schools, the most important asset of STCP has not been exploited by WACAP NGOs except in a few instances.

Child labour Monitoring System
♦ The system has united various stakeholders in its preparation and implementation and has forged commitment at the national level. This has translated into an increased awareness of child labour and it has helped the involved communities to plan action for the identification and elimination of child labour. Nevertheless, there is no manifest commitment on the part of participating governments, with the exception of Cote d’Ivoire, to provide sufficient budgetary support that is needed for scaling up or expansion. The CLMS has been largely created, tested and piloted through WACAP financial support. Where that support is not forthcoming there has been little movement in its adoption or implementation.

♦ Although the CLMS provides information on the incidence of child labour, because of the variable degree in recording of individual parameters, no general conclusions may be drawn on the underlying characteristics. While the present version of the CLMS goes far in describing and monitoring working places, families and part of the identified child labourers, it is recommended to shortly start simplifying it for the purposes of replication and sustainability.

Knowledge base and information

♦ The deficiencies in methodology, concepts and the overall quality of the rapid assessments and OSH studies provide a scant base for policy or action. These studies provide interesting background information which can orient future country-wise priorities but they have not provided a valid indication on the incidence of child labour in commercial agriculture in West Africa. The OSH studies have proved very valuable in helping to get the key stakeholders in the country to engage in a debate on the issue and focus on it, which are essential steps in moving towards policy action and further quantitative research. IPEC explained to the evaluators that it was assessing the studies to see if anything useful and valid could be presented in the form of a synthesis report.

4.4.4 Special concerns

♦ The project has not only respected the international labour codes, it has been actively promoting a better understanding of the conventions pertaining to child labour.

♦ With regards to the respect of the gender balance, not only is the project management well-balanced, also the working girl has been given due attention in the implementation of social protection schemes. As compared to their relative contribution to work in cocoa cultivation (app. 25%), girls are well-represented in the social protection schemes (40 to 59%).

♦ Indirectly, WACAP contributes to the environmental objectives of STCP (promotion of integrated pest management). The OSH studies highlight the health dangers of agro-chemicals. Also the environmental risks are obvious. As observed in the field, agro-chemicals are still largely used. There is an apparent need for ILO and FAO to work together with the concerned governments on the definition of officially probated agro-chemicals.

4.4.5 Sustainability and scalability

♦ The project document indicates that one of the basic mechanisms for sustaining WACAP is its integration into agriculture sector policies. This was expected to be done through linkages with STCP, where the key for a successful cooperation is defined as reducing economic pressure to employ cheap child labour. At both the national policy level and in field operations, this potential for synergy has not been optimally exploited.

♦ Although interviewed stakeholders seem to be optimistic on their capacity to sustain the project activities after WACAP, the evaluators see little basis for such expectations. In light of the incapacity of farmers to pay for school fees, rapidly rising numbers, and dwindling government resources available for social development, it is difficult to imagine continuation of program benefits. Any broader and sustained support for WACAP will of necessity come from present donors, or if services become sufficiently attractive to warrant cost-sharing by community members.
4.4.6 Alternative strategies

- **Improved problem analysis**: a region-wide cross sectoral survey of the dimensions of child labour and the circumstances that permit child labour, pre-project analysis of available educational options.

- **Process and quality vs. quantitative outputs**: well-defined process steps, quality bench-marks and indicators.

- **Educational strategy**: exploring the quality of existing alternatives and opportunities for joint partnership with organizations promoting innovative child-centred educational options and integrated village development.

- **Geographical focus**: geographic concentration on a restricted number of model pilot villages; sufficient resources to include all child labour in protection and monitoring schemes; good quality protection schemes linked through joint partnership with qualified institutions.

- **Decentralized strategy development**: avoid centralized blueprint models but develop, test and focus on comprehensive, economical and simple models that can be replicated throughout WACAP nations.

- **Gradual phasing in and out**: demonstrate validity of models in a focused manner, before starting the main phase of the project. Indicate the expected life-cycle of the project and pay attention to the timing of the exit strategy.

- **Flexibility and enterprise in using local opportunities**: recognize weaknesses of WACAP program and look for joint partnerships to mitigate these weaknesses and to transform them into strengths.
5. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Problem analysis

- It is recommended to organize, at short notice, a collaborative regional validation workshop of all child labour surveys and rapid assessments, the result of which should feed into one sample-based study on the incidence of child labour in commercial agriculture in West Africa. Such a comprehensive study should be mandated to an independent organization with due experience in the subject matter and in the region. It is of utmost importance that a clear conceptual distinction be made between the different forms of child labour.

- With the support of the international community and under the guidance of an international expert in education and vocational training, a regional inventory should be made of studies on the quality of the educational systems in the WACAP countries. This inventory should equally comprise cost-effective child-centred educational alternatives for the rural areas, already well-developed by a number of international donors and institutions. The expected output is the establishment of partnerships, which might focus on a number of model/demonstration villages, as an integrated part of the social protection activities.

- In technical progress reports, the WACAP country offices should report on the disturbing trend of cocoa production through large plantations, and the possible use of hired or trafficked child labour. The project could more systematically report on the incidence of trafficked child labour in the region, based on information from the ILO trafficking project.

- Based on alarming data on the incidence of migrated child labour in Nigeria, WACAP should step up its activities in Ondo State, Nigeria. Seen the inherent risk for trafficking, a closer cooperation with the ILO Trafficking project is indispensable.

- Considerable child labour has always been found in small-scale commercial agriculture. The persisting poverty in cocoa farming in West Africa is mainly due to an unequal distribution of profit margins within the internal marketing system (substantial difference between FOB and farm-gate price). It is expected that a financial contribution from industry to the development of an educational module, aiming to better prepare children to become responsible and productive farmers, might have a positive effect on the elimination of child. Too, the cocoa industry could use its considerable leverage with cocoa exporters and cooperatives to signal a policy of zero tolerance of child labour in cocoa production. These same private/NGO sector linkages could be used to improve and broaden application of a simplified scheme for monitoring child labour.

5.2 Project concept and approach

- ILO and its donors should negotiate and develop a time-line for project implementation. The expected output is a project-cycle broken down in logical implementation steps, such as model testing, monitoring and validation, scaling up, consolidation and phasing out.

5.3 Implementation arrangements

5.3.1 Project management

- Capacities of project staff are stretched to the limit. If the project is extended, it is recommended to augment staff in all countries with at least one senior staff member (mid term consultants), who might focus on networking and the development of partnerships with third parties involved in innovative educational programs and STCP partners involved in promoting productive measures.

- There is an opportunity for involvement of the ILO Cooperative Department (ILO-COOP) in sharing its experiences in the promotion of child labour mitigation in producer and marketing cooperatives.

- In a number of countries there is a need to revitalize the PTAC’s, so that they become and remain viable national commissions to eradicate child labour in all sectors. This is in particular relevant
where the mandate of the tripartite constituents is mainly limited to the formal sector. As demonstrated in certain countries, a broader involvement in the implementation of action programs in the field may contribute to an increased ownership of project aims.

- It is strongly recommended to review the mechanisms for the coordination of field activities between STCP and WACAP and their partners. It is of strategic importance to gear the activities of both projects to at least a limited number of model communities and, within these, even to the same families (to take away the economic need compelling these families to use child labour). This is one of the basic pillars of the WACAP (AIF) approach and since this has not materialized, the issue has to be dealt with on a priority basis (also see 5.6).

5.3.2 Administrative, financial and reporting systems
- Workflows for operational and financial decisions need to be streamlined.
- According to donors, the degree of detail provided in the status reports goes beyond reporting requirements. Status reports should provide concise and updated information and avoid repetitions. It is equally recommended that Technical Progress Reports provide more qualitative assessments of the implementation schemes.

5.3.3 Resource allocation
- In view of the delayed spending on AP’s, it would not be wise to speed up the implementation rhythm beyond the supervision capacity of project staff and the implementation capacity of the implementing agencies. It is recommended to opt for a cost neutral extension of another six months (October 2006). According to figures made available to the mission, under the budget-line “sub-contracts” an amount of approximately US$ 850,000 would not yet have been committed. Given the relatively high amount committed (but not yet transferred by mid-February 2005) to sub-contracts for the remaining time (US$ 1,350,000) it seems unwise to burden the project even more and for that reason it may be suggested to opt for another cost neutral extension. The additional costs for personnel (US$ 380,000) could be brought at the expense of the remaining budget for sub-contracts, which would still leave an approximate US$ 470,000 for new AP commitments.

5.4 Achievement and appraisal of project components
- It is recommended to shortly validate all OSH studies and to give a mandate to selected implementing agencies to prepare country-wise OSH outreach programs. These interventions should be incorporated in the ongoing social protection schemes. Also here it is proposed to pilot the implementation in a restricted number of communities (model villages).
- Absolute priority should be given to the development of income generation activities for adult members of the families from which children have been withdrawn/prevented. Also here it is important to aim for good quality training in the production of marketable items. Merely subsidizing productive inputs is a short-term policy only that should be discouraged.
- Social protection interventions should support more innovation, collaboration, enterprise and joint partnerships. Such interventions should offer more applicable designs that, for the sake of increased commitment and local ownership, include sharing costs with communities, integrated development schemes with governments and other funding agencies. The following might serve as an example:
- In each country several model villages could be selected for the implementation of more comprehensive interventions, stressing complementarities between project components and inclusiveness of all identified child labour. It is of major importance that the model village will be part of the STCP scheme and disposes of a Farmer Field School or a producers’ or marketing cooperative involved in agriculture extension. The intervention components may include:
1. Identification of all children up to the age of 18, involved in hazardous child labour or at risk of joining hazardous child labour;

2. Withdrawal of all child labour (not child workers doing a few hours of light work once in a while) under the legal working age, to be complemented with those in the same age group who are at risk, and placement in existing formal or informal education schemes;

3. Enrichment of existing formal and informal education schemes with child-centred approaches as identified in the region (in joint-partnership with specialized institutions) and elements from the FFS training modules26 and OSH outreach program (with the help of FFS or other cooperative organization);

4. All children identified in legal working age will either be:
   a. Placed in innovative vocational training schemes, in joint partnership with specialized institutions, if at high risk of being exploited, or
   b. Placed in the OSH outreach program, if subject to health hazards only, (with the help of a STCP-FFS or other cooperative organization);

5. Identification of all families from which child labourers have been withdrawn: Adult members of these families would qualify either for:
   a. inclusion into extension activities of the FFS27, or
   b. direct support through income generating activities, particularly aimed at women of vulnerable cultivators like migrants, sharecroppers and poor self-operators (training and supervision to be provided by specialized NGO’s);

6. All children identified in hazardous child labour, or at risk of joining hazardous child labour, up to the age of 18, will be included into the CLMS database, which will be monitored by the Community Child labour Monitoring Committee. The CLMS should be based on the pilot model developed in Ghana. It is however recommended to reformulate the system into a more simple and affordable one.

7. The results of the village model should be closely coordinated and monitored by the national project offices and the involved implementing agencies. In the meantime, the other social protection schemes should continue to be implemented and closely monitored as a control group. A comparison of qualitative results between the two approaches, the model villages and ongoing social protection schemes, is expected to provide policy information on the validity of the assumptions, underlying ILO/IPEC’s intervention model. A better understanding of the potential of this model to eliminate WFCL in commercial agriculture, as well as its recurrent cost, is essential for the development of a replicable model and the further development of national policies for the elimination of WFCL. The model village approach should be the start of a process of systematic sharing of new approaches among partners and looking abroad for more sustaining and pertinent programs.

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26 This could equally comprise improved cultivation methods and integrated pest management. There is an opportunity to establish a FFS Youth Section.

27 Since extension activities mostly only reach out to male farm owners, a representation of sharecroppers and women cultivators should also be promoted.

28 On the one hand, we acknowledge that such an integrated approach is demanding in terms of coordination and implementation. On the other hand, social reality is complex and reductive and dispersed implementation approaches, as observed in several WACAP schemes, are not expected to achieve the desired result (elimination of WFCL), unless mechanisms for strong coordination between the project components will be introduced.
Box 7: Reaction to stakeholder comments on “model village”

From stakeholder comments on the above recommendation it was understood that the model village would be a new approach altogether, and that such a proposal should not be part of the current evaluation but rather of a new project proposal. By making the above suggestion the evaluators strictly respect the ILO intervention model which stipulates that several project components ought to be implemented in mutual support. This is particularly the case for the relation between, on the one hand, increased well-being through improved productivity (a major reason to link to STCP) and, on the other hand, social protection schemes. Without the integration of these two components we do not expect the efforts undertaken so far to stand a chance of being sustained, because the root causes of child labour will, not even modestly, be addressed. To our understanding, the evaluation serves the purpose of furthering the probability that WACAP will contribute to the elimination of child labour in commercial agriculture and not to merely to confirm strategies from ILO/IPEC’s own very sound and holistic intervention model. In the remaining time of the project, there is an opportunity to implement essential elements of the intervention model in a more coordinated and integrated manner. It equally provides an excellent opportunity to address C.183 and C.184 (Safety and Health in Agriculture) in a coordinated manner, by associating the use of the excellent FFS manual in WACAP’s zone of interventions.

♦ Apart from the experimental and comprehensive model village approach ongoing AP’s opportunities should be provided quality improvement. This is particularly the case for either the development of joint partnerships with institutions specialized in innovative educational approaches, or for sharing innovative educational examples tried out in the WACAP projects in e.g. Côte d’Ivoire or in Guinea. Another opportunity is the development of close field linkages with STCP, FFS and cooperatives, in order to link an increase in productivity (and thereby of income) to social protection schemes.

♦ In the implementation of the CLMS piloted in Ghana, it is suggested to reformulate the CLMS into a sustainable and replicable model, which can be implemented at affordable cost and therefore it is necessary to explore the opportunity for cost sharing between concerned stakeholders, national and local government, as well as communities. Whereas ILO/IPEC is of the opinion that, for a successful continuation of the CLMS, there should be a “compelling reason”, the evaluators suggest good quality service provision in agriculture and education as incentives for its continuation.
6. LESSONS LEARNED

- ILO/IPEC’s Child labour Monitoring System is not a certification system but serves to monitor and verify in selected areas the situation of all child labour, including children withdrawn and prevented from child labour. Based on information from the CLMS, conclusions may be drawn on the incidence of child labour but in order to generalize their individual characteristics, all child labourers, without any exception, have to be put on record.

- The force of ILO/IPEC’s intervention model is that it emphasizes that its components are mutually reinforcing. This integrated approach to the elimination of child labour needs a well coordinated and balanced implementation in order to be successful. This is particularly valid for the implementation of action programs in the field, in which social protection schemes and economic alternatives should be intrinsically linked. In order to be successful, programs to eliminate child labour ought to be integrated in development programs and strategies relevant for the concerned sector.

- Resources should not be spread too thinly; instead, opt for a geographically focused and well-coordinated approach, in which sufficient attention is paid to all mutually reinforcing project components.

- Social action schemes cannot be advanced as an integral component of the public services framework that has contributed to child labour. Educational alternatives necessary to undergird social protection must be advanced that are village-driven to explore alternative schooling and increase public school performance.

- Before starting a complex sub-regional program, donors and implementing agencies should design a mid-term project-cycle, logically broken down in phases like preparation, model testing, monitoring and validation, scaled-up implementation, consolidation and exit.

- A preparatory phase should be planned, during which baseline studies can be implemented, which serve as an input for further activity planning. Such a preparatory phase can equally serve to test intervention models in a comprehensive and focused manner in each of the concerned countries.

- Staffing levels should agree with project ambitions, even more when administrative procedures for project and action program preparation, approval, implementation, monitoring and reporting require considerable time and energy.

- Particularly in a multi-national, a learning mechanism should be developed to share lessons from model implementation between stakeholders and involved countries.

- A project’s logical framework has to equally stress quantitative and qualitative indicators and should lay down clear process steps. For the sake of monitoring, project objectives have to be defined in a SMART way (Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timely).

- The tripartite system is not always a blessing. Tripartite constituents tend to be biased in favour of the formal sector, which might negatively influence their leading and motivating role in supervisory bodies of projects involved in the informal sector. In order to promote a better understanding of the issues at hand their active participation in the preparation and implementation of activity programs should be promoted.

- The use of blueprint methods and standardized interventions carries the risk of equally scaling up systematic weaknesses. In a sub-regional project there should be ample space for the development of context specific models.
ANNEX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE

I. Background and justification

1. The aim of ILO-IPEC is the progressive elimination of child labour, especially in its worst forms. The political will and commitment of individual governments to address child labour—in cooperation with employers’ organizations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations and other relevant parties in society—is the basis for ILO-IPEC action. ILO-IPEC’s strategy includes raising awareness on the negative consequences of child labour, promoting social mobilization against it, strengthening national capacities to deal with this issue and implementing demonstrative direct action programs (AP) to prevent children from child labour and remove child labourers from hazardous work and provide them with appropriate alternatives.

2. The West Africa Cocoa / Commercial Agriculture Program to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child labour (WACAP), is a sub-regional project that aims at preventing and progressively eliminating hazardous child labour in selected cocoa and other agricultural sub-sectors in Ghana, Cameroon, Guinea, Nigeria and Cote d’Ivoire. WACAP started officially in September 2002; the team in charge of implementation started working in January 2003. Its planned end-date is end of January 2006. The budget of the intervention provided by the main donor, the United States Department of Labor (USDOL) amounts to USD five million. An additional USD one million is provided by the International Confectionary Association-Cocoa Global Issues Group. The immediate objectives of WACAP are the following:

- By the end of the project, selected public and private sector partner and concerned agencies have **strengthened capacity** to plan, initiate, implement, monitor and evaluate action against child labour
- By the end of the project there is increased **awareness / social mobilization** among the children, families and communities and within concerned public and private sector agencies on issues related to child labour, particularly to hazards for children in the cocoa / agriculture sector and viable alternatives to child labour (Component 2: Awareness Raising and Social Mobilization)
- By the end of the project, model (pilot) interventions have been tested for **withdrawal of children from work, removal of workplace hazards for those of working age, and provision of appropriate social protection options for their families** are available (Component 3: Direct Action)
- By the end of the project, the situation of children withdrawn and prevented from child labour is being monitored and verified in selected areas through a credible, affordable and feasible / sustainable **child labour monitoring system**
- By the end of the project, there is an enhanced **knowledge base** through action-oriented research and a viable **information dissemination system**

3. WACAP is collaborating with key partners in the field. Among them, it is important to highlight the project on Sustainable Tree Crops Program to support smallholder farmers in Africa (STCP), funded mainly by the United States Agency for International Development. Additionally, the project cooperates with the International Cocoa Initiative (ICI) of the World Cocoa Foundation. In each country, the project works in coordination with governmental agencies, especially the ministries of labour, trade unions, employers’ associations and non-governmental organizations. Other international organizations are also key partners for the project.

4. Despite the situation of instability in some of the targeted countries, which led to successive changes in the location of the staff, the project is progressing towards the achievement of its five objectives. Activities are being undertaken at the national and sub-regional levels. Among the main achievements of the WACAP so far it is possible to highlight the following:

- A Manual for Farmers on child labour has been drafted (training of trainers). This manual has been translated. It has been tested in Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire and will be used as a training and awareness raising material in all the project’s countries.
- A Child labour Monitoring System is being set up in Ghana, and a model has been designed in Cote d’Ivoire and is being discussed with members of the ICI. The process of establishing the CLMS is about to start in Nigeria and Cameroon.
- In Cote d’Ivoire, a National Steering Committee on Child labour was created with advice from the project. The project also supported the Government for the establishment of a National Plan of action against Child labour. A system for cocoa verification has also been discussed. In this country, an
occupational safety and health baseline study is underway. Eight mini/action programs are being implemented to raise awareness and withdraw children working in cocoa plantations. A total of 6,000 children working in cocoa plantations will be withdrawn by the end of the project.

- In Cameroon, key NGOs have been trained on action program design and proposal writing. Several activities with STCP have been coordinated and are under implementation. A baseline study was conducted, and many sensitization activities have been carried out. Seven Mini/Action Programs for the withdrawal of children from work and the provision of educational alternatives are ongoing, as well as an OSH baseline study.

- In Ghana, a Rapid assessment has been conducted and an OSH study is underway. A CLMS proposal has been prepared and Action Programs to implement the CLMS have been designed and are being implemented. In addition, five more Mini/Action Programs are being implemented for the withdrawal of 1000 children.

- In Guinea, technical assistance on action program design has been provided to prospective implementing agencies. WACAP also provided assistance to the Reduction of Poverty Permanent Secretariat to ensure that child labour is included in the poverty reduction strategy of the country. The Ministry of Labour is developing a training project to involve labour inspectors in the surveillance and monitoring of child labour. An increasing number of articles on child labour show the enhanced awareness on this issue promoted by the project. In addition, a Rapid Assessment was conducted, an OSH study is underway, and five Mini/Action programs are being implemented.

- In Nigeria, a Rapid Assessment has been completed and an occupational safety and health study on hazards in cocoa farms is underway. Four proposals for action programs are being implemented. In this country, cooperation with STCP is intense. Awareness raising activities have been organized in different areas of the country.

5. According to ILO regular procedures and as agreed with USDOL, the project is due for a mandatory independent mid-term evaluation in March 2005. This evaluation should serve two basic purposes: a) accountability to the main stakeholders, including government agencies and social partners in the targeted countries, partner organizations and the donor, on what has been done and achieved so far; and b) learning from the experience to analyze how the project is progressing towards achieving its objectives, plan for the future and, where necessary, to recommend appropriate re-designing.

6. In general terms, there is a need to assess the overall performance of the project with regard to reaching its targets, the appropriateness of its strategies and priorities, and determining the areas needing improvement or change. The evaluation process will provide the project with data on how project activities are being implemented, the level and the quality on key stakeholders’ involvement, the relevance of programs in the light of new and emerging demands, the quality of the work of the implementing agencies, and on different constraints which may prevent the project from achieving its objectives and targets if not tackled on time.

7. IPEC management and the project staff will use the evaluation results to revise the approach and strategy that is being followed in each country and at the sub-regional level, as appropriate. Therefore, the evaluation should provide credible and reliable information in order to suggest how the project could enhance its impact during the remaining time of implementation, ensuring the sustainability of the benefits that have been or will be generated. The evaluation results will also be used by partners in charge of implementing activities in the field or that support the national efforts against child labour in the region, including USDOL, the chocolate and cocoa industry, governmental agencies, trade unions, employers’ organizations, NGOs, international organizations and other key groups in society.

II. Purpose and scope of the evaluation

8. This mid-term evaluation will focus on the WACAP project planning and implementation and its achievements. With regard to the action programs developed as part of the project, each of them should be seen as a building block of the overall strategy and assessed accordingly. The evaluation should focus on all the activities that have been implemented since the start of the project to the moment of the field visits.

9. The overall purposes of the evaluation and the tasks to be carried out include the following:
   - To review the implementation of the project so far and consider any changes in strategy on the basis of emerging experiences, recommending adjustments where necessary
   - To examine current proposed activities and make an assessment of their potential contribution to the implementation of the strategy
   - To review the existing institutional set up and implementation capacity
To assess the existing as well as potential linkages between the project and other initiatives being developed in the sub-region, including STCP, ICI and other ILO-IPEC programs, and suggest strategies for improving the cooperation

10. Being a mid-term evaluation, it is also important to analyze the project’s plans for sustainability and exit strategies. A review of progress achieved to date in promoting local ownership and in promoting long-term sustainability of activities and results initiated under the project should be included in the analysis.

III. Suggested aspects to be addressed

11. The evaluation should address the ILO established overall evaluation concerns such as relevance, effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability (please see ILO Guidelines for the Preparation of Independent Evaluations of ILO Programs and Projects, section 1.2, November 1997). Therefore, the evaluation should provide an assessment of the overall impact of the project at the national and sub-regional levels, including a review of the outcomes of the project relative to its objectives.

12. The following are some suggested key evaluation aspects or concerns that have been identified based on consultation with key stakeholders. Other issues can be added as identified by the evaluation consultants in accordance with the given purpose of this exercise and in consultation with IPEC’s Design, Evaluation and Documentation Section (DED). One of the tasks of the consultants will be to decide, based on the evidence and available findings, which of the following issues are the most important aspects to be addressed in meeting the purpose of the evaluation.

Concerning the design of the project

13. Please assess the validity of the project design, including gender-sensitiveness and feasibility, as well as its relevance according to the national context in each of the five targeted countries.

- Is the project relevant according to the child labour situation in the targeted countries, including relevant interventions by public organizations and other initiatives dealing with child labour?
- How well did the project design take into account local capacity and national efforts already underway to address child labour and promote educational opportunities for all children?
- Is the project relevant according to the identified needs of the target groups?
- How realistic was the project design in terms of the scope of its regional component and the proposed linkages between countries?

14. Concerning the original design of the project:

- Is the strategy for achieving the immediate objectives and to contribute to the development objective sound and solid?
- Were the objectives, target numbers and timing of the project realistically set?
- How did the original design consider the assumptions and external factors that influence the implementation of the project?
- Are the identified indicators and means of verification, as well as the project’s Monitoring Plan, appropriate and useful for monitoring and evaluation? Is the data needed for the indicators readily available?

Concerning the implementation of the project

15. Please analyze how the project is being implemented, in terms of management, coordination and creation of synergies. In particular:

- Please review and assess the efficiency of project implementation, including an analysis of the administrative and financial processes and backstopping / communication from ILO Headquarters and from the ILO field offices. Refer also to the respect of calendars and work plans, reasons for delays in implementation and consequences of delays in terms of achievements and delivery of outputs. Please suggest ways of reducing delays in the remainder of the project and of fast tracking activities. Please also assess the feasibility of achieving project targets, taking into account the various delays and other factors that have arisen since commencement of project implementation.
- Assess the efficiency of the administrative and management systems established to support project implementation.
• Please analyze the efficiency of the process for Action Program approval and allocation of resources to Action Programs.

• Is the project management structure in each country and in the sub-region, in terms of staff and organization, adequate, efficient and effective? Please analyze the mechanisms used for building internal capacity (staff training). Assess coordination mechanisms and information sharing between national and sub-regional staff.

• Assess the effect that the recent changes in management have had on the project’s overall effectiveness and efficiency.

• Assess the extent to which monitoring and evaluation tools have been developed and are being used to determine short-term and long-term project impact. As applicable, please evaluate the design and effectiveness of these measures.

• How efficient is the project in terms of resources allocated as compared to its results? In general, do the results justify the costs planned or incurred?

• To what extent did factors outside the control of project management affect implementation and attainment of objectives? Specifically, assess the impact of the Côte d’Ivoire crisis on the project, and the current potential to reach project goals and targets in this country. Please also consider the situation of child soldiers in Côte d’Ivoire and Guinea, and the impact of this reality on the project.

16. In terms of working with the government, trade unions, employers’ organizations, children and other partners:

• Evaluate the level of project participation and commitment shown by government agencies, trade unions, employers’ organizations, international organizations and NGOs working on the issue of child labour, sustainable agriculture or child protection in general.

• Assess the capacity building efforts made by the project with respect to implementing agencies, including training on project monitoring and reporting, as well as training on definitions used by IPEC for identifying a child as prevented or withdrawn. Assess the degree to which project staff, implementing organizations and other stakeholders have a clear and common understanding of these concepts.

• How effectively is the project leveraging resources (e.g. by collaborating with IPEC or non-IPEC initiatives)? What process is being undertaken by the project to identify and cooperate with other initiatives and organizations?

• As this project is unique in terms of the public/private partnership between donors, assess the collaboration of the different organizations involved in the process. In what ways has it helped or hindered project implementation, and how could cooperation be improved?

• How effective has the project’s partnership with the Sustainable Tree Crops Program (STCP) been in terms of enhancing project impact and efficiency? What are the advantages, drawbacks and lessons learned from this collaboration?

• Was the selection of the implementing agencies appropriate? How can their performance be improved?

Concerning the achievements of the project

17. In general, analyze the achievements of the project so far at the national and sub-regional levels, the progress towards its immediate objectives and the likelihood of achieving them in the planned timeframe and with the available resources. Are the project outputs of good quality and delivered timely? Are the identified direct beneficiaries being reached? Identify bottlenecks and major issues and recommend possible solutions as appropriate. In particular:

• How well did local management structures (National Steering Committee, Local Steering Committees) work? Assess the participation of different relevant actors in the NSC (Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education, trade unions, employers’ organizations, etc.) How did these structures participate in terms of implementation? How did this participation affect the outcomes of the project?

• Evaluate the relevance and outcome of the training workshops for stakeholders and implementing partners. Has the capacity of implementing agencies and other relevant partners to develop effective action against child labour been enhanced as a result of the project activities?

• How effective are Action Programs to date and how are they contributing to the project’s Immediate Objectives? What are the possibilities of successful replication and scaling up of such efforts?
• Evaluate the effectiveness, relevance and outcomes of the awareness-raising and advocacy efforts that have occurred as a result of the project. Are there any noticeable changes in knowledge, attitude and perception towards the WFCL among key stakeholders and the population in general?

• How effectively are strategies for child labour monitoring being implemented? Assess the draft CLMS and its potential for sustainability. What is its perceived credibility among key stakeholders? Please also consider the certification system being piloted by the Government of Côte d’Ivoire in collaboration with the cocoa industry, and the project’s involvement and connections with it.

• Identify unexpected and multiplier effects of the project.

**Concerning the perspectives of sustainability**

18. In general, please assess the project’s plans to ensure the sustainability of the benefits generated, as well as its exit strategy. How should the “ownership” of the project be understood and promoted in the national contexts? How has local ownership of the project and long-term sustainability of activities initiated under the project been promoted to date, and what progress can be identified so far? What kinds of exit strategies are being developed by the project? Has the idea of a phase-out strategy for the project been clearly articulated and progress made toward this goal? What kinds of commitments does the project already have from local partners willing to accept responsibility for specific areas when the projects end? In particular:

• Assess the extent to which the efforts and strategies carried out through NGOs, public institutions, and government agencies will contribute to the sustainability of the project. As direct action gets underway, to what extent are the main implementing agencies laying a foundation for sustainability? How could they improve in this area?

• Identify and assess the long-term commitment and the technical and financial capacity of local/national institutions (including governments) and the target groups to continue delivering goods and services adequately.

• Assess project strategy and success in leveraging resources for ongoing and continuing efforts to prevent and eliminate child labour in the five core countries.

• Assess the level of community, parent and teacher interest and participation in project activities. How has their commitment to, and ownership of, the project changed over time?

• Analyze the perspectives of sustainability for the different components of the Program, including child labour monitoring systems.

19. It is recommended to structure the suggested aspects along the following main lines or axes, which could constitute chapters of the evaluation report:

• Quality of the project design and relevance

• Implementation and efficiency
  - Management and capacity issues (distinctions by country to be made as appropriate)
  - Working with partners and creations of synergies
    - In general
    - In each country

• Achievements of the project
  - Main achievement of the project in relation to its objectives and indicators, by components and by country as appropriate
  - Effects of the project and synergies

• Evidence and perspectives of sustainability and mobilization of resources (distinctions by country should be incorporated as appropriate)

• Main findings and lessons learned (distinctions by country to be made as appropriate)

• Recommendations (including distinction by country and by stakeholder as appropriate)

• Potential / confirmed good practices

**Methodological considerations**
20. The following is the suggested methodology for the mid-term evaluation. The evaluation team, if considered necessary and in accordance with the scope and purpose of this exercise as described above, can adjust the methodology. This should be done in consultation with DED.

21. The methodology for the evaluation should consider the two levels of project implementation: national and sub-regional. Data gathering and analysis tools should consider this methodological and practical distinction.

22. The evaluation should include a desk review of appropriate material, including the project documents, progress reports, outputs of the project and action programs and relevant material from secondary sources. The evaluation will also include fieldwork in three of the project countries (Cameroon, Ghana and Guinea), where interviews with national officials, trade union and employers’ organizations representatives and other partners will take place. Information from the other two countries (Cote d’Ivoire and Nigeria) will be obtained through questionnaires circulated to major stakeholders and implementing partners.

23. As part of the evaluation, national studies will be carried out by independent national consultants in four countries (Cote d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Guinea and Ghana). The reports will serve as inputs to the overall evaluation process. Specific terms of reference will be developed for these studies.

24. In interviews, focus groups and other information gathering exercises, the evaluation consultants should solicit the opinions of a wide variety of stakeholders, including beneficiary children and their parents, teachers, government representatives, representatives from trade unions and employers’ organizations, partners, implementing agencies and all major stakeholders, including IPEC and the donor. Reference interviews should be conducted with child labour monitors, STCP, Socodevi, Creative Associates and Winrock International.

25. The evaluation process will include three stakeholders’ workshops in each visited country in order to present the preliminary conclusions and recommendations and obtain feedback and additional information. One of the focuses of the stakeholders’ meetings should be the perspective of sustainability of the project benefits and the project’s exit strategy. The results of these meetings should be taken into consideration for the preparation of the draft report.

26. The evaluation process will also include a final debriefing meeting in Accra with project staff, IPEC and representatives from the donors.

27. It is expected that the consultants will prepare a brief document indicating the methodological approach to the evaluation (the “evaluation instrument”), to be discussed and approved by the Evaluation Managers at the start of the field mission.

**Expected outputs and timeline**

28. The evaluation report in draft form and in English should be presented to DED for circulation ten days after the finalization of the field mission. The length of the report should not exceed 50 pages (excluding annexes). The structure of the report should broadly follow the axes presented in paragraph 19. The report should include a specific section on lessons learned from the project that could be replicated or should be avoided in the future, in the same or in other IPEC projects. Finally, the report should include specific and detailed recommendations solidly based on the analysis and, if appropriate, addressed specifically to the organizations responsible for implementing them.

29. IPEC’s DED Section will circulate this report to all relevant stakeholders for their comments. A consolidated document including all the comments received to the report will be submitted to the evaluation consultants two weeks after the submission of the draft report. The evaluation consultants should consider the comments for the preparation of the final version of the report, which will also be presented in English.

30. The timeline for the evaluation, the number of working days the and the tentative itinerary are the following:

- Desk Review: February 28 – March 3 – 4 working days
- Field mission: March 4 – March 23 – 16 working days
  - Cameroon (March 4-9)
  - Guinea (March 10-14)
  - Ghana (March 15-23)
- Preparation of draft report: March 24 – April 1 – 7 working days
- Preparation of final report considering comments to draft – April 20-22 – 3 working days
Resources and Management

31. The evaluation will be carried out by a team of two international consultants and three national consultants with extensive experience in evaluation of development or social interventions, preferably including practical experience in child labour issues and strategic impact planning. The consultants should have an advanced degree in social sciences, economics or similar and specific training on evaluation theory and methods. Working experience on issues related to child labour, education and children’s welfare will be essential. Full command of English and French as working languages will be required.

32. One of the international consultants and the national consultants will be identified by IPEC-DED, while the second international consultant will be identified by USDOL. The final selection of the international experts will be done by DED and USDOL following a consultation process. The international consultant selected by IPEC will have the responsibility of coordinating the preparation of the “evaluation instrument” and the evaluation report, in coordination with the rest of the team. The international consultant selected by USDOL will coordinate the activities to be carried out during the field mission, also in coordination with the rest of the team.

33. The following are the resources needed for this evaluation:
   - Fees for one international consultant during 30 working days, to be covered by the evaluation budget included in the project document
   - Fees for one international consultant during a determined number of working days, to be covered by USDOL.
   - Fees for three national consultant during 12 working days, to be covered by the evaluation budget included in the project document
   - Fees to cover travel from residence of consultant 1 to field, to be covered by the evaluation budget included in the project document
   - Fees to cover international travel for consultant 2, to be covered by USDOL
   - Daily subsistence allowances at UN rates for consultant 1 during field mission (approximately 18 days), to be covered by the evaluation budget included in the project document
   - Sub-regional travel expenses and daily subsistence allowances for consultant 2 during field mission, to be covered by USDOL
   - In-country travel expenses for IPEC officials accompanying the evaluation consultants as appropriate, to be covered by the evaluation budget included in the project document
   - Costs of organizing the stakeholders’ workshops, to be covered by the evaluation budget of the project

34. This independent evaluation will be managed by IPEC-DED. In-country management and logistics support will be provided by the managers of the project and the projects’ team as a whole.
## ANNEX 2: LIST OF CONSULTED AND REVIEWED DOCUMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Source</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACHD – Ghana</td>
<td>Report on Rapid Assessment on Child labour in Selected Cocoa Growing Communities in Ghana, Accra</td>
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<td>Anti-Slavery Int.</td>
<td>The Cocoa Industry in west Africa; A History of Exploitation, 2004</td>
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<td>Broh, Augustin</td>
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Tettey, Immanuel, Bamfo, Charles  Summary Findings MTR WACAP, Accra, March 2005

UCW  Children’s Work in Côte d’Ivoire, Washington, March 2002

USDOL  The Department of Labor’s 2002 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child labour; Washington, 2003

USDOL  Government Policies and Programs to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child labour ; http://www.dol.gov/ilab/media/reports/iclp/tda2003/xxxxxx.htm


WACAP  Tracking sheets for approved MPs/APs (five countries)

WACAP – Cameroon  Compte Rendu Première Réunion des Points Focaux du Projet OIT/IPEC/WACAP, Yaoundé, Septembre 2003


## ANNEX 3: LIST OF PERSONS MET

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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**GHANA**

**15.03.2005-23.03.2005**

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<td>Addai-Kyeremeh</td>
<td>Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment</td>
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<td>Isaac Gyamfi</td>
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ANNEX 4: PROJECT CONCEPT AND APPROACH

A. Project Concept

Pursuant to the initiatives and commitment of the Governments of Côte d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria and of the cocoa and chocolate industry to eliminate child labour, a three year sub-regional program is being undertaken, entitled Program to Combat Hazardous and Exploitative Child labour in Cocoa/Commercial Agriculture in West Africa (WACAP). The project is implemented by ILO-IPEC within the framework of the IPEC regional program and the USAID/USDOL financed Sustainable Tree Crop Project (STCP).

WACAP is following IPEC’s model of intervention, developed in response to child labour in other nations, primarily Asia. This model contains five mutually supporting components, to be implemented through one or more direct Action Programs, sub-contracted to public institutions and NGO’s:

♦ Capacity Building
♦ Social Protection
♦ Child labour Monitoring System
♦ Awareness Raising/Social Mobilization
♦ Knowledge Base and Information

The Project Document indicates that WACAP can only be successful if several other outcomes are reached at the same time, mainly the increased income of rural families, an extended capacity and relevance in the education systems, a reduced demand of child labour among producers, regional initiatives to combat child trafficking, implementation of IPEC strategies to combat child labour, particularly child trafficking through ongoing IPEC regional and national projects, and a better legal framework and enforcement system.*

B. Approach

♦ The overall sub-regional program was designed to operate within a single sub-regional framework so as to ensure coherence and replication within and beyond the region.

♦ At the country level the program mobilizes agencies in the public and private sphere against child labour by providing a comprehensive, multi-sectoral and integrated package of support services geared towards:

a. Prevention of child labour in cocoa production;

b. Withdrawal of children from hazardous and exploitative work at selected sites and the provision of alternatives to them and their families:
   ▪ through designing, testing, and demonstrating viable strategies to combat child labour in the cocoa (agriculture) sector;

c. Enhancement of the capacity of public and private sector organizations to address child labour problems through a combination of:
   ▪ Institutional development for the concerned government departments, employers and workers organizations, NGO’s and CBO’s;
   ▪ Setting up of child labour monitoring systems with the involvement of various community groups, the government and implementing agencies;
   ▪ Awareness raising / social mobilization among the above groups and society at large;

- Development of a knowledge base on the issue and the collection and dissemination of information.
- The project seeks to ensure that the program does not impact negatively on the girls by shifting work or additional household chores to them, and that the strategies adopted benefit both working girls and boys.
- In the event that workplaces (including recruitment, transit and holding areas) are beyond the scope of the WACAP, cooperation is to be established with the IPEC trafficking project (LUTRENA).

C. Development and Immediate Objectives

Development Objective
Contribute to the effective prevention and elimination of hazardous and exploitative child labour in commercial agriculture in West Africa

Immediate Objectives
1. By the end of the project, selected public and private sector partner and concerned agencies have strengthened capacity to plan, initiate, implement, monitor, and evaluate action to combat child labour;
2. By the end of the project, there is increased awareness/social mobilization among the children, families and communities and within concerned public and private sector agencies on issues related to child labour, particularly to hazards for children in the cocoa/agriculture sector and viable alternatives to child labour;
3. By the end of the project, model (pilot) interventions have been tested for the withdrawal of children from work, removal of workplace hazards for those of working age, and provision of appropriate social protection options for them and their families are available;
4. By the end of the project, the situation of children withdrawn and prevented from child labour is being monitored and verified in selected areas through a credible, affordable and feasible / sustainable child labour monitoring system;
5. By the end of the project, there is an enhanced knowledge base through action oriented research and a viable information dissemination system.

D. Target Groups and Partners

Direct Beneficiaries
Girls and boys below 18 years of age recruited/engaged in, or at risk of recruitment/engagement in cocoa and other selected sub-agricultural sectors in Côte d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria, for work on farms and plantations or other forms of hazardous work in the selected sector will be prevented or withdrawn from child labour and placed in the social protection program or, if of legal working age, will be provided training, occupational safety and health sensitization, and placed in non-hazardous work.

A total of 79,900 children below 18 years will be the direct and indirect beneficiaries of various interventions. This will include (1) Some 9,700 children aged below 13 years, involved in child labour will be prevented or withdrawn from child labour and placed in the social protection program or, if of legal working age, will be provided training, occupational safety and health sensitization, and placed in non-hazardous work.

A total of 500 families will receive benefits of the direct action programs (e.g. training, income-generation, credit-loans) under the project or through linkages made by the project. Priority will be given to families whose working children are targeted by the project or whose children are at risk of starting hazardous work. WACAP will draw substantially on the direct and policy interventions of STCP and other projects that are related to enhancing the income of the target families.

Indirect beneficiaries
Some 70,000 children aged 13 to 18 years, involved in hazardous or exploitative child labour will be protected/prevented through occupational safety and health outreach interventions, in the same communities as mentioned above (Côte d’Ivoire: 40,000, Cameroon and Ghana, each 10,000 and Guinea and Nigeria, each 5,000). Other indirect beneficiaries will be many children, adult workers, and siblings of working children, who do not participate in the social protection schemes, but who benefit as a result of enhanced awareness.

**Direct recipients**

Direct recipients of project interventions are the staff of the partner organizations; these include in the first line STCP executing agencies, but also recipients of project training, research, advice, professional organizations of the commercial agriculture sector, and producers’ cooperatives. Further direct recipients will be staff of ministries at national as well as at decentralized levels (e.g. labour inspectorates, agriculture, education, health and justice, members of employers’ and workers’ organizations, representatives of provincial and district authorities, staff of NGO’s/CBO’s, etc. The project will build on the partnership developed through the country programs in Ghana and Nigeria and the trafficking project in Côte d’Ivoire, Cameroon, Ghana and Nigeria.

**E. Institutional and Management Framework**

Project management at the sub-regional level was initially based in Abidjan to harmonize resources with the ILO Regional Office, the IPEC Sub-Regional Coordination and the Regional Coordination of the IPEC Trafficking project. Because of security developments emerging from civil conflict, it was decided to relocate the sub-regional project management team to Accra in Ghana. The Chief Technical Adviser (CTA) reports and operates under the technical guidance of IPEC Geneva, under supervision from the ILO Regional Director for Africa and the directors of the ILO Sub-Regional or Area Offices in Dakar, Abuja and Yaoundé under which the respective country programs resort. The CTA, the IPEC Regional Adviser or the national project coordinators (Country Project Coordinators: CPC), participate in the STCP Regional Steering Committee or National Networks.

In each of the five countries a Project Technical Advisory Committee (PTAC) has been formed. These advisory committees are composed of tripartite constituents, other relevant ministries, STCP network members and other institutions deemed relevant and significant for the project (e.g. ILO Multidisciplinary Advisory Teams in Abidjan and Yaoundé in the fields of OSH, training and employment). The PTACs include the Coordinators of the STCP pilot projects who are responsible for the management of other STCP components. The PTAC’s operate in an advisory capacity. In two of the participating countries, IPEC has launched full-fledged national programs against child labour (Ghana and Nigeria), chaired by the ministries of labour/employment. These national programs are under the guidance of an IPEC National Steering Committee (NSC). WACAP PTAC’s are not to be absorbed by these committees.

The Project Document designates STCP implementing agencies as key partners. They are expected to serve as a link between project management and producers.

Given the strong linkages between child trafficking and hazardous and exploitative child labour in commercial agriculture WACAP and the ILO/IPEC Trafficking Project (LUTRENA) cooperate closely on sub-regional and on national levels. (E.g. through coordinated individual plans for local integration or repatriation of identified trafficked children).

As partners possibly to be involved in the child labour monitoring process the project document mentions producer cooperatives, labour inspectorates and Community Child labour Committees.

Other partners for cooperation include in the first instance, government ministries of Education (e.g. needs assessments of the educational sector in selected STCP-ILO/IPEC pilot project areas), Labour, Justice, (e.g. in collaboration with UNICEF and the IPEC Trafficking project and ILO, the revision of child protection and child labour legislation), Health (e.g. research on OSH issues). Secondly, employers’ and workers’ organizations are to be involved in the STCP-ILO/IPEC pilot project areas. Equally, national NGO’s and CBO’s, selected according to established ILO criteria for cooperation, play a central role in the implementation of direct Action Programs. Last but not least, academic research institutions are expected to participate through the conduct of surveys and research.
F. Project budget

1. Project budget (source: Project Document)

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* Except on 2002.

♦ The ILO has covered part of the cost of developing the program. SIMPOC (ILO/IPEC’s Statistical Information and Monitoring Program on Child labour) has contributed to the planning and execution of the three surveys executed in Côte d’Ivoire and will give further assistance to the four rapid assessments in the other countries. The ILO Area Offices as well as the IPEC sub-regional coordination will provide backstopping.

♦ As stipulated in the contractual arrangements with the implementing agencies, in-kind contributions (human resources and facilities) will amount to around 10% of the amount of each action program.
ANNEX 5: COMMENTS TO THE DRAFT REPORT AND ANSWER FROM EVALUATION TEAM

This annex includes a selection of substantive comments made to the draft evaluation report and the answer to these comments prepared by the international consultants indicating the adjustments made in the final version (in shadowed boxes). Comments were made by all major project stakeholders. The text is included in this report with the agreement of the project’s stakeholders to illustrate some of the major debates around some of the issues highlighted by the evaluation.

General Comments:

1 Analysis under the findings section do not reflect enough country specificities, even though some activities of implementing agencies are mentioned in the Boxes 1 to 3 for Cameroon, Guinea and Ghana. The achievement of direct services to family members is also underexposed, particularly with regards to the strengthening of incomes of concerned adult family members. The gender balance analysis confirms that direct action is benefiting families. Other actions are ongoing or planned in the near future.

Evaluator’s response:

Because of time and budget constraints, and variable quality in reporting by national consultants who assisted with the evaluation efforts, their reports were not scheduled for inclusion in this document as part of the terms of reference. National consultants’ field activities and observations were very limited in quality and scope; therefore, the international evaluation team agreed not to draw country specific conclusions (except for the exceptional observations based on visits to field sites, shown in separate boxes). Given our very brief visits to only three of the five countries involved in WACAP, it would be irresponsible to draw any country specific conclusions. Moreover, the evaluators are of the opinion that apparent weaknesses and strength of the project are more of an institutional and conceptual origin; highlighting these aspects is more meaningful than analyzing country-specific performance and variations, which are perceived as relatively minor.

Direct services to family members are one of the WACAP menus of services that have remained marginally developed. Efforts at strengthening family incomes have addressed only a few hundred adults and in a manner that sustainability does not seem to be guaranteed. Without doubt, social and direct action programs, in particularly the ones addressing the gender dimension, have strengthened some family member incomes, be it in a short term. There is no contradiction between these two statements. The evaluators found potential and demand to do much more and are pleased to learn that such has been planned for the near future.

Adjustment: because of reasons as explained above, no adjustments have been made.

2 The mid-term evaluation report highlights some significant contextual and project-related issues. There are, however, numerous instances when the conclusions and statements have gone beyond the scope of the project, focusing on tangential issues that are not within the scope of WACAP. Please bear in mind that the intent of the mid-term evaluation is to evaluate the WACAP project, not the IITA surveys or cocoa certification. While it might be valid to critique the data on which the WACAP project design is based, it is not relevant or necessary, and may confuse some readers, to assess the validity of the IITA surveys themselves. This also applies to cocoa certification—as the report points out, certification is not part of the WACAP project. As such, it does not seem to be appropriate to make suggestions or recommendations as to how certification should or should not be handled (e.g., Section 5.1), as it falls outside
the scope of the project and hence the evaluation. This also means that most of Section 3.1.5 on ‘The cocoa protocol and the ILO conventions’ falls outside the purview of the evaluation.

The scope of the project has been defined by a context of multiple constituents and stakeholders, who in one way or another are concerned about the innovative character of the project. Many of these stakeholders who have contacted the mission were concerned about the viability and scalability of the CLMS developed by WACAP as a possible foundation for certification systems. From WACAP documents it was understood that ILO-IPEC is associated to such systems only in an advisory capacity. In order to provide, in particular to outside readers, a general overview of the complexity of the project context, the evaluators have provided information on these certification systems. Where value judgments were given, based on an analysis of findings, the evaluators attempt to show that there is a clear opportunity to use the high profile interest of multiple stakeholders to the benefit of the project and the achievement of its goal. The project is not operating in sheer isolation and the evaluators perceive it as a responsibility to address misunderstandings that obtain from the phenomenon of child labour, its magnitude and its definition. The IITA survey data form one of the basic pillars of the project document and their validity is therefore of importance for understanding how country-wise WACAP targets and operations have been determined. Given the broad and substantive impact of these reports and data on the operations the assessment of their internal and external validity fall well within the scope of the WACAP evaluation.

Adjustment: Section 5.1 has been deleted and so has section 3.1.5

Executive summary

3 “… The extent of child exploitation in dangerous work may be exaggerated…there remains serious and significant gaps in our understanding to the nature, extent and incidence of the phenomenon.”

Please clarify whether the reference is to the IITA studies and surveys (2002) or IPEC/WACAP’s rapid assessments. For programming and action purposes at this initial stage of response, there seems to be sufficient “understanding” of the “nature, extent and incidence of the phenomenon”. If this statement is to remain in the report, the evaluators need to provide a more solid basis for their conclusion.

As general background, please note that WACAP is not a research project. The assessments done under it are more for the purpose of mobilizing key stakeholders and engaging them in a dialogue and debate on the issue so that important policy changes can be effected and awareness is raised of the problems and issues. The evaluation report draws later a clear conclusion that this has been achieved.

Adjustment: clarification has been provided that the quoted statement refers to the IITA surveys. The evaluators have not modified the statement since the “nature, extent and incidence of the problem” are still not clear, in spite of IITA surveys and WACAP’s rapid assessments, which contain many methodological flaws and irresponsible generalisations. If the incidence of the problem would be clear, recent press statements in e.g. the Washington Post would not quote a US senator saying that 90% of the child labour in cocoa plantations would be victims of trafficking.

4 “… no genuine good-quality educational strategy has been developed to overcome the failing of the system of public educational service delivery”.

WACAP had started to work with the ministries and departments of education to help them develop plans of action for improving education provision, delivery system, and quality, with a focus on the target sites and districts but with the aim that they would scale it up. This was highlighted during the final debriefing session and in other meetings. Moreover, the concept that anything developed under one project by itself can “overcome the failing of the system”
seems to be presumptuous. While it can be tried at the project level to a limited degree, it would need to be accepted, resourced and taken to scale by the government to benefit the entire system. This would take time and resources and is not within the scope of this particular project.

In general, it is expected that the final report will include information on the activities that the project has started in this area.

“Overcoming the failings of the system” can equally be addressed by incorporating innovative inputs into pilot schemes and does not always need an entire system change first. Message: better use the space for piloting innovative approaches and feed the results into policy support at ministerial level.

No major adjustment has been made.

5 “... imagination has been lacking to reach out to international donors and organizations, active in the region............”

This statement seems to be unfounded. Relevant international agencies, including the UN ones, were invited to strategic planning workshops in all project countries. They are invited to all important meetings, they are briefed by IPEC officials based in the country and visiting delegations. For instance, Save the Children, IOM, UNICEF, FAO and Winrock are on the PTAC in Cote d’Ivoire. In Ghana there have been discussions and there are plans to bring UNICEF on board in education at the district and community level. ICI (Cocoa Foundation) staff has been briefed time and again in the field and in Geneva. This information, provided to the evaluators, is not sufficiently reflected in the report. Also, it would be important to consider that “reaching out” is only part of the process (which IPEC has done and will continue to do): the other agencies also need to have reason, resources and the appropriate timeframe to “reach back”.

Adjustment: paragraph has been reformulated, integrating the information provided but maintaining the same conclusion.

6 “It is unfortunate that the children have evolved from a ‘bad to futile situation”

This statement might need revision or give further evidence to prove the assumption. It is not necessarily the fact nor the opinion of the children, communities and other national stakeholders, who have made the right but difficult choice between education and child labour. Work to improve the quality is underway. If this corresponds to the evaluators’ perception of the educational system in the targeted countries, this should be explicitly stated (and supported by evidence if at all possible).

The evaluators do not expect ILO/IPEC to upfront change public educational systems in the target countries. There is nevertheless, modest capacity for testing innovations in trial projects could be more effectively used. Creative efforts are being tried out in several nations, but only in isolated instances that have shown no immediate impact on national educational practices. Those efforts that stand out have not sought out education ministry involvement on a national scale.

Adjustment: it has been clarified that this is not only the evaluators’ perception of the state of the educational system in the targeted countries, but that such is substantiated by a multitude of specialised reports (reference mentioned).

7 On the project’s child labour monitoring system.

The report contains several inaccuracies: The database contains more than data on children rehabilitated under WACAP. The database is based on 2 sets of 4 questionnaires. The first set collects baseline data and one of the questionnaires is on all working children in the area.
Similarly, in the second set of monitoring questionnaires, that will be used repeatedly, there is a shorter version (as for other questionnaires) for all working children, which collects follow-up (monitoring) info on all working children in the area.

The statement that the system will depend on the availability of funds because of the fact that it is linked to social protection is misleading. Any such system, whether it is or is not linked to social protection, will depend on availability of funds.

“... the system is complex, cumbersome and costly”

This statement denotes a misunderstanding of the CLM system. The CLM has been developed based on ground reality and in consultation with the district offices and the communities. It is modular in the sense that there are distinct actions, processes and responsibilities at the community, district and national levels. Each layer or module is entrusted with responsibilities within their competence. There is a clear linkage between the different modules. So, while the CLMS has a certain complexity to accommodate the three levels, it has certainly not been judged as cumbersome by those who use it. Costliness is a relative term and the Report gives neither comparison nor the basis on which it has determined the costs. Any system has costs involved in establishing and maintaining it. Whether or not it is costly is determined by what it is expected to do. The CLMS is reliable, effective, verifiable and replicable. It can easily be extended to other administrative districts.

“No general conclusions may be drawn form the database on the incidence of child labour...”

This statement is incorrect. Conclusions on the incidence of child labour in areas covered by the CLMS can be drawn from the database.

“CLMS has limited information value to support government reporting on C. 182”.

This seems to be a hasty conclusion. Even though setting up a system for C. 182 reporting purposes was not within the scope of the project, given the system as it has turned out, it would be possible to use the information and data from the CLMS for various reporting purposes.

“CLMS has only limited information value .... to serve as an indicator in the certification system developed by the industry”

This statement is inappropriate. First, the WACAP CLMS was not set up as an indicator in the certification system; secondly, evaluating it against what its value is for the certification system is not appropriate because there was no defined certification system at the time of the design of the CLMS (or at the time of the Mid-term evaluation). One intended outcome of the CLMS was a credible and reliable information base, and the system seems to have delivered on that outcome.

Adjustment: inaccuracies have been corrected and more detail is provided to demonstrate that the database does not include detailed records of all child labourers. (The evaluators have a copy of the database and have again gone through it to substantiate their statements into more detail).

8 “There has been an absence of sharing of methods and approaches......has emphasized regulator orientation....rather than the more critical learning needed to design and implement innovative interventions and synergies”

This statement is contradictory to statements made elsewhere about awareness raising and cases where NGOs said they had been capacitated to do proposals for other donors and agencies as well. This cannot be done without understanding the substantive issues (and critical learning). Please revise the statement accordingly.

Adjustment: in this executive summary certain data from the rewritten main text have been included to substantiate our appraisal.
The need for ILO and FAO to work together is understood. However, this is not necessarily applicable to the project. Just because there is a “need” for some action does not necessarily mean that it was the responsibility of the project to take that on.

No major adjustment has been made. The evaluators wholeheartedly disagree with this comment. The use of pesticides is one of the major threats to children working on cocoa farms, as could be observed in the field. Yes it certainly is the responsibility of the project to take up that matter with FAO and the concerned governments.

Main report

IITA survey in West Africa. *Children at high risk*. As the evaluators have noted previously, “it was outside the purview of this evaluation to document the incidence of child labour in West Africa. In consequence, the usefulness of the paragraph to the review could be questioned. The assumptions underlying this quick estimate could also be easily challenged. Please reconsider the utility of the paragraph and its interest in the context of the project evaluation.

No major adjustment has been made. The assumptions of the quick assessment can be challenged but so can the data from the rapid assessments and the IITA surveys.

Section 3. “It is unfortunate that an opportunity has been missed out to analyse the existing educational systems, the way in which they prepare children for the labour market, in general, and for a more socially and environmentally responsible and productive agriculture, in particular.”

This conclusion is not fully justified. In the first place, a full-scale analysis of the national education systems is not within the scope of the project. Secondly, in all countries the project had initiated or planned to work with the educational system in an effort to improve education delivery and standards, as well as to involve the communities in the education of the children. In Côte d’Ivoire, WACAP works with the SAA of the Ministry of Education in the establishment of mobile schools to reach children in rural areas (as cited by the evaluators on page 44). In Ghana and Cameroon, plans of action are under development with the Ministry of Education in each country. In Guinea and Nigeria, the Ministries of Education are each about to draft a plan of action aimed at incorporating child labour issues into educational policy.

“During the mission, a number of interesting educational experiments were observed (implemented by international organisations not affiliated with WACAP), which add value to existing educational curricula.”

Please clarify. If the above is a reference to CARE in Ghana, the evaluators were informed that WACAP is working with CARE in the context of its plan of action with the Government and other partners. If it is a reference to other agencies, they should be noted and explained more fully so the project can take advantage of the information.

Numerous analyses and sector assessments describe educational systems in WACAP nations; it is by no means the intention of the evaluators to invite ILO to do the same. The recommendation is to use the available analyses where valid. Neither is it our intention to incite the ILO to change the educational systems through national level support. Instead we would invite ILO/IPEC to link innovative, child-centred educational approaches to the already existing pilot projects. Unlike a statement in the stakeholder comments pretends, there are many of such experiences in the area but they have remained untapped. Here we make specific reference to community development programs such as TOSTAN, a Senegalese initiative that integrates village-based development with educational improvement and child labour diminution. See Children’s Resources International programs for community-based creation of classroom materials and resources. CARE operates projects throughout West Africa that have made substantial strides in the improvement of and access to education that
mitigates child labour and advances girl’s education (See COMBAT/Togo and PROBASE/Benin)

No major adjustment has been made.

"WACAP's response has neither addressed the quality of the existing educational systems, nor engaged with experimental programmes, which aim at a qualitative improvement."

The above statement does not reflect WACAP’s work in the field of education. As one of ILO’s traditional partners is the Government, WACAP has been working with the Ministry of Education in each Project country and has had many fruitful discussions and workshops with these ministries and public agencies on the educational structure/system in the countries (including questions of quality and integration of ex-child labourers and vulnerable children in education). This has led to policy changes, reviews, the drawing up of plans of action and implementation of action programmes to improve the quality and delivery of education to all children. In Côte d’Ivoire for example, as cited by the evaluators on page 44, the SAA (an agency under the Ministry of Education) has been operating mobile schools in the rural areas (through a WACAP programme) to aid in providing quality education for children in rural areas, especially ex-child labourers and vulnerable children. The evaluators also provide the example of a project by SABOU in Guinea (Site visit in Guinea, pages 32-33). The description of children’s education and highly positive comments made by the evaluators contradicts the statement above.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the social protection section of WACAP programmes is carried out systematically. Each withdrawn child’s educational level (as well as the child’s health) is assessed. The child is asked about their interests; whether or not the child wishes to return or attend formal education or learn a trade (the child chooses the trade). The child’s wishes are taken into consideration during placement. Some programmes begin with providing all the children with non formal education before permanent placement and children who choose and are assessed to be capable of entering/returning to formal education, in some cases catch-up/vacation classes are provided to prepare the children for re/entry into formal education. All very young children are encouraged and supported to start or continue formal education. Formal education and vocational schools and apprenticeship centres are chosen with great care taking into consideration the children’s interests, the quality of education/instruction, the distance of the institution to ensure continual attendance (or innovative measures are used as in the case of the mobile schools in Cote d’Ivoire), etc. Discussions, sensitization and counselling sessions are held for head teachers, teachers, and master craftsmen of targeted institutions to ensure that in general all children are protected against child labour, especially the vulnerable and ex-child labourers. These sessions are also provided to ensure that withdrawn children are given the special attention that they need to get into the flow of their studies. Head teachers, teachers and master craftsmen are asked to follow-up on children placed in their institutions and WACAP’s implementing agencies and other partners in the communities also monitor the children’s progress. Everything is done to ensure the children are successful in their respective institutions. The evaluators tend to assume more responsibility than envisioned by the Project without considering the availability of funds for such ambitious expectations. The kind of innovative linkages on child-centred educational options are non-existent in most countries. Where they exist, they themselves are experimental, on small-scale, in need of resources and generally not in the same geographical areas.

The problem with the educational system is institutional and a national problem for all public schools in each country. Considering the duration and resources of WACAP, the project and stakeholders in each country opted for trying to support public schools rather than high-quality but unsustainable non-formal centres. Given the situation, the project decided to work with the public schools at the community level and to work at the national and the district levels with the education ministries, departments and other agencies to start to improve the system...
down to the community level. In addition to this, the project is working with the ILO offices and other IPEC projects in the countries to bring the issue to the donors' level to impact on the UNDAF, the PRSPs and other development opportunities. For the long-term, this has been considered to be a more sustainable and feasible approach.

Please keep in mind that this issue was thoroughly discussed in the Ghana stakeholders’ workshop and the staff debriefing, where this critical question was raised: should a short-duration project establish stand-alone models that it knows will not be sustained after the project ends because of the lack of developmental and institutional opportunities in the targeted locations? Or should the project, with no indications of commitment of second phase funding, set up and fully fund non-formal education centres, and then abandon them? It was discussed that in some other countries where IPEC started with stand-alone educational systems, there already had been IPEC implementation and even then it took several phases of the project before sustainability could be assured. An important question that could have been raised was whether donors should or need to make longer term commitments, in principle, to enable IPEC to put in place such attractive strategies and models that need longer term support to take root, or where direct action for education is involved and children are targeted directly, should donors be committed to at least two phases of funding.

The evaluation team appreciates the comment that: “the problem with the educational system is institutional and a national problem for all public schools in each country”. We recognize that the duration and funds of WACAP are too limited to tackle this huge challenge; nor is the task part of ILO/IPEC’s mission. It is appreciated that, nevertheless, WACAP is making a serious effort to influence the responsible ministries. The team is concerned that the results of any high level dialogue are not visible in the field pilots. There simply was no noticeable, concerted effort to engage education ministries in an effort to incorporate and sustain educational interventions supported by WACAP. One can imagine experiments with innovative approaches in a limited field setting, the results of which might contribute to better quality interventions, as well as contribute to policy dialogue with the concerned ministries. Strategic partnership with specialised institutions operating at the field level is the key-word here. If ILO/IPEC is of the opinion that education is not within purview of its mission but nevertheless perceives educational interventions as essential, than there is a need for this kind of partnerships.

No major adjustment has been made.

### 3.1.1 Problem Analysis.

“This lack of clarity in the application of the definition of working children, child labour and children at high risk, has contributed to an ongoing confusion with regards to the nature and incidence of the problem.”

It seems clear that complete clarity on the exact definition of what is child labour and its understanding is a longer term goal, which is addressed through awareness raising and communications strategies. Mid-way into project implementation, it would be good progress that there is awareness of the problem, some understanding of what is what, and a commitment to change practice and habits to solve the problem.

No major adjustment has been made. The evaluators agree with this statement. Awareness has been created (as acknowledged at several places in the report).

### 3.1.2 Project Design

“...the project is not in a position to directly and substantially contribute to the elimination of child labour itself”

This is a strong and subjective statement, which depends on the definition of “substantial” contribution. The project understands that making good progress on the achievement of its objectives, and if the design is sound (as noted by the evaluators), then there is contribution to the elimination of child labour in the cocoa/agriculture sector in the targeted countries. The direct quantitative contribution might be relatively small considering the scope of the problem,
but this does not preclude the idea that there has been an important contribution by both working at the upstream level and raising awareness and by developing models of intervention that show that the problem can be tackled.

“While this may be a sound strategy in the face of economic growth and the availability of public and private resources, such is not the case in West Africa.”

This statement is not clear. Does it assume that there is no economic growth in West Africa, and so IPEC supported models cannot be taken to scale? IPEC is working with the Governments, donors and other agencies in the countries to put child labour (in this case, in the cocoa/agriculture sector) on the development agenda and so the aim is to have some of the models and impact taken to scale. For example, as this mid-term evaluation was taking place, resources from the private sector in Cote d’Ivoire became available to take to scale the CLMS model developed by WACAP.

The evaluators are indeed of the opinion that, like the comment suggests, “the direct quantitative contribution might be relatively small considering the scope of the problem”. We also acknowledge the importance of awareness. The underlying problem is that we do not perceive any effort to tackle, however modestly, the root causes of the problem and that we have, therefore, doubts on the sustainability of the intervention model. The project document offers an opportunity for synergy between STCP (addressing root causes) and WACAP but we did not found this opportunity availed in most project nations.

Adjustment: first part: none.

Adjustment: second part: the growth figures in most of these countries are indeed stagnating if not negative. We have added information on the contribution by the private sector in Côte d’Ivoire.

3.1.3 Program Development. “No information is available on the extent of consultation in the production areas with farmers, concerned children and potential implementing agencies, working in fields relevant to the subject matter.”

This statement is inaccurate and needs revision. Information is readily available in the reports of the planning meetings (provided to the evaluation team) and could have been readily sought during discussions from the concerned implementing agencies. All key public and private sector agencies, including potential implementing agencies, participated in WACAP planning meetings in all five countries. Farmers were represented by farmers’ and producers’ associations and trade unions, e.g. ANAPROCI in Cote d’Ivoire and GAWU in Ghana. Once specific sites were selected, the implementing agencies consulted with all key stakeholders in those areas, including the farmers, concerned children, as well as village leaders and others.

Adjustment: paragraph has been rephrased and the stakeholder comment has been put on record.

3.1.4 ILO-IPEC’s intervention model, first bullet point. “It is only unfortunate that a mere 500 adults have been selected for support, as compared to 9,700 working children”

This contradicts the statement made earlier by the evaluators on the ambitions of WACAP. Considering the available resources and time it does not seem feasible to target more adults. During the WACAP design it was assumed that many more families in the project’s areas of influence would be targeted through STCP and other partners.

This is exactly the issue: it was assumed that many more families would be targeted through STCP and other partners. Apparently no coordination mechanisms were in place to see that it would also effectively materialise.

No major adjustment has been made.
3.2 Implementation arrangements. “Being a centrally managed project, the project management operates under the technical guidance of the IPEC Management in Geneva, under the supervision of the ILO Regional Director for Africa, and in close coordination with the ILO Sub-Regional and Area Offices in Dakar, Lagos (later Abuja) and Yaoundé, that cover the participating countries.”

This paragraph contains several procedural inaccuracies. The project is not centrally managed (it is financially centralized, which is a completely different situation). The project sub-regional management operates under the technical guidance of IPEC Management in Geneva and the administrative supervision of the ILO Directors responsible for the respective countries, i.e. ILO Dakar for Guinea, ILO Abuja for Ghana and Nigeria, Yaoundé for Cameroon, initially ILO Abidjan, now ILO Dakar for Cote d’Ivoire. Project country level management (i.e. CPCs) operate mainly under the technical guidance of the project sub-regional management, with support from IPEC Geneva and ILO specialists based in the respective sub-regional offices.

“With the exception of the ILO/IPEC OSH and SIMPOC, no other examples have been found of technical support given by other ILO Headquarters departments.”

The statement misses key information. Ongoing support is provided by various IPEC units, primary among them being the Programme Support Unit, but also the Design and Evaluation Unit (e.g. for managing this evaluation), the legal Unit, and the Hazardous Work and Child Labour Monitoring Unit. Collaboration was planned in the initial stages with the ILO’s Cooperatives programme; close consultations have taken place with ACTRAV, successful collaborative work on the Farmers’ Training manual has taken place with ACTRAV, and consultations have been ongoing with MULTI for use of the Global Compact child labour training module for the corporate sector. With the focus now on enhancing the education and families’ economic empowerment aspects, the evaluators were informed that expertise would be sought from IPEC’s education unit and the ILO’s programmes on Skills and Social Finance.

Adjustment: factual mistakes have been corrected.

The opportunity to involve STCP-supported producer cooperatives in the monitoring process, as indicated in the project document, has not materialised in Ghana. One of the communities visited in the field in Ghana, was serviced by the Kuapa Koko Cooperative, which is part of the fair-trade movement. No coordination with this cooperative was identified in the implementation of the social protection scheme and the CLMS.”

The CLMS is developed to involve a mix of community members forming child labour committees. The system was not designed to involve specific cooperatives or other groups. It would be possible for members of cooperatives and other groups/agencies to be involved in the CLMS on individual basis as community members. The reference to the KKC is not clear.

We acknowledge that the CLMS has been set up through community structures. However, there is an untapped opportunity to sustain and institutionally anchor the system through cocoa cooperatives (and by no means through their individual members). Synergy between STCP and WACAP (as noted in the project document) could provide an excellent entry point for that. It is our appreciation that for the sake of a sustained continuation of the system the involvement of cooperatives provides a better chance for the system’s survival as compared to community structures created under the project. Not in the least, because they work on economic improvements in cocoa plantations and thereby tackle one of the root causes of child labour.

Adjustment: Reference to KKC has been substantiated.
“Little substantive collaboration was noted between ILO and other international NGO’s operating in the respective countries in fields relevant for WACAP.”

Please clarify what sort of collaboration is missing. As per IPEC’s modalities of working in countries, WACAP’s collaboration with international NGOs seems to be of a good level. They are represented on the PTACs; are invited to all important meetings, including planning meetings and consultations and participated in the Mid-Term Evaluation stakeholder workshops; Examples of NGOs are CARE International and ICI (Ghana); Plan International and Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Cameroon); ICI (Côte d’Ivoire); Save the Children, IRC, Terre des hommes, ICRC and MSF (Guinea). Beyond this, WACAP field offices have provided support to the ICI as it tried to set itself up in the various countries. It has been provided with all sorts of documentation and information, briefings and invited to meetings. WACAP has also kept in contact with interested foreign missions in the respective countries and participated in meetings and invited them to participate in project events.

If the reference is to providing resources to international NGOs, that is not done because one of IPEC’s aims is to strengthen the capacity of local/national agencies.

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased.

Section 3.2.2. Administrative, financial and reporting systems “…. the ease with which per diems are provided to members of the PTAC and stakeholder and implementing agencies. This practice is justified as an incentive, without which participation would not seem guaranteed. It is our opinion that this practice should be banned as soon as possible.”

This statement needs revision considering the following:

- This practice is permissible as per ILO financial regulations. Whenever payments for per diems are made, they are done so strictly according to ILO financial rules and procedures, with approvals and controls at several levels. It would be very difficult for IPEC to operate in isolation of the rest of the ILO and impose different regulations for such matters.

- Additionally, the modality for workshops and meetings (for which per diem is paid) is different than an Action Programme and the approval process is completely different. So, the ease (or otherwise) of payments between the two cannot be compared.

If the consultants suggest banning this practice, a thorough assessment of the consequences for project implementation should be included. If this cannot be done, the statement should be corrected.

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased.

“Consequently, an exit strategy has not been developed.”

Developing the exit strategy before the Mid-Term Evaluation would have been premature. According to the project work plan, communication on exit strategy would go to project country offices by end of July 2005, the strategy would be elaborated August-September and put into operation October-March, with final close-out processes in April.

Adjustment: additional information has been incorporated.

3.3.3 Social Protection. “According to the report of the national MTR consultant in Ghana, the total of 588 (Footnote: There is a difference of ten children as compared to the last Technical Progress Report (578).”

The last Technical Progress report was written at the end of February 2005. The national MTR consultant in Ghana went on mission and wrote the report in March 2005. So the difference of the 10 additional children could be explained by the timeline.

No major adjustment has been made. Thank you for the explanation.
“It was understood from the implementing agencies that they “had been given” a certain target for withdrawal, which stood in no relation to the magnitude of the problem but which was thought to be related to the available financial resources. This implies that a selection was made based on the basis of WACAP criteria. This also means that an important number of children involved in exploitative and hazardous work in the concerned communities were left out from the social protection activities, which has, as could be observed in the field, at times has caused a feeling of consternation and exclusion.”

As the project did not have unlimited resources, there were indicative estimations of costs and targets to be achieved, including but not limited to withdrawal of children. Proposals submitted by agencies were based on targets and estimated costs. However, during implementation, some implementing agencies found more children in need of withdrawal. Some implementing agencies submitted second proposals to WACAP to cover the additional identified children and these proposals were approved (e.g. SAA and FEMAD in Côte d’Ivoire).

Adjustment: additional information incorporated in the text. The statement of IA has remained as it was; this was a regularly heard statement.

Box 2. “In Boké, the Vocational Training Centre was visited, ... Both, WACAP and the direction of the training centre showed a keen interest to follow up this recommendation.

It is only recently that the country is thinking of admitting children with no academic background into such programs. The centre is in Boké and the children live an average of 30 kilometres apart in the surroundings of Boké. WACAP intends to cooperate with the training centre through training to be provided to the local artisans, so that they in turn could train the children.

No major adjustment has been made. Thanks for the information.

Box 3 states that child labor free production IS one of the fair trade standards. However, it does not seem that Kuapa Koko, a fair trade cooperative, takes child labor practices into account. Please verify this information if possible.

Adjustment: additional information provided (according to information from the Fair Trade Movement in Bonn, FT cooperatives are monitored on the use of child labour; the information could not be verified on the spot).

Box 4. “It is focussed on working children who receive WACAP support.”

The above sentence is contradictory with the statement “During the initial baseline study, 685 child workers have been identified by WACAP in the five selected areas out of which (at the date of monitoring) 555 had received WACAP assistance” (page 32, 3d paragraph), since children identified during the baseline are also part of the monitoring system.

Adjustment: the statement has been completed (after a thorough analysis of the CLMS d-base, a copy of which has been made available to the evaluators).

Box 4, “A major restriction of the CLMS is that the database mainly contains the child labourers who have been selected for social protection, based on the above criteria. It is for this reason that it cannot pretend to provide a complete oversight of child labour in the concerned districts.”

“Therefore the system seems unsuitable as a tier for the certification system. Its aim is rather to follow up the effectiveness in social protection.”

“In order to justify a future investment from government side, it is desirable that, in a next stage, all child labourers in the pilot areas will be included in the database and that this will
go beyond socially protected children only (which in fact is the aim of the time-bound programmes).”

The above three statements from Box 4 are incorrect. Please refer to comments on CLMS included in the executive summary section.

**Adjustment: the statements have been rephrased.**

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**Box 5**

Please note that IPEC is aware that the studies have methodological weaknesses, and that therefore the reports have not been released. The process and the reports have served the extremely useful purpose of advancing the debate and discussion on the issue. IPEC is considering whether a brief synthesis report would be useful.

No major adjustment has been made. Thank you for the information.

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**3.4 Appraisal of performance 3.4.1 Relevance**

“From the data provided in the IITA/STCP study it can be observed that in the five concerned countries only some 17,000 children have been identified who are non-family workers, and have thus been classified as engaged in the WFCL. Without any doubt, and as substantiated through independent reports, the magnitude of child labour is much greater, and may number as many as 5-6 million children. The overwhelming preponderance of child labour consists of children working on family farms. The extent to which these children are subject to WFCL is a complete unknown.”

The paragraph reads as if family workers are automatically excluded from the WFCL. This is not true. C182 makes no exception like that (by status of employment, or for family undertakings). Even in family farms, where only family members are working, hazardous work is still hazardous and, therefore, forms part of WFCL.

The IITP/STCP report includes the following information:
- 153,000 are children involved in the application of pesticides.
- Nearly 250,000 children are using machetes.

These can be defined as hazardous forms of child labour, and it seems evident that many of these children work in family farms.

It is a different matter that the situation of hazardous work in family farm is difficult to check and therefore the extent of hazardous child labour is not completely known (as the last passage says). This is a valid and useful statement, although it is not correct to say is a “complete unknown” as there is information available. For example, data generated by WACAP OSH studies (e.g., in Ghana) shows a wide range of hazardous activities on ALL types and sizes of cocoa farms.

In conclusion, data generated by WACAP and WACAP associated reports would seem to indicate that types of hazardous work are found on both family and non-family farms.

**Adjustment: misunderstanding taken away by slightly reformulating the paragraph and by incorporating the information provided by the stakeholder.**

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**Increased awareness and social mobilization**

“.... Concerned governments did not invite....”

The statement is incorrect for the case of Cote d’Ivoire. Additionally, it should be noted that the governments have then signed Memoranda of Understanding with the ILO agreeing to collaborate with IPEC to combat abusive child labour practices.

**Adjustment: Côte d’Ivoire as an exception.**
“Capacity Building”, “Notably lacking in these institutional strengthening measures is any evidence of disseminating innovative community development measures to partner NGOs.”

Please clarify the meaning of “innovative community development measures”. The initiatives for awareness raising, social mobilization, setting up of Child Labour Monitoring Committees (which have enormous potential), linking communities to the district level to prevent and stop child labour are all innovative first-time measures for these communities, as is the training of farmers on child labour issues. These are community development measures. IPEC makes an effort to ensure that globally tested models take root indigenously so that they are not imported and foreign.

The statement needs to be clarified and adjusted if the evaluators consider it factual.

Adjustment: statement has been completed.

“Without exception, subcontractors have followed lock-step with short term, numbers-driven activities.”

Please clarify. The statement is strong (without exception?) All action programmes include measures that are not merely quantitative or numbers-driven. Awareness raising strategies, training of labour inspectors or ministry officials, farmers’ training, etc., as highlighted by the evaluation report have started to yield results (that are not only numeric and that cannot be achieved through numbers-driven activities only).

Adjustment: statement has been completed.

“These agencies are short on capacity, staff and resources.”

Please note that, as part of Action Programmes, IPEC provides resources for staff and other capacity as needed by the scope of work.

“The immediate and long-term survival or programmatic effectiveness of these organisations has not been a priority of ILO-WACAP”.

This paragraph is confusing since it mixes organizational survival and programmatic effectiveness. It is definitely a priority of IPEC and in this case WACAP to ensure the effectiveness of the action programmes by trying to improve the quality of the work of the implementing agencies and help them sustain the impact, through training, transfer of know-how and methodologies, networking, and promoting their work in the national development context. It is also assumed that this would also help strengthening the organization’s capacity, thus increasing their chances of survival.

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased.

“Despite the lack of support of NGO partners, the evaluation team applauds their efforts to meet immediate WACAP objectives, particularly in light of difficult administrative circumstances and the limited support provided by ILO”

This paragraph of confusing… Lack of support of NGO partners to whom? Is this a reference of lack of support to NGO partners (from the project)? There is a difference in working relationships with partners and implementing agencies of action programmes. While implementing agencies enter into subcontracts with the ILO for their APs, partners collaborate in numerous and various non-contractual ways. Project staff, including professional and administrative, provide constant support to implementing agencies, including NGOs. Implementing agencies make efforts to achieve the AP objectives (which are of course linked to WACAP objectives and outputs). Their work is therefore supported financially and technically by IPEC.

Adjustment: statement has been corrected and completed.
Social protection

“The overall achievement in this central thrust, in terms of quantitative output, is best characterized as modest and driven by short-term goals.”

The goals driving the process (the effective withdrawal and prevention of child labour through the provision of social protection alternatives, especially education) can hardly be characterized as “short-term”. Some achievements are short-term and expected to have long-term impact.

Adjustment: paragraph has been rephrased and shortened.

“The absence of a regional signatory authority and leadership intensified bottlenecks in planning, procurement and disbursement.”

During the absence of a CTA, the sub-regional project officer was designated as Officer-in-Charge, with signatory authority and other responsibilities as Project Manager. As records show, this was the project’s most intense period in terms of Action Programme planning, development and approval, as well as the period when it became clear that the focus of the project was shifting to Ghana and more intensified effort would be needed there. To support the Officer-in-Charge, a local programme assistant was engaged on a temporary basis. Support from IPEC Geneva was considerably intensified during this period as well.

In any case, this shows that project management is done in the field and is not centralized.

Adjustment: stakeholder’s information has been incorporated.

“WACAP staff confirmed the strategy so that they could keep disbursement below the USD 20,000. Below this level, disbursements are less complex and demanding of multiple tiers of approval. Such procurement protocols have made it necessary to reduce the magnitude of APs, resulting in a situation that excludes considerable numbers of vulnerable children from participation in the social protection schemes.”

This statement is incorrect and distorts a flexible and sound management approach. Following the initial planning meetings in each country, the project staff was advised to develop Action Programmes with their selected implementing agencies. However, because for many of these agencies it was their first time doing child labour interventions, it was taking long to develop large-scale Action Programmes. It also would have involved more targets, perhaps over greater geographical area, and over a longer period of time. IPEC realized that many of these agencies had not tested the strategies before and without this experience it would be more efficient to do smaller-scale Action Programmes as pilots and in the meantime assess their performance and assist them with developing larger-scale programmes. From a management point of view this was a sounder approach than waiting too long to develop large-scale programmes with implementing agencies whose capacities had not been tested. It was also less risky not to tie up heavy resources.

In Ghana, where the major implementing agencies had prior IPEC experience, the size of the budget was larger, ranging up to $93,000. Cote d’Ivoire has tested well the approach of starting with small pilots and moving on to larger Action Programmes. For instance, the NGO FEMAD started a pilot with about $19,000 and went on to a programme of $74,000, the NGO RENCAF started with $4,000 and moved to $98,000, while the Ministry of Education started with a small-scale programme and moved to one of $66,000.

The decision of which implementing agencies to go with and for what level of programming was with the country programme coordinators as long as they were within the project’s budgetary and programmatic framework and followed the various criteria for selection and design.

The process for disbursement to implementing agencies is the same and per the signed Agreements and does not depend on the budget of the Action Programme. The process for
approval does differ, but there is no guarantee that smaller-scale ones will take less time than larger ones. It depends on meeting the various technical and procurement requirements.

**Adjustment:** factual mistakes corrected and additional information incorporated.

### 33 Child labour Monitoring System

“Placing children with so-called “master trainers” adds little quality value to their skills and is perceived as a costly, myopic and futile solution.”

This seems to be a broad generalization. Please specify the basis for the statement and whether it is generally applicable to all the project’s countries.

These observations hold true for all too many externally-funded educational initiatives, but are especially applicable to most WACAP social interventions, save for some of the more economic, long term and effective programs just underway in Cote d’Ivoire. In absolute terms, WACAP has cost $6 Million to convey mostly educational benefits for the life of project to less than 10,000 children (and this certainly doesn’t assure their withdrawal from labour in cocoa fields), which amounts to roughly $600 per participant. Similar efforts supported by USDOL in West Africa and other regions have reached a much larger number of children, with substantial impacts on national or local educational systems for significantly less costs. The USAID/CARE project, PROBASE, in Benin for example has been able to cause systemic improvements on primary education, and support improved enrolment and student performance over a four year period for less than one-fifth of WACAP costs.

Site visits, and discussions with ministry personnel, teachers and students convinced the team that the short term goals that shape the WACAP strategy has become little more than a “numbers” game. In the rush to enrol a prescribed quota of children in schools, executing/partner NGOs seem oblivious to the terrible quality of schooling they are supporting. The team was discouraged by: grossly inadequate school facilities and service; the inordinate cost of public primary education, putting schooling beyond the reach of most families; the poor quality of instruction, such that many children, even those in advanced grades, were unable to read or write in the language of instruction. Above all, we noted the resentment created by WACAP in pilot communities as the result of the participant/beneficiary selection process. The selection of only a small percentage of children for benefits has caused deep frustrations among parents who are desperate for their children to attend school. Surely, more equitable, long term and broader impacts could have been brought to participating villages.

No major adjustment has been made.

### 34 “Although ILO/IPEC is of the opinion that ‘Quality will follow later in the timeline’”

This quote has been taken out of context. Had the project and implementing agencies opted for non-formal education, quality obviously would have been there from the start. Considering that the preferred option was the public school system, it is also obvious that the project cannot improve the quality of the public system overnight. The evaluators were informed of plans with the ministries at the national level, and the district offices to improve the quality both in immediate terms and in the long-term. They were informed of discussions with UNICEF and other agencies to bring them on-board to work with the Governments to improve rural public education, starting with the target areas.

No major adjustment has been made. See comments before.

### 35 Child Labour Monitoring System

Refer to previous comments on scope of the CLMS. It covers all working children in the monitored area and not just those in social protection programmes; it does provide information
on incidence for the area; whether or not it is suitable for the certification remains to be seen and cannot be determined without knowing precisely what form the certification will take (details not available at the time of MTE).

"...provides a restricted information basis for national policies to eliminate child labour and for national reporting on the C.138 and C.182"

CLMS are not intended to provide a base but to contribute to efforts, including information and data. It does both as was illustrated by the first CLMS report in Ghana that was available at the time of the MTE. Moreover, the enthusiastic debate and discussion that ensued following the presentation of the report in the National Steering Committee Meeting in Ghana testimony to the relevance of the CLMS for policy, reporting and compliance matters.

Adjustment: statement reformulated after thorough analysis of CLMS d-base.

36 Knowledge base

IPEC recognizes that the rapid assessments carried out by various agencies under the project lack validity if they are to be used as basis for quantitative information and wide extrapolation, therefore these studies have not received IPEC technical clearance. They have, however, proved very valuable in helping to get the key stakeholders in the country to engage in a debate on the issue and focus on it, which are essential steps in moving towards policy action and further quantitative research. IPEC did explain to the evaluators that it was assessing the studies to see if anything useful and valid could be presented in the form of a synthesis report.

Adjustment: paragraph reformulated.

37 Section 3.4.4 Respect of international labour codes

"...agricultural sector policy of the participating countries. This is expected to be done through linkages with STCP...."

Please note that this was expected to be done mainly through direct linkages with the agricultural ministries and departments, through the National Steering Committee and PTAC meetings, as well as through collaborating agencies and programmes, such as the STCP. Convention No. 184 on Safety and Health in Agriculture is very relevant to child labour and ILO constituents are promoting it. Where the project is working with agriculture workers’ groups, such as GAWU in Ghana, this link is being promoted.

Adjustment: information incorporated.

38 “ILO/IPEC has neglected to link up to institutions experienced in both primary education and vocational skills. Education is at the core of WACAP interventions but this has not translated into a satisfactory, long term strategy.”

This was clarified during the debriefing. It is not a matter of neglect. All key stakeholders, including donors that support education initiatives, have been informed of the project and invited to key meetings and events. The PTACs are forums where such linking and collaboration is expected to be discussed as well. The evaluators were informed that rather than doing this in a haphazard manner, the project had plans (initiated in Ghana and Cameroon) whereby support will be provided to the relevant government agencies to develop a framework for short and long-term strategies for improving access and quality of education in rural farm areas.

No major adjustment has been made. See comments before.

39 3.4.5 Scalability and sustainability

“It is highly improbable that the intensive monitoring that defines the system can be scaled up at affordable costs”
Please clarify, since “affordable” is a relative term depending on what the costs are being compared to. The system is flexible and can be adjusted as need be.

There simply are no residual funds to support such activities in the long-term or among a broader constituency. This reality should shape any and all interventions supported by WACAP. The assumption that there is some domestic source of resources, irrespective of compelling demand, is not a viable one. Any program or initiative that must depend on national, regional or local government funding is most likely doomed to disuse after external funds elapse.

No major adjustment has been made

3.4.6 Alternative strategies (process vs. quantitative outputs).

Qualitative aspects are not “neglected in the logical framework”. Only one of the project’s five objectives/components has only quantifiable indicators established. The others include essentially qualitative indicators for which quantifiable targets have been added to enable monitoring of progress. The Project Monitoring Plan also includes some benchmarks that can be considered as process steps. The idea that administrators of the project only care about rescuing 9,700 (not 9,600) is misleading, since it implies that no work is being done in the other project components.

They certainly have been neglected; particularly in educational activities; see comments under 6,8,13 and 14.

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased.

3.4.6 Alternative strategies (educational strategy)

“Given the primordial importance of educational interventions, it would have been advisable to appreciate the deplorable state of public education that has been well documented in all WACAP nations. Rather than rely on these institutions, alternative strategies might have focused on creating linkages with innovative child-centred educational options, responding to the specific needs of working children.”

The statement does not seem to be based on contextual dynamics and reality. The project management at the country level and their stakeholders obviously did not subscribe to this view. The project document made both options possible – non-formal education centres and the public schools. IPEC experience shows that both options have relevance and has supported both in its many projects. There was a discussion on this issue during the debriefing and had it been captured it would have added to the value of the report.

The dilemma that the project and its partners were faced with was a choice between a poor quality public education system, but available in most cases, and that would continue beyond the project period on the one hand, and on the other setting up high quality centres for which there was no prospect of resource mobilization in the project’s short duration, that would educate a selected number of children for a short time, and would need to be shut down. There were no local resources readily available, the project duration was very limited by the time these interventions got off ground, and there was no commitment of second phase funding from the project’s donors.

In the view of some education experts consulted on this matter, the project country management made a decision given their context. The project is supporting that decision with intensive work with the governments on developing an education framework.

Adjustment: information incorporated into text; challenged statement maintained; see comments before.

3.4.6 Alternative strategies (geographical focus)
This paragraph is confusing. While the interventions may be based on tested models, in each location they are transformed into indigenous interventions that responded in a localized manner, taking into account the local customs, culture, context, people and their lives. Have the evaluators detected “systematic errors”? If this is the case, this should be brought up to the attention of the project in the report, since there is of course scope for learning. The project did not have the option to do area-based all child labour targeting since it is a sector-specific intervention that can only take into account other child labour to some extent.

Adjustment: systematic weaknesses instead of errors; examples given.

43 **Flexibility in using local opportunities**

“WACAP has tended toward a “go it alone” strategy, working only with small NGOs or public agencies.”

Please provide support and foundations to this statement. It comes across as a misunderstanding of the modality of IPEC’s work and relationships in the countries. There is nothing that IPEC does “alone” in this project. Planning involved all key stakeholders in the country, national, international, UN agencies and others. When it comes to actual implementation, IPEC prefers to sign the Action Programme Agreement with national/local agencies. This does not mean that international NGOs, which the evaluation seems to be promoting, cannot have a strong collaborative role in the Action Programmes, or that they cannot bring resources to the Action Programmes. The NGOs that WACAP is working with range from community level to major national-level ones. Moreover, in addition to NGOs and public agencies, WACAP, as an ILO programme, is working with employers’ and workers’ organizations as well.

IPEC has made an effort to inform and link with other international agencies, but that does not necessarily result in collaboration or complementary programming unless the other agencies are obliged to do so. For instance, Winrock, even with its industry-funded vocational training programme in Cote d’Ivoire, made no effort to leverage in favour of WACAP’s target groups or areas. Winrock has been invited to all WACAP planning and other meetings and is well aware of the project.

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased; stakeholder comment put on record.

44 **Section 4 Conclusions:** “Limitations posed by the lack of understanding of the magnitude, scope and nature of child labour in cocoa production have had serious and negative implications for the WACAP project”

Please be more precise about the “serious and negative implications”. There may be a debate on the magnitude of the problem, but that does not have a negative impact on the project because the project can reach only so many children and this is initial action. Additionally, it is not clear what is means by “scope” and the “nature of child labour in cocoa production” is well-known as noted in the various studies, manuals, other documentations. Even if some of the assessments have methodological problems, their qualitative analyses are sound and corroborated by other research and studies.

“The project design is based on information gleaned from IITA/STCP surveys and rapid assessments, done in four countries.”

The surveys have been only one input into the design. Also involved is information from other sources, and most importantly an inclusive consultative process in Cote d’Ivoire and IPEC’s experience in the region and worldwide with child labour, including in the agriculture sector. The rapid assessments referred to were done after the project had started.

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased.

45 “Studies fail to distinguish between child workers, unconditional WFCL and hazardous child labour. They are supported by sketchy field work that extrapolates from data bases that offer
little value. This research has posited that about 13,000 children are involved in WCFL, yet there are likely more than 5 million children at work in cocoa farms who may or may not need “rescuing.”

See comments above. Studies and research need to be identified. Source for 5 million needs to be given.

“Drawing from this assumption, the project has targeted some 10,000 children for relief from labour. The tacit assumption is that if these, most vulnerable children can be served then the problem is resolved.”

Several factors are thoroughly confused and have resulted in incorrect statements. IPEC never “assumed” (explicitly or tacitly) that by targeting 10,000 children the problem would be resolved. If this were the case, there would be no need for the five components presenting a comprehensive and integrated programme and approach. There would be no need for policy dialogue and change, for institutional strengthening and all the other interventions, but the problem could be solved by putting up a number of non-formal education centres to give these 10,000 children the best of education.

Indeed this is a very limited interpretation of the whole programme approach. Immediate targets are often limited by resources and in-country institutional capacity to implement and deliver, and they have to be time-bound. That is the reality behind the number of beneficiaries.

These statements are contradictory to the statement given a number of paragraphs below (page 47, 2nd para) – stating “The project concept is sound.”

“Given the deteriorating economic conditions of life in cocoa production, the ever rising population and the incapacity of the public and private sector to respond to children’s needs, WACAPs’ strategy has been poorly served.”

WACAP’s strategy has taken into consideration all these factors and tries to respond to the needs and problems related to each, within the scope of the project. It does not claim to be able to solve these problems, but it tries to put in place strategies that can work within this context and create an awareness of the context and focus policy and programmatic attention on the target group and its context.

Interviews and follow-up discussions with the only national cocoa cooperative in the WACAP region (COCOBOD in Ghana) corroborate that there are some 800,000 cocoa producers in that nation. Assuming that other studies hold some validity with respect to the demographic characteristics of cocoa producing families, and that there is cross national similarity among cocoa producing households, there may well be as many as 5 million children involved in commercial cocoa agriculture. This is base on the premise that Ghana produces about 16 percent of the region’s cocoa with 800,000 producing households. Extrapolating that figure to the other four nations, the result would be approximately 5 million families.

Demographic descriptions would support the notion that each household has at least two, school age children, and that, under the best of circumstances, only one is in school, as substantiated by every teacher, parent and community leader interviewed. The other school age child is therefore not enrolled. Whether that child is at work under exploitative or dangerous conditions is a complete unknown. Therefore, research has not provided us with any idea of the magnitude, nature or dimensions of child labour in cocoa growing activities in West Africa. The evaluation team would be delighted to learn of any such evidence.

Adjustment: 5 million taken out; paragraph rephrased.

4.1 Problem analysis
“The problem analysis has omitted to reflect on the quality of public primary, secondary and vocational training services and on the way in which they prepare children for the labour market or to become more responsible and productive farmers.”

Reference is made to this problem in the project document and the programme strategy clearly states some of the responses that would be considered. Since there are similarities across the countries, but also differences, each country is undertaking its own education analysis.

“Education is at the heart of ILO/IPEC’s social protection schemes and for that reason ILO/IPEC needs to mainstream its projects into the education sectors of the involved countries (see Cameroon).”

This is correct and that is why the project is working with the ministries and departments of education as well as other key stakeholder in the education field. Once again, this recommendation is contradictory to forceful recommendation that the project should have worked through the non-formal alternative educational system, which is not mainstream in any of the countries. There seems to be a very important contradiction in the report to this respect.

**Adjustment:** slightly reformulated; see comments before.

47

**4.2 Project concept and approach**

“Its inherent weakness might well be situated in the assumed logical sequence between cause and effect (e.g. what is the independent variable in the relation between improved well-being and awareness raising?).”

This is a misinterpretation of the diagram showing the strategy. The logical sequence in the diagram is between awareness and reduction in demand of child labour among producers, which seems reasonable.

The assumed logical sequence between awareness and reduction of child labour is very doubtful. To quote Berthold Brecht: “Zuerst das Fressen und dann die Moral” (in French: “D’abords la bouffe et puis le moral”). This is exactly the crux of the issue which the evaluators would like to get across: awareness does not fill one’s stomach. Hence it is so important that the components of the ILO/IPEC intervention model are being implemented in a balanced manner and that root causes of child labour (low productivity and income poverty) are being tackled by working on these issues. A better integration with STCP, at the field level, (like foreseen in the project document) would have provided this opportunity. Unfortunately this collaboration did not materialise.

**No major adjustment has been made.**

48

“The definition of the immediate objectives lacks specificity, which makes the measurement of their achievement difficult.”

This was clarified during the debriefing. Following ILO design methodology, objectives are further specified through the indicators, which include specific targets. The evaluators were provided with the Project Monitoring Plan which includes all the details.

Still immediate objectives need indicators. In the logical framework methodology, with which the evaluators are very familiar, indicators at the activity level serve the purpose of work-plan monitoring and not the purpose of project evaluation.
No major adjustment has been made.

49 Nevertheless, it appears that it has been tacitly assumed that the present project phase will be extended, since there is no exit strategy. This might jeopardize a continuation of activities started by the project, in case the later would be finished by January 2006.

There was no tacit assumption on this. Project duration, possibility of extension and phase-outs (exit strategy) were openly and honestly discussed with the evaluators and the donors in the debriefings, and with the evaluators in briefings as well. The project made it clear that both donors were aware of the ending date; there was no commitment in principle from any of the donors for a second phase; if by July the situation remains the same, the project will plan a phase-out strategy, which will be started in fall 2005.

Adjustment: information provided incorporated. Major conclusion remains the same: it is unrealistic to assume that in one single phase of three years anything substantial can be achieved.

50 “The basis of quantitative targets is not transparent.....As compared to the incidence of hazardous child labour in West Africa, the targets and the underpinning budget for social protection look very modest in other countries then Côte d’Ivoire.

This point too was clarified at the briefings and debriefing and is explicit in the project document. The evaluators were informed that the focus of the project was clearly Cote d’Ivore, which had requested the ILO and the donors for assistance, had started the groundwork, the problem had been acknowledged by the government and the key stakeholders. None of these features existed for the other countries, even after the project started.

Adjustment: information provided incorporated.

51 4.3.3 Resource allocation

“Whereas the evaluation team was of the impression that social protection targets had been kept low because of “budgetary restrictions”, barely 20% of the AP budget has so far been spent. Footnote: No data have been made available on AP expenditure incurred at HQ.”

Although not expended, practically all AP funds, except for Cote d’Ivoire, had been committed by the time of the Mid-Term evaluation, so there are very limited available resources. See comments above.

AP expenditure is incurred in the field and not at HQ, so there is no such data.

Adjustment: paragraphs reformulated.

52 4.4 Achievement and appraisal of project components

“The overall achievement in this core activity has been modest. The WACAP project has not yet started the protection and prevention of indirect beneficiaries: 70,000 children aged to 13 to 18 years, through OSH outreach interventions.”

Due to the crisis in Côte d’Ivoire, AICD could not start the OSH outreach activities which were to have begun last year. Action Programmes in Cameroon and Guinea include OSH outreach activities/campaigns.

No major adjustment has been made. Thank you for the information.

53 4.4.4 Special concerns

“In vocational skill training the services of local artisan were used are being purchased to accept a few youngsters as an apprentice for a period of two to four years (without any recompense for the children)”
Please re-write. The services of local artisans are not being “purchased”. In many cases, these local artisans have a respectable technical level and pedagogic approaches. In general, these people are admired by the community members because they are able to have a living out of their own work. In the first instance, training child labourers to become like them could be a good option, as this avoids the child to be removed out of the area and enable them to continue to live with their parents.

Adjustment: “purchased” replaced by “availed”. We strongly disagree with the stakeholder’s appreciation of the local artisans’ “respectable … pedagogic approaches”.

RECOMMENDATIONS

5.3.2 Administrative, financial and reporting systems

“The project’s financial and programme management needs to be streamlined. Where possible, workflows for operational and financial decisions need to be kept as short as possible.”

The word “streamlined” needs to be précised and/or revised. It gives the impression that there is a problem with how the resources are managed, while the problem the evaluators seemed to have identified is the tight financial procedures that require a certain workflow. The impression made is contradictory to previous statements.

Adjustment: paragraph has been reformulated.

5.4 Achievement and appraisal of project components

The “model village approach” seems to be a theoretical concept that is attractive but the idea has not been considered in the contextual dynamics and the sustainability and duration issues that such models will have to deal with. However, its implementation will face the same problems the project is encountering in CLMS setting up and in relating with various partners.

The recommendations included in this sub-section should focus on how to improve the current project strategies to increase the likelihood of achieving the immediate objectives. As they stand now, they are either recommendations for strategies that are already part of the project design and plan, or ideas for another, different project, which the evaluators consider should be part of the STCP project. Making proposals on a new project, with other agencies, is not within the scope of the evaluation.

Adjustment: the evaluators strongly disagree with this stakeholder comment. A new box has been included to put on record this comment, as well as our reaction to that.

CLMS bullet point

The recommendation need to be revised in view of the misunderstandings of the system mentioned above, leading to factual errors.

The last sentence of the last paragraph is totally out of the context in which it was discussed, since it is clear the ILO-IPEC’s CLM strategy implies sustainability (cost permitting).

CLMS

Adjustment: paragraph rephrased after thorough analysis of CLMS d-base.
FINAL SUMMARY COMMENTS

The following paragraphs are provided as additional information and reflect some of ILO-IPEC’s perspectives on the draft evaluation report. Please consider this as a further input into the evaluation process, triggered by the reading of the draft report.

- **Awareness raising**

The evaluators’ comments and suggestions under this component are appreciated.

- **Capacity Building**

The project treats all implementing agencies the same. WACAP works with the ILO’s traditional partners (representatives of government, employers’ organizations and workers’ organizations) as well as NGOs, such as CEDEP in Ghana or SABOU in Guinea, and cooperatives such as COPICO in Côte d’Ivoire. Training is provided to all implementing agencies aimed at building their capacities, not only in procedural matters but also in substantive child labour and related development issues. Additionally, WACAP has welcomed and responded to requests, questions and queries from implementing agencies at anytime and provided support as needed.

- **Social Protection**

WACAP’s holistic strategy works for both qualitative and quantitative results and plans are already underway for enhancing the quality of education. Examples were sited from Ghana where the ministry of education is taking the lead in developing a plan of action for strengthening and improving the education in the target areas.

Implementing agencies submit proposals for the withdrawal and prevention of children and the various other activities in line with project objectives and indications. In those proposals, the agencies provide the number of children targeted and the budget needed for their effective withdrawal and prevention. When these proposals are approved, financing is provided for the implementation. During implementation, some implementing agencies found themselves in a situation where there were more children in need of withdrawal, than was originally budgeted for in their proposals and thus their original approved budgets for which financing was provided would not cover the additional children; hence the existence of budget constraints. Some implementing agencies submitted second proposals to WACAP to cover the additional identified children and these proposals were approved e.g. SAA and FEMAD in Côte d’Ivoire.

The budget allocation of Action Programmes ranges from a few thousand to over $200,000 depending on the scope of the work. There is no pre-determined or single budget limit for Action Programmes. WACAP can be considered as a needs driven programme. The expenditure may seem low but practically all the allocation for direct action had been committed. Disbursement problems were noted for Côte d’Ivoire because of the unstable situation there.

The project acknowledges that no single intervention by itself can solve the problem of poverty and WACAP’s role in bringing about change or making an impact should be considered in the context of what it was expected to do according to its scope of work. Nonetheless, spill-over effects are already noticeable in some communities, where it was noted that some parents whose children had not been selected for WACAP assistance took the initiative anyhow and sent their children to schools using their own resources. This is indicative that the parents had been sensitized on the harmful effects of child labour and motivated to take action. Where resources and time are limited, it is but mandatory to prioritise on selection of target children. Criteria for selection were drawn up taking into consideration ILO C. 182 and C. 138 and in consultation with stakeholders during strategic and planning workshops in the countries.

- **Education and vocational training**

While education is a localized issue for individual children, it is also a national issue. The project is working at several levels to improve the quality of education curricula, relevance and teachers’ training at the local level and at the national level, together with other IPEC projects, to advocate for more and better education that is accessible to all children on rural farms. WACAP role is, in
collaboration with other concerned partners, to help authorities and parents to increase the possibilities that are offered to children. Alternatives strategies are being tested, like in Côte d’Ivoire by SAA/Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry in Charge of Rural Vocational Training.

WACAP has been working with the ministry of education in each Project country and has had many fruitful discussions and started workshops with these ministries and public agencies on the educational structure/system in the countries (including questions of quality and integration of ex-child labourers and vulnerable children in education). This has led to action such as reviews, drawing up of plans of action and implementation of action programmes to improve the quality and delivery of education to all children. In Côte d’Ivoire for example, the SAA (an agency under the Ministry of Education) has been operating mobile schools (through a WACAP programme) to aid in providing qualitative education for children in rural areas, especially ex-child labourers and vulnerable children. The SABOU project in Guinea is also an example.

The project follows a systematic approach in dealing with children. Each withdrawn child’s educational level (as well as health) is assessed. The child is asked about his/her interests; whether or not the child wishes to attend formal education or learn any particular trade or skill. The child’s wishes are taken into consideration during placement. Some programmes begin with providing all the children with non formal/transitional education before placement. Children that choose are assessed to be capable of entering/returning to formal education are in some instances offered catch-up/vacation classes to prepare the children for re/entry into formal education. All very young children are steered into formal education. Formal education and vocational schools and apprenticeship centres are chosen with great care taking into consideration the children’s interests, the quality of education/instruction, the distance of the institution to ensure continual attendance (or innovative measures are used as in the case of the mobile schools in Côte d’Ivoire), etc. The options and choices, of course, are limited by ground realities of the educational system. Discussions, sensitisation and counselling sessions are held/provided to headteachers, teachers, and mastercraftsmen of targeted institutions to ensure that in general all children are protected against child labour, especially the vulnerable and ex-child labourers. These sessions are also provided to ensure that withdrawn children are given the special attention that they need to get into the flow of their studies. Headteachers/teachers/mastercraftsmen are asked to follow-up on children placed in their institutions and WACAP’s implementing agencies and other partners also monitor the children’s progress. Everything is done to ensure the children are successful in their respective institutions.

It is easy to acknowledge that the problems with educational systems are institutional and enormous and while WACAP can set in motion the process for addressing this situation, it can address it during the project period in only a limited manner and to a limited extent.

The possibility of establishing innovative linkages with child-centred educational options is nonexistent in most countries. The project faces the following dilemma: in a scenario where IPEC does not have a commitment from donors for second phase funding, is it better to set up high quality non-formal education centres for limited number of children, knowing well that the centres would certainly have no resources to continue after the project terminates as the project period is too short to mobilize local resources; or is it better for the project to opt for strengthening the weak public (or other existing) education system and advocate with the government and other agencies for improving it? Given the option, the project staff and stakeholders in all the countries opted overwhelmingly for the second option. The project planning (document) provided both options – for the establishment of the non-formal centres and the integration of the children into the existing public and private schools.

Regarding vocational training, local artisans have a respectable technical level and pedagogic approaches. In general, these people are admired by the community members because they are able to earn a living out of their own work. It is a preferred option by the families as it prevents the children from being removed out of the area and enables them to continue to live with their parents. The Project staff recognizes that more technical support and incentives need to be provided to the trainers and action to this effect is being planned.
The CLM system is a concrete outcome of high level innovative networking and coordination between the communities, the districts and at the national level. The system is capable of providing concrete, reliable and verifiable information and is going to be improved after the pilot experience in Ghana is thoroughly documented. The following are the major elements of the system.

The CLMS has two main components:
1. Baseline component
2. Monitoring component

Under each of the components information is collected from 4 main sources
1. Child labourers (all working children in the geographical area)
2. Children receiving social protection support (WACAP support and from other sources)
3. Employers (including farmers)
4. Schools, institutions

It is clear that the CLMS covers all child labourers in the selected areas. The process is ongoing, which means that the CLM adds to the number of child labourers as they are found in the process of continuous monitoring. The CLMS is such that support for the child labourers identified can come from beyond WACAP since the ownership of the data at the district level is with the district assembly. Any agency wishing to support the identified children can do so by contacting the district assemblies. This is illustrated by the offer of COCOBOD to support a number of children identified. During the National Steering Committee meeting, the members raised the issue to have a referral system put in place to identify children in extreme cases of child labour, involving all leading agencies in child protection such as education, health, UNICEF etc. The CLMS collects information on all working children and does provide information on other forms of work in which the children are engaged. For instance section 2 of the child labourers’ questionnaire asks questions on child employment information which gives information on the type of work the child does as pertinent to Ghana, such as truck pushing or kayayoo (porterage).

CLMS is a community based system involving community members through child labour committees.

Knowledge Base
IPEC recognizes that the rapid assessments carried out by various agencies under the project lack validity if they are to be used as basis for quantitative information and wide extrapolation, therefore these studies have not received IPEC’s technical clearance. They have however, proved very valuable in helping to get the key stakeholders in the country to engage in a debate on the issue and focus on it, which are essential steps in moving towards policy action and further quantitative research.

Collaboration with STCP
A mid-term review of STCP was conducted between 5 and 9 January 2005, aiming at assessing lessons related to production, marketing and institutional innovations emerging from the pilot phase. This information will be used for further programming. The draft report of STCP’s MTR confirms the partnership engaged with WACAP in social messaging concerning child labour in cocoa production. In Ghana, STCP has indicated that it will extend its assistance to family members of WACAP assisted children.